

MEDIEVAL EUROPEAN COINAGE

With a Catalogue of the Coins in the
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

8

Britain and Ireland
c. 400–1066

Rory Naismith



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MEDIEVAL EUROPEAN COINAGE, VOLUME 8

This volume of *Medieval European Coinage* traces the coinage and monetary history of Britain and Ireland in the early Middle Ages, from the end of the Roman province of Britain in the fifth century to the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 and the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in 1169–71. It re-evaluates the complex seventh- and eighth-century coinages, and follows the evolution of the Anglo-Saxon coinage into one of the most sophisticated monetary systems in medieval Europe; it also covers the coins issued by Viking settlers in parts of England and Ireland. This landmark work of reference brings recent advances in historical and numismatic research to a wider audience. The first major single-volume treatment of the subject in over sixty years, it is supported by one of the most complete illustrated catalogues of the period.

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RORY NAISMITH



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PREFACE

The exact parameters of this volume of *Medieval European Coinage* (*MEC*), the first of three on the coinages of Britain and Ireland, evolved over the course of its preparation. According to the plan originally published in *MEC* 1, the series was to include two volumes covering the British Isles from the tenth century onwards, the first picking up from the end of *MEC* 1 in 924 and running down to 1279 (vol. 8), with a second continuing to 1509 (a single vol. 9 in the original scheme). A preliminary evaluation of the Fitzwilliam collection in 2012 showed, however, that the collection had grown too much since these divisions were laid down to be published in two volumes as intended. Moreover, new acquisitions (especially of the Blunt and De Wit collections) had transformed the museum's holdings of early medieval British coinage dating to the period covered by *MEC* 1 (c. 600–924). As early as 1990, Mark Blackburn envisaged the Blunt collection alone providing the material for two supplementary volumes of *MEC* (Blackburn 1990a, 121). It was therefore decided to undertake a reframed vol. 8 covering the period from the end of Roman Britain down to 1066 (1170 for Ireland), with a slightly modified title ('Britain and Ireland') to match changing scholarly approaches to the early Middle Ages. This would provide an ideal opportunity to publish the museum's expanded holdings in their entirety, the better to place the totality of the collection in context and provide a thorough conspectus of the period as a whole.

The arrangement of the catalogue is discussed in detail elsewhere (pp. 492–4). In most respects its organisation follows the traditional arrangement for coins of this period, especially within reigns and major types. The early pennies have been laid out on the model of *T&S* and *SCBI* 63 to facilitate easy comparison between major collections of these complex coinages. Later eighth- and ninth-century Anglo-Saxon coins break from Chick 2010 and Naismith 2011a in being organised by kingdom rather than phase or mint: this decision was prompted by the larger chronological scope of this catalogue, which runs through the entirety of Anglo-Saxon numismatic history. However, the corresponding text chapters take a more integrated approach, with the intention that these two layouts should complement one another. The breadth of the catalogue has also prompted placement of the Anglo-Viking coinages in a location which differs from other numismatic publications such as *BMC* and relevant volumes of *SCBI*. These coins will be found after the Anglo-Saxon series, preceding Hiberno-Scandinavian, Manx and Irish Sea issues. It is hoped thereby to emphasise the continuous development of the later Anglo-Saxon coinage from Alfred the Great to 1066, and to group for comparative purposes all coinages issued by 'Viking' rulers in Britain and Ireland. Imitations of Anglo-Saxon pennies are arranged with the Anglo-Viking coins, though it is recognised that their attribution remains a matter of ongoing research, and cross-references are included to associate groups of related coins.

This volume was written as the central project of my Leverhulme Early Career Research Fellowship, which commenced in October 2012, continuing a long tradition of support for *MEC* from the Leverhulme Trust that goes back to the inception of the series in the early 1980s. Work on the volume was carried out between 2012 and 2015, latterly with the support of a new postdoctoral fellowship, funded by the Mellon Foundation. The final stages of preparation of the volume were undertaken after I took up a lectureship at King's College London.

A great many friends and colleagues have provided support in one form or another during the preparation of this volume. In the first instance, without the personal and professional examples set by Professor Philip Grierson (1910–2006), founder of the series, and Dr Mark Blackburn (1953–2011), his successor as general editor, this volume would not exist. To paraphrase Bernard of Chartres and John of Salisbury, they are the giants on whose shoulders all subsequent *MEC* authors stand. I owe particular thanks to Dr Blackburn. Although he did not live to see this volume come into being, Mark's warmth, kindness and intimate knowledge of early medieval numismatics have been of profound influence.

I also owe special thanks to Dr Elina Screen, general editor in succession to Dr Blackburn. She has been as patient, supportive and devoted to the good of the series as could ever be hoped for, and the volume has benefited from her input at every stage. I would in addition like to single out the support of colleagues in the Department of Coins and Medals at the Fitzwilliam. Dr Adrian Popescu, Keeper of Coins and Medals, provided invaluable help in facilitating the practicalities of the project, not least by acquiring key coins to fill gaps in the collection. Dr Martin Allen and latterly also Dr Richard Kelleher lent their expertise on Anglo-Saxon, Norman and later medieval coins, and on the interpretation of coin finds. Eimear Reilly expertly imaged and processed all the relevant coins. Finally, I was fortunate to have the help of two research assistants (funded by the Leverhulme Trust's generous research allowance) in creating the catalogue contained in this volume and its digital incarnation: Victoria Bullard-Smith and Mary Elizabeth Wilson.

Thanks for reading and commenting on one or more chapters, or providing other advice on specific queries, go to Tony Abramson, Dr Kristin Bornholdt Collins, Dr Jayne Carroll, Dr Fiona Edmonds, Dr Anna Gannon, Prof. Simon Keynes, Dr Stewart Lyon, Dr George Molyneaux, Prof. Elisabeth Okasha, Hugh Pagan, Prof. Borys Paszkiewicz, Prof. Paul Russell, Dr Gareth Williams and Dr Andrew Woods (who has co-authored the chapter on Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage, working with a draft prepared by myself).

I am also grateful to the British Academy for its unstinting support of this project, to the various funding bodies that have funded my work on it – especially the Leverhulme Trust and the Mellon Foundation – and to Cambridge University Press, which has likewise been a long-term ally of the project. Elizabeth Friend-Smith, Rosalyn Scott and Rebecca Taylor have provided expert and friendly editorial advice, and production has been facilitated by Christina Sarigiannidou, Ross Stewart and Carol Fellingham-Webb. Finally, I would like to extend thanks to colleagues in the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, the Division of Archaeology and the Faculty of History at Cambridge, to the Fellows of Clare College, Cambridge, and to the Department of History at King's College London, who together have made up a friendly and stimulating community in which to pursue research and teaching.

Last but by no means least, the patience, encouragement and wisdom of my wife Brittany Schorn lie behind every line in this book.

NOTE ON SPELLING

In reproducing Old English (Anglo-Saxon) names for kings, bishops and other historical figures, this volume normally follows the usage of *WBEASE*. An important exception to this rule is made for moneyers' names represented on coins, the spelling of which generally follows the *SCBI* cumulative index volumes (*SCBI* 28 and 41). Moneyers' names are given in these volumes in a normalised form, modelled on the tenth- and eleventh-century West Saxon dialect of Old English, while moneyers' names of Scandinavian derivation are given in the standard Old Norse *koine* used in later medieval Iceland. Both often deviate from the inscriptions on relevant coins, but are helpful in providing philological models for etymologically identical names which could be represented (even at the same time and place) in many different ways. Rulers' names of Old Norse origin are given in the standard Old Norse form unless an anglicisation is in common usage (e.g. Sihtric for Sigtryggr). Names derived from Irish and Welsh generally follow the usage of Ó Cróinín 2005b and Charles-Edwards 2013, respectively.

Old English and Old Norse used a small number of letters which are no longer part of the Modern English alphabet. Ð/ð (*eth*) represents a voiced dental fricative (as in Mod. Eng. 'though'); Þ/þ (*thorn*) represents an unvoiced dental fricative (as in Mod. Eng. 'thistle'); and Æ/æ (*æsc*) denotes a sound between a and e (similar to the vowel in Mod. Eng. 'cat'). In practice there was a certain amount of flexibility in the use of these characters: æ could in some dialects and contexts be replaced with a or e, and ð and þ were also often used interchangeably. Finally, Old English used a letter derived from the runic alphabet to represent w: ƿ/p (*wynn*). Formally a *wynn* should have an angled and/or elongated hoop to distinguish it from p, but in coin inscriptions the two letters are often identical. All of these letters are reproduced as on the coin in the transcriptions in the catalogue, while in the text ð and þ are transliterated as th (except in direct quotations from Old English texts) and ƿ as w; æ, however (which has no exact equivalent in Mod. Eng.), is retained.

Certain English coins produced between the seventh and ninth centuries cast some or all of their inscriptions in runes: a distinct alphabet originating in northern Europe in late antiquity (cf. Page 1999). Runic inscriptions are reproduced in the catalogue using their Roman equivalents in bold lower case; for reference purposes, however, the standard Old English runic alphabet is laid

out below, in the traditional order, along with the Roman letter (or, in some cases, diphthong) corresponding to each runic character.

ƿ	f	ḥ	h	↑	t	ᚠ	a
ᚋ	u	ᚗ	n	ᚱ	b	ᚡ	æ
ᚔ	þ	ᚖ	i	ᚓ	e	ᚢ	y
ᚤ	o	ᚕ	j	ᚔ	m	ᚦ	ea
ᚥ	r	ᚙ	ȝ (yogh)	ᚕ	l	ᚨ	ġ
ᚦ	c	᚛	p	ᚧ	ŋ	ᚫ	k
ᚨ	g	᚜	x	ᚩ	d	ᚬ	ķ
ᚱ	w	᚞	s	ᚰ	œ		

ABBREVIATIONS

This list includes abbreviations used in the text and in the catalogue. Abbreviations for periodicals, serials and specific texts are given at the beginning of the bibliography.

Æ	bronze (here used for all base-metal copper alloys)
acq.	acquired
AH	<i>anno Hegirae</i> ('year since the Hijra'; Islamic era)
Ɱ	silver
ʒ	gold
BM	British Museum, London
BN	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BNS	British Numismatic Society
bt	bought
c.	<i>circa</i>
cat.	catalogue
cf.	<i>compar fac</i> (compare)
chap(s).	chapter(s)
Cmdr	Commander
co.	county
Col.	Colonel
coll.	collection
d.	died
dep.	deposited
ed.	editor, edited
ep(p).	<i>epistola(e)</i> ('letter(s)')
<i>et al.</i>	<i>et alii</i> (and others)
ex	from (used in describing coin provenances)
f(f).	folio(s), with r (recto) and v (verso)
fd	found
fl.	<i>floruit</i>
Fr.	French
g	gram(s)
Gen.	General
HM	Hiberno-Manx
l(l).	left/line(s)

Lat.	Latin
Lt.-Col.	Lieutenant-Colonel
Mid. Eng.	Middle English
mm	millimetre(s)
Mod. Eng.	Modern English
n.d.	no date
no(s).	number(s)
nr	near
obv.	obverse
OE	Old English
ON	Old Norse
Pb	lead
pers. comm.	personal communication
pl(s).	plate(s)
q.v.	<i>quod vide</i> ('see')
r.	right
ref(s).	references
repr.	reprinted
rev.	reverse
s.	<i>saeculum</i> ('century', used in dating manuscripts)
SG	specific gravity
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i> (under the word, when referring to dictionary or glossary entries)
var.	variant/variety
vol(s).	volume(s)
wt	weight
XRF	X-ray fluorescence

INTRODUCTION

(a) HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

‘Britain’, as the venerable Bede began his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ‘is an island of the ocean ... [which] extends 800 miles to the north, and is 200 miles broad, save only where several promontories stretch out further and, counting these, the whole circuit of the coast line covers 4,875 miles’ (*Brittania oceani insula ... quae per milia passuum dccc in boream longa, latitudinis habet milia cc, exceptis dumtaxat prolixioribus diuersorum promontorium tractibus, quibus efficitur ut circuitus eius quadragies octies lxxv milia compleat*) (Bede, *HE* I.1, ed. Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 14–15). He continued with a warm description of Ireland: ‘broader than Britain, it is healthier and has a much milder climate’ (*et latitudine sui status et salubritate ac serenitate aerum multum Britanniae praestat*). As Bede recognised, the physical situation of Britain and Ireland as islands to the north-west of mainland Europe has been a defining characteristic throughout their history: the encircling seas create at once a physical barrier and a sense of distance and identity, but also provide a conduit for communication and travel. While events within the islands of Britain and Ireland might at times seem comparatively self-contained in the pages of Bede and other early medieval writers, there were strong bonds which anchored the islands to their neighbours across the Channel and the North Sea, and which undermined any notion of complete cultural or political insularity.

Indeed, Britain and Ireland remained in close touch with other parts of Europe throughout the early Middle Ages. The Angles, Saxons and Jutes of England believed their ancestors had emigrated from northern continental Europe in the fifth and sixth centuries, and at least some of them had done so. Scandinavian raiders and settlers made a similar journey in the ninth and tenth centuries, transforming large areas across Britain and Ireland. These incomers are generally known as Vikings (or, probably more correctly, vikings: see Chapter II, section (a), pp. 278–9). Especially before the arrival of the Vikings, churchmen and traders moved freely and frequently across the Irish Sea, creating a single cultural province which embraced both Britain and Ireland. The legacy of this interaction is most pronounced in shared traditions of script, art and literature. Movement outwards from Britain and Ireland was equally significant: Anglo-Saxon and Irish clergy found favour as scholars and holy men across Europe, and as missionaries played a key role in the introduction and rejuvenation of Christianity in what is now Germany and the Low Countries. Behind these better-attested travels of monks, kings and armies were legions of unrecorded journeys, the innumerable trips which brought continental coins and pots to England in large quantity, for example. In cultural, political and economic terms, early medieval Britain and Ireland were fully engaged members of the European community of the day.

Rule of all early medieval Britain by a single authority was claimed only occasionally, and at best amounted to loose overlordship (Fanning 1991; Keynes 1992; Dumville 1997b, 350–5; Wormald 2006, 106–34; Molyneaux 2011; 2015, 209–14); there was a stronger tradition of asserting kingship of all Ireland, although in practice the authority of such rulers was usually nominal (Charles-Edwards 2000, 481–521; Byrne 2001). The many bonds connecting Britain, Ireland and their neighbours were thus based on a constantly evolving mosaic of large and small political units. Although later medieval and modern historians have traditionally looked back to the post-Roman centuries to find the roots of present-day nations, any analysis of the early medieval past based on the borders of modern England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland is a matter of convenience only. The current borders of Britain and Ireland have no direct bearing on this period. Political boundaries and identities were very much in flux, and regions now considered relatively peripheral (such as the Isle of Man) enjoyed economic and political prominence. Comparisons across the different segments of early medieval Britain and Ireland, and indeed beyond, have quite rightly become a prominent feature of recent historiography in an effort to dissolve traditional distinctions between modern nations (e.g. Charles-Edwards 2003a; Davies 2003; Story 2003; Wickham 2005; Yorke 2006; Stafford 2009).

Whatever the complexities of their political composition, internal geography had a profound effect on the long-term development of all the early medieval societies within Britain and Ireland (cf. Fox 1943; Hooke and Burnell 1995; Hooke 1998; Wickham 2005, 47–53; Clarke 2009; Christie and Stamper 2012) (see Map 1). Rivers provided thoroughfares and borders (Blair 2007); soil types dictated patterns of agriculture and (to some extent) settlement (Brookes 2007); woodland (extensive, but not more so than in the Roman period) provided a valuable economic resource as much as a forbidding wilderness (Wickham 1990; Hooke 2011); naturally occurring minerals and salts represented valuable commodities (Claughton 2011); and mountains and marshes impeded communication and some forms of agriculture (Rackham 2011, esp. 53–5). Lowland areas in much of what is now England gave way to upland territory in the north and west, punctuated with valleys and plains of lowland in (for example) the central lowlands of Scotland. As a general rule, inhabitants of highland areas placed less emphasis on arable production and depended to a greater extent on cattle and other livestock; there were also more obstacles to be overcome in the creation and maintenance of large-scale political units in upland regions, though the emergence of the kingdom of Scotland shows that these challenges were not insurmountable (Wickham 2010, 204–8; see Chapter 12, section (a), pp. 305–10). Ireland has less of a marked highland–lowland divide: its central plain is generally marshy, with extensive areas of upland surrounding it on three sides. Nevertheless, the south and east are on the whole in a stronger position with regard to natural resources than the north and west (Orme 1970; Andrews 2005).

The inhabitants of all the kingdoms of early medieval Britain and Ireland were overwhelmingly preoccupied with the task of producing food, both to support themselves and to maintain the clerical and secular elites with whom surviving written sources are chiefly concerned. Agriculture of one form or another underpinned the functioning of every level of society (Banham and Faith 2014; Kelly 1997). Estimates of population are inevitably vague, for there are no statistical records to speak of before Domesday Book for England in the late eleventh century (Härke 2002). Conclusions based on the 269,000 inhabitants recorded in this survey suggest an English population in 1086 of 1.5–2.5 million (Moore 1997; Bartlett 2000, 290–2), although interpretation of the Domesday survey for demographic purposes is notoriously contentious (Darby 1977, 89;



Map 1. Britain and Ireland.

Harvey 1988, 48–9). Scholars have generally shied away from offering specific numerical estimates for the population of early medieval Ireland, but the survival of about 45,000 ringforts of broadly early medieval date has been argued to hint at a population of up to half a million (Clarke 2005; Edwards 2005, 235; Ó Corráin 2005, 550; Ó Cróinín 1995, 108–9). Population estimates for Wales have been as low as under 100,000 (Davies 2004, 214), and the territories making up modern Scotland were probably also relatively thinly settled compared with parts of contemporary England and Ireland (Fraser 2009, 279); in the twelfth century the population of Scotland perhaps amounted to ‘a few hundred thousand’ (Barrell 2000, 19). These figures compare with more optimistic estimates of 3–4 million for the peak population of the Roman province of Britain, based on extrapolations from the density of rural settlement remains (Millet 1990, 181–6; Jones 1996, 13–17). The assumption is that the population fell in the aftermath of Roman rule, but the extent, speed and reasons for the reduction are hazy: the population of the later fourth and the fifth century may well have already receded considerably from the second-century high point of the earlier Roman period, and recurring bouts of plague in the sixth and seventh centuries could have had a far more severe impact than the end of Roman rule in and of itself (Little 2007; Dooley 2007).

Throughout the early medieval period, Britain remained deeply marked by its Roman experience in the four centuries before the trauma of the fifth (Millet 1990; 2005; Salway 1997). Although Britain had been on the periphery of the Roman world, and Ireland and most of Scotland had never formally been part of the empire at all, Roman rule had integrated much of Britain into a larger unit and strengthened its contacts with mainland Europe. Within the province, Roman-style cities and a network of high-quality roads were among the key physical legacies. There was great variation in the nature and degree of Romanisation both during and after Roman rule. In terms of administrative impact, the major units of local government under the Romans, *civitates*, often formed the basis of post-Roman kingdoms, under both Britons and Anglo-Saxons. Parts of the lowland east and south had become thoroughly integrated into the empire culturally, politically and economically, while a heavy military presence persisted on the northern frontier. Even regions relatively less touched by the empire, such as western Britain, emerge in the early Middle Ages with some trappings of Roman civilisation, most notably Christianity and Latin. Bede highlighted the importance of Latin as a unifying language, which bound together all the Christian peoples of Britain (Bede, *HE* 1.1, ed. Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 16–17). Latin and Christianity had even extended beyond the bounds of former Roman rule, becoming established in Ireland and Scotland (Yorke 2006). Both territories had benefited from the proximity of the Roman Empire as a trading partner, though their lack of integration into the Roman dominion resulted in the development of distinct societies, especially clear in Ireland thanks to its plentiful early legal and literary texts (Wickham 2005, 50–3, 354–64; Kelly 1997). Whether through the imperial past or the Christian present, Rome exercised a potent influence on the societies of Britain and Ireland in the early Middle Ages.

The fifth and sixth centuries were a time of harsh adjustment to the aftermath of imperial rule. Material living standards dropped rapidly as economies of scale permitted by the relative peace and integration of Roman rule collapsed: use of pottery and coin, as well as urban and villa life, all declined in short order (see Chapter 2, section (a), p. 23). By the time of Gildas in the sixth century, the larger diocese and provinces of Britain had given way to a series of small kingdoms. A combination of migration and cultural realignment produced a complex politics of identity in

this period, imagined by later historians including Bede and the anonymous writers behind the *Historia Brittonum* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as a diametric opposition between Britons and Germanic-speaking invaders consisting of Angles, Saxons and Jutes. On the ground in the fifth and sixth centuries, however, these labels probably carried limited weight. ‘Anglo-Saxon’ material culture overlapped with that of the late Roman army, which had included a large proportion of Germanic-speakers: militarisation as well as settlement of migrants probably played a role in the advancement of what was later seen as Anglo-Saxon culture, with pockets of British language and Christian religion surviving under ‘Anglo-Saxon’ rule, and of Irish-speakers in parts of what are now Wales and Scotland.

The seventh and eighth centuries saw the revival, especially in England, of larger-scale kingship and towns, as well as the creation of an ecclesiastical infrastructure. Northumbria, Mercia and Wessex emerged as the leading kingdoms at different times, though there were many others; among the most important were Kent and East Anglia. In Scotland too, wide-ranging rule was wielded first by the kings of Dál Riata and later the kings of the Picts. The arrival of the Vikings at the end of the eighth century would in the long run destabilise political and economic systems across Britain and Ireland. In the latter, Scandinavian incomers were responsible for severe raids in the ninth century and also the foundation of camps dotted along the coasts that would grow into Ireland’s first towns at Dublin, Cork, Waterford and Wexford; in the long run, however, the Vikings became fully immersed in the complex political scene of native Irish kingdoms. In England, two of the four surviving kingdoms (East Anglia and Northumbria) were taken over entirely by the Scandinavians in the ninth century, while another (Mercia) lost a large part of its territory, and even the one surviving major kingdom, Wessex, came close to being conquered. But in time, this disintegration of resistance in the individual kingdoms created the conditions by which Wessex, in alliance with the surviving portion of Mercia, was able to conquer the Scandinavian-held lands of what is now eastern England and create the enlarged medieval kingdom of England. In what is now Scotland, Viking attacks were likewise an important factor in the coalescence of the kingdom of Alba, founded on the union of Picts and Scots, albeit under murky circumstances (see Chapter 12, section (a), pp. 309–10). Political units descended from those founded by Scandinavian settlers in the ninth century survived the longest in northern and western Scotland: these regions only passed into Scottish control in 1266 (with Orkney and Shetland not following until 1468–9). Even if the political outcome of Viking conquest was absorption of the settlers into, and indeed the strengthening of, surviving local polities, Scandinavian language and culture exerted influence across Britain and Ireland long after formal political power passed to other authorities. Scandinavian personal names remained popular in eastern England until well after the Norman Conquest, and place names both there and on Man and in Scotland include a large Old Norse element. Man’s Tynwald derives its name from the Old Norse *þingvǫllr*, ‘meeting place’, and takes place atop a mound, like other similar assemblies across Scandinavia (Wilson 2008, 122–7).

Across Britain and Ireland during the centuries considered here, kingship was the prevalent mode of government (Sawyer and Wood 1977; Davies 1993; A. Williams 1999; Halsall 2007, 455–98; Yorke 2009b), although the centres of power favoured by (often mobile) royal households shifted over time and changed in number. Already in the early part of this period it was possible for successful rulers to weld together large, if often transient, hegemonies by securing the submission of other territories: this was the basis on which Irish overkingships were constructed, and the

supremacies of the seventh-century kings of Gwynedd, Mercia and Northumbria. Assertions of supremacy, implying recognition by other rulers without much expectation of direct authority in their territories, continued long after this time. In Ireland, the rise and fall of larger territorial kingships played out several times over the centuries considered here, with some perennially strong players like the Uí Néill (see Chapter 14, section (a), pp. 323–6). Among the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, the Mercian rulers of the eighth and early ninth century – Æthelbald, Offa and Coenwulf – presided over a large midland polity which exercised supremacy over most peoples south of the Humber, while later in the ninth century Wessex supplanted Mercian control over the south-east and counterbalanced Mercian strength in southern England more generally. Alfred's position relative to Mercia could be characterised as one of supremacy rather than (at least at first) the incorporation of the two kingdoms into a single unit (Keynes 1998b; 2001a); Æthelstan and his heirs in the tenth century asserted their supremacy over all Britain (Molyneux 2011). In Scotland too larger hegemonies appeared in the eighth and ninth centuries as the kingdom of the Picts and Dál Riata came together. Wales alone remained dominated by a series of relatively small kingdoms. Some individual rulers such as Rhodri Mawr, Hywel Dda and Gruffydd ap Llewelyn gained authority over most or all of what is now Wales, but did not forge it into a single unit of sustained duration. The malleability of political relationships in the early Middle Ages led to flexible and situational definitions of rulers' status. Rule was generally defined with reference to peoples rather than territories, even if in practice most peoples had a strong sense of where their lands started and ended, and there was nothing to prevent the co-existence of multiple layers of identity: one could be Mercian as well as English, or Venedotian as well as a Briton, and Christian as well as all of these. Laws, genealogies, charters and indeed coins, as well as being demonstrative acts of power, helped create the shared ideology and infrastructure which held a kingdom together. This period was much more than a race to the establishment of the ancestors of modern nations, as consideration of the multi-layered politics of kingdoms and the evolving complexity of royal government reinforces.

(b) GENERAL FEATURES OF THE COINAGE

This volume concerns the coinage of Britain and Ireland in the early Middle Ages, from the effective end of direct Roman authority in the fifth century, which coincides approximately with the spread of Christianity to Ireland. Its close some six or seven centuries later is less easy to pinpoint, for the divergent histories of the various kingdoms in Britain and Ireland do not lend themselves to a single cut-off point. Politically at least, England is the easiest to accommodate, for the Norman Conquest of 1066 resulted in the sudden imposition of a new ruling class, even though there was considerable continuity in language, population and government (including the coinage) (cf. Bates 2005). Ireland also offers a relatively clear end-point: the Anglo-Norman invasion of 1169–71 is traditionally taken as a watershed, not least in monetary history, though the full effects of the invasion only came to be felt gradually. Scotland and Wales are more problematic. In the case of Scotland, the period is taken as ending in 1136 with the first coin production in the name of David I (1124–53), the first king of Scots to issue coins; for Wales, the volume closes with the establishment of mints early in the reign of William II (1087–1100), as part of the consolidation of Anglo-Norman power in the Welsh kingdoms.

Although much interest attaches to the circulation of coin in the territory of modern Scotland and Wales in the early Middle Ages, there is no evidence of minting in either area at this time, and as such discussion of them in this volume must be limited. In Ireland, Dublin became established as a prolific mint in the 990s, and coin was used there on a significant scale, but the frequency of finds dwindles the further one moves away from the city. The lion's share of minting and coin-use took place in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, though here too both were distributed very unevenly.

The coins themselves and the context from which they emanate are the focus of this volume, which therefore concentrates on issues such as dating, internal structure, mint organisation and systems of production. Units of account in Ireland, Wales and Anglo-Saxon England are discussed in Appendix 2. Although full analysis of circulation and coin-use is beyond the scope of the present volume, what became of coins after minting is considered when the issue is particularly germane to appreciation of the monetary system as a whole (for selected surveys see Spufford 1988; Rovelli 2009; Naismith 2014g). The transformative effect which growth of metal-detecting has had on British (especially English) numismatics as a whole needs to be underscored, however. Since the 1970s, expansion in the use of metal-detectors has brought many thousands of early medieval coins to light (Blackburn 2003b; Naismith 2013b). Internet-based initiatives now exist in England and Wales to keep track of these finds: the Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds (EMC) and the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). Their records include many new hoards, but the largest and most challenging component of the new material consists of individual coins apparently lost separately (single-finds (q.v.)). Some occur in relative isolation, others in the context of so-called 'productive sites' (q.v.), a term created by numismatists to define small areas which have produced numerous single-finds (Pestell and Ulmschneider 2003). This body of material needs to be assessed carefully before arriving at conclusions about the nature of the early medieval monetary economy, for not all finds are reported, and some are only reported with partial information about their find-spot. Moreover, regional distribution of finds may be affected by relations between the major interested parties (detectorists, landowners and archaeologists), as well as by physical difficulties of present-day access, for instance in built-up areas (Chester-Kadwell 2009, 62–90; Richards *et al.* 2009; Bevan 2012; Robbins 2013). It remains the case, however, that metal-detected material as a whole has revolutionised the way in which early medieval coinage is studied: close comparison of the evidence of single-finds and hoards is now an integral part of early medieval numismatic research, and serves to highlight (for example) instances when the fortuitous preservation of one or more hoards gives a misleading impression of the original scale and distribution of a particular coinage.

(C) FROM LATE ANTIQUITY TO THE MIDDLE AGES: BRITISH COINAGE IN ITS EUROPEAN SETTING

Coinage in Britain and Ireland between the fifth and the eleventh century developed against the wider European backdrop of the transition from a recognisably Roman system to a characteristically 'medieval' one (cf. Spufford 1988). Britain in the decades before *c.* 400 remained part of a monetary system which was driven by a comparatively small number of large mints answering to the administrative and fiscal needs of the imperial government, shielded from the direct demands of coin producers by several layers of bureaucracy; these mints produced multiple denominations

in gold, silver and base metal, all naming and portraying the emperor, and between them supporting a complex monetary system which stretched across the whole empire (Hendy 1988; Grierson and Mays 1992; Kent 1994; Naismith 2014a). In the eleventh century, about one hundred mints operated within England alone, and although their products carried the name and image of the king and were used (in part) for payment of taxes and other royal dues, demand for production stemmed from direct interaction between customers and moneyers; in terms of denominations, there was effectively only one in regular production, the silver penny, and its circulation was tightly circumscribed within the borders of the kingdom.

The beginning of the transformation from the former system into the latter can be traced back to the era when native coinage first reappeared in England in *c.* 600. From what little can be discerned of the earliest English gold and silver coinage, it is likely that it followed the Merovingian model. Merovingian Gaul had maintained only the element of the late Roman currency most essential for taxation and prestigious, high-value transactions: gold *solidi* and *tremisses*. In spite of their high value, these coins probably continued to fulfil a range of purposes besides state taxing and spending, at a time when the taxation system of post-Roman Gaul was in a process of slow collapse. Minting in the Merovingian kingdom took place at a vast number of mostly small, rural locations, apparently answering to the demands of local elites with the wherewithal to deal in gold on a significant level. Industrial-scale late Roman mints – the products of which were carried across hundreds of miles by imperial functionaries for collection and distribution – had given way to a much more dispersed pattern in which sanctioned and skilled manufacturers instead gravitated towards customers (Hendy 1988; Carlà 2010; Naismith 2014a).

The transition from gold to silver developed out of debasement of the gold *tremissis* during the seventh century, and the first silver coins shared the size, weight and appearance of their gold predecessors. As with the earlier adoption of gold currency, there was a close correlation between developments in England and Francia, though in this case the exact progress and direction of influence is less clear. Adulteration of gold coins with silver had begun already in the early decades of the seventh century, but deepened thereafter, and could have served to broaden the economic role of the currency by diminishing the value of each individual coin (Naismith 2014a, 297). In England, it is possible to pinpoint the transition from pale gold to effectively pure silver in a cluster of specific coin types. The first silver pennies – *peningas* or *denarii* to contemporaries – appeared soon afterwards. They were made in voluminous quantity, at least compared with the earlier gold coinage and subsequent periods, and moved freely between England and Frisia, hinting at the importance of Anglo-Frisian trade in supporting the flowering of North Sea coinage in the late seventh and early eighth century.

Important refinements to the structure of the silver coinage came as the small, thick pennies began to diminish in number and quality during the middle third of the eighth century. Apparently in response to the challenges facing makers and users of coin, a string of rulers from Northumbria to Francia took a much more direct hand in policing the quality of the currency (Naismith 2012b). The first to do so was probably Eadberht, king of the Northumbrians, around 740; he was followed by Beonna in East Anglia and Pippin III (751–68) in Francia (who introduced the broad silver penny), both around 750–60, and finally in the 760s by Offa of Mercia and two local Kentish kings. Their efforts established the first explicit and large-scale royal coinages north of the Alps; they also resulted in the compartmentalisation of currency within the bounds of separate kingdoms as rulers stipulated that only their own issues would be acceptable in future (Naismith 2014g, 14–15).

Circulation, fineness, metrology and other dimensions of the coinage could henceforth diverge more sharply at political borders.

To a large extent, therefore, the groundwork for a coinage of silver pennies inscribed with the name of the king and limited in circulation to their kingdom of origin was laid in the eighth century. In England, the dominion of Offa over England south of the Humber at the time the new system was established gave rise to a zone of common currency between East Anglia, Kent, Mercia and Wessex which survived into the ninth century, even including times when the rulers of kingdoms within this area were at odds with one another. Wessex and Mercia eventually entered a monetary union in the 860s. Northumbria constituted a separate and distinct sphere of circulation, never having adopted the broad, thin pennies of southern England and Francia.

The Viking conquest and settlement of the later ninth century destabilised the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, bringing an end to the distinct Northumbrian monetary tradition and introducing substantial modification to that of East Anglia. Scandinavian rulers instituted new coinages which blended elements of Anglo-Saxon and Frankish practice, with relatively little about them that was Scandinavian besides the names of the kings (and even these were not always placed on the coins). Anglo-Viking issues evolved swiftly, from imitations of Anglo-Saxon issues to new and meaningful designs which illustrate the Christianity and cultural diversity of the Danelaw. The campaigns launched by Edward the Elder and Æthelflæd led to the enforcement of a common coinage as one of the first tangible forms of Wessex and Mercia's impact in conquered areas. A single kingdom with a single coinage was created in England during the tenth century; the 'late Anglo-Saxon' monetary system in the 970s and after achieved the rationalisation and unification of existing mechanisms by looking back to West Saxon and Carolingian precedents of the ninth century. It was from these sources that Æthelred II and his advisers took the idea of frequent recoinage, and applied it more often and more effectively than it had been in England or Francia a century earlier. By these means one of the most influential coinages of the central Middle Ages took shape.

England's monetary system survived the Norman Conquest effectively intact, and remained firmly under the control of royal government. By this stage it was unique in northern Europe for its unity and close royal management across a comparatively large area, similar in scale to one of the stem-duchies of the Ottonian and Salian empire and much larger than the counties and duchies of contemporary France (Dumas 1991; Grierson 1991, 50–80). But in adherence to the silver penny originally instituted by Pippin III, England lay very much within the north-west European mainstream. Offa's and Charlemagne's (768–814) currency reforms took place almost simultaneously in the 790s, one presumably prompting the other, though their order is unclear (Naismith 2012c, 175–8; Garipzanov 2016). In the ninth century, debasement also took hold at approximately the same time on both sides of the Channel, implying a degree of co-ordination, and royal intervention restored high-quality silver currency in both regions in the 860s and 870s (see below pp. 13–15). But Anglo-Saxon and Frankish coinage had followed different trajectories in iconography and mint organisation since the 750s, and after the mid-ninth century parted ways in other respects. Mercia, Wessex and the Anglo-Scandinavian territories only gained a larger number of mint-places in the late ninth and early tenth century, long after a comparatively dense spread of mint-places had been established in the western and central parts of the Carolingian Empire. Recognition of royal authority remained a hallmark of the English coinage in the tenth century, whereas in the Frankish realms royal involvement in minting became attenuated: local magnates took a more overt part in the process, and sometimes their coins retained the name of a long-dead

king or even replaced the king's name with that of the relevant count, bishop or abbot. What had been a relatively coherent currency within each Frankish kingdom began to dissolve into more localised spheres of minting and/or circulation (Lafaurie 1970; Dumas 1973). This breakdown, it should be stressed, still reflected active engagement with the coinage by the ruling authorities (even if not by the king), and was not universal in late and post-Carolingian Europe (cf. Dumas 1991): Italy, for example, retained more or less the same few relatively large mints that had been active in the ninth century, which answered explicitly to royal authority throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries (see entries for Lucca, Pavia and Milan in Travaini 2011; *MEC* 12), while east of the Rhine mints only appeared in significant quantity in the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries, many with little or no royal involvement (Kamp 1982; Kluge 1991). A straightforward contrast between Mercian/West Saxon success and unity, as opposed to Frankish collapse, is therefore only one aspect of a much larger picture.

(d) MONEYPERS AND MINT-PLACES

In modern usage, the word 'mint' carries connotations of a substantial and concrete institution, such as the British Royal Mint. Because early medieval arrangements were more diverse (and probably often less formal), 'mint-place' is the preferred designation for places of production in this volume (following the precedent of Stenton 1970, 374–5; Stewart 1978b, 98). This term can be understood as shorthand for a location where more personalised arrangements for coin production prevailed: who made a coin was just as important as where it was manufactured. The key individual in this process is known as the moneyer: a man (no female moneyers are recorded (cf. Colman 2014, 11–18)) who took responsibility for minting and moneychanging, and who often placed his name on his coins as a guarantee of reliability. This duty was not undertaken lightly. Law-codes from tenth- and eleventh-century England lay down mutilation as the typical punishment for a moneyer caught issuing defective coin (Screen 2007; O'Gorman 2014).

It is likely that moneyers always constituted an important part of the infrastructure of minting in England. Anglo-Saxon coins regularly carried moneyers' names from the mid-eighth century onwards, and had sporadically done so from as early as the first half of the seventh century. The practice of emphasising the moneyer's role probably grew out of the Merovingian coinage that early Anglo-Saxon authorities imitated, and was carried into royal coinage in mid-eighth-century East Anglia (Naismith 2012c, 142–9). The latest early pennies of Series R bore moneyers' names, as did the coins of Beonna. Strikingly, pennies of Offa and the early Kentish kings also named the moneyer, even though they followed the precedent of Pippin III's coinage in many other respects (Naismith 2012c, 142–9.). The new Carolingian coinage adopted a quite different organisational scheme: it gave solely the mint name, as a proxy for the local count or other potentate who was responsible for its oversight (Lafaurie 1980; Naismith 2012b, 314–16). This structure prevailed in the Carolingian Empire throughout the eighth and ninth centuries, and in its successor kingdoms thereafter. In contrast, the moneyer remained the primary point of reference in England for two centuries: mint names appeared only sporadically on coins in the ninth century, and did not become a regular part of coin design until the 970s. The moneyer's name continued to be placed on English coinage until the thirteenth century.

Despite their importance to the monetary system, relatively little is known about Anglo-Saxon moneyers, and still less about those of Dublin. Very few of them appear in written records, and

it may be that they moved in quite different circles to the clerics, monks, landowners and royal agents whose names are found in surviving texts (Stewart 1988b; Naismith 2012c, 147–9). Scattered evidence from late Anglo-Saxon England points to strong urban associations: moneyers were often also goldsmiths or involved in town government. Early moneyers in England may have been relatively higher in status, and some apparently enjoyed special favour from the king (Naismith 2012c, 150–3); even in the period before the tenth century it is likely that moneyers were of elevated urban standing. In Dublin, an eleventh-century list of dues to Armagh singles out the moneyers as one of five professions owing a craft-specific tribute, suggesting that they too were a prominent force in the town (Dillon 1962; Woods 2013b, I, 64).

Some of the texts referring to moneyers in late Anglo-Saxon England indicate that mint-towns contained separate workshops for every moneyer. Arrangements doubtless varied considerably in practice. The extensive die-linking between ninth-century Northumbrian moneyers, for example, suggests close co-operation between them, quite probably at a single location. Elsewhere, however, die-links between moneyers are unusual, sufficiently so to hint that most individual moneyers operated their own separate workshops. These could exist only where there was demand for a moneyer's services. Unlike late Roman mints, for example, which were set up in response to the fiscal needs of the state and insulated from coin-users by layers of bureaucracy, Anglo-Saxon mints were driven by the direct patronage of customers, either few and wealthy, or numerous and of smaller means (Hendy 1988). In principle a moneyer could operate anywhere with sufficient tools and raw material to proceed: a 'mint' was not necessarily a large or permanent building, or even a building at all. Very small operations could be set up anywhere for a short time. In Michael Dolley's judgement, the 'mint' of the Isle of Man could have been the work of 'two men and a boy' (Dolley 1976b, 83). The possibility of a group such as this putative trio packing up and moving between a number of sites should not be ruled out. Minting might have taken place in the train of a mobile elite household, or at periodic markets or meeting places, as well as at centres of habitation. Even more permanent mint-places could be quite basic affairs. Excavated workshops at the Coppergate site in York and at Lincoln which probably witnessed minting and associated activities were average-sized tenements, undistinguished save for their metalworking and numismatic interest (Pirie *et al.* 1986, 18–22, 33–45; Blackburn and Mann 1995; Richards 2000, 128–30; Blackburn 2004, 340–1; Townend 2014, 154–6). In Dublin too the moneyers were probably based in the metalworking district of modern Christchurch Place, as one group of craftsmen among many (Woods 2013b, I, 236–41).

Early Anglo-Saxon England (down to *c.* 875) had obscure but probably varied arrangements for minting. Precious few coins of this period actually carry a mint name, and only a small minority can be attributed confidently on other grounds (such as naming an identifiable king or bishop). Those which survive are extremely varied in appearance and scale, hinting at great diversity in production arrangements. Different types might represent separate mint-places, or separate moneyers, issuing authorities or phases of output within a single mint-place. Distribution of modern find-spots can point to the region of heaviest circulation, which is usually taken to be the area of production; this can be combined with analysis of archaeological and historical clues to arrive at probable mint-places for at least some early Anglo-Saxon coin issues (see Appendix 1, pp. 351–8). Taking these factors into account, the minting structures of early Anglo-Saxon minting can be tentatively divided into three broad phases (see also Chapter 4, section (h), pp. 106–10):

1. Early gold coins and the ‘Primary’ early pennies (spanning the period *c.* 600–710) were probably issued at a significant number of small, rural sites, driven by local demand, especially of the ecclesiastical and secular elite. This pattern has much in common with that of Merovingian Francia. Production was concentrated in the east of England, but incipient coastal *emporia* do not produce high numbers of coin finds from this date; they may not yet have been major nodes in the monetary economy.
2. The era of the ‘Secondary’ early pennies (*c.* 710–50) was characterised by a complex pattern of both major and minor coinages, above all in south-east England and East Anglia. These include large coinages which can be associated with probable *emporia* such as Southampton, London, Ipswich and York. Other, much smaller coinages probably reflect a combination of old-style rural mint-places patronised by the elite and multiple moneyers within towns who answered to a more diverse clientele.
3. Towards the end of the ‘Secondary’ pennies, production declined, and minting probably contracted towards the larger centres. This pattern of a small number of apparently quite large mint-places seems to have prevailed during the first century or so of the broad penny and the Northumbrian coinage (*c.* 750–875). Just four mint-places can be pinpointed with confidence – Canterbury, London, Rochester and York – which must have been joined by at least one significant mint-place each in East Anglia (probably Ipswich) and in Wessex (perhaps Southampton) (Naismith 2012c, 128–32). All of these contained multiple moneyers, sometimes as many as eight or ten. Smaller additional mint-places may well have existed, especially in East Anglia and Wessex, but were largely dependent on the major centres. The appearance of numerous new moneyers in Mercia and Wessex in the 860s and after probably heralds the emergence of more established mint-places outside Kent and London.

Thus, during the eighth century minting became largely the preserve of certain large *emporia*, or major Roman towns which served as ecclesiastical centres such as Canterbury and Rochester. These ‘urban’ associations of minting then persisted to the eleventh century. Expansion of the English minting network from the later ninth century was closely allied with the foundation or revitalisation of towns/*byrg* under both Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian overlordship. The *byrg* started out as fortresses housing institutional and governmental nuclei; those which developed into towns did so only gradually (Russo 1998, 193–231; Astill 2006; Reynolds 2013, 21–2). So, although the presence of moneyers has commonly been taken as a criterion of urban status (e.g. Biddle 1976a, 100), in many cases minting preceded urbanisation as understood in social or economic terms: it was one of an associated bundle of institutional roles, along with defence, certain legal privileges and markets, which often (though not always) contributed to the formation of a more organic urban entity (Williams 2013d; cf. Haslam 2011, 207).

More than a hundred places were named as mints in England between the late ninth century and 1066 (Appendix 1). There were great differences in their levels of activity, which become apparent once mint names as well as moneyers’ names are regularly found on the coins. The largest mints (such as Chester, Lincoln, Winchester, York and above all London) could boast several dozen moneyers who churned out huge numbers of coins simultaneously. The balance of productivity was heavily weighted in favour of these centres: from the 970s until *c.* 1050, just five locations in England were responsible for producing about half of the circulating currency (Metcalf 1998a, 18–22; Naismith 2013b, 212–19; 2013c, 56–8). Levels of output at mints large and small in England

varied over the year, and (when applicable) in response to cycles of recoinage. But the correlation between the activity of a town's moneyers and the general size and economic importance of that town (including its level of access to incoming foreign silver) highlights once more that customer-driven demand was a powerful force behind minting. This was why some mints sank rather than swam: even if virtually all were in nuclei of administrative functions, not all were in locations which attracted a sustained flow of silver.

Small mint-places in later Anglo-Saxon England were frequently minute and sporadic in operation. They were also much more varied in character than the large mint-places. Many were simply small towns. The south-west, for example – characterised by a high concentration of royal property – boasted a dense cluster of small towns, many of which issued coins. Other mint-towns were of very recent foundation, located in hill-forts which served as temporary retreats in the face of Viking attack. A few mint-places named on coins cannot be identified as towns, and probably belong to a small but intriguing category of seigniorial mints set up under the auspices of landowners. Most moneyers worked under royal authority as part of the framework of urban government, but some owed their profits to a cleric or layman instead of the king, and these probably included the few moneyers who operated outside a known town.

(e) CYCLES OF DEBASEMENT

All precious metal coinages depend to some degree on their intrinsic value in gold or silver for acceptance. Those of early medieval Britain and Ireland were no different, and over the period covered by this volume, the quantity of gold and later silver in English and Irish coins varied significantly. Long stretches of relative stability were punctuated by periods of debasement. Such 'cycles' of debasement and restoration, lasting decades each, played out several times, as they would continue to do across medieval and early modern Europe (Braudel 1972, I, 462–517; Spufford 1988, 339; Blackburn 1995b, 539–45; cf. *MEC* 12). The importance of these cycles to economic (and indeed political) developments more widely is keenly felt by historians and numismatists alike (for a classic statement to this effect see Bloch 1933).

International movements of bullion were an important factor behind cycles of debasement, though they were far from the only one (Naismith 2014g, 8–20). Coinage was just one of several potential destinations for silver, and changes in fineness could reflect shifts in the use of available supplies rather than a shortfall as such; indeed, it has been argued that debasement could provide a response to increasing demand for coin when metallic resources proved insufficient (Cipolla 1963, 417–18). Refinement of silver must have been commonplace too, so much so that the late ninth- or early tenth-century Old English version of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* used the purification of silver as a simile for the cleansing of evil souls: '[wicked souls are] cleansed and purified in the heavenly fire, just as silver is purified here' (*geclænsod and amered on þam heofonlicon fyre swa her bið sylfor*) (Old English *De consolatione philosophiae*, chap. 38, ed. and trans. Godden and Irvine 2009, I, 354 and II, 451) (for similar statements in the Paris Psalter (Ps. 65 ll. 32–4) and in Ælfric (*Catholic Homilies, Second Series*, 40), see Krapp 1932 and Godden 1979, 342–3). Other economic dimensions besides supply of bullion could also have an effect. Debasement in a politically or economically dominant polity, for example, risked provoking the same effect in neighbours, regardless of bullion supply. The practice also held financial attractions for rulers. Adulterating the precious metal content of the coinage could help drum up income for a desperate ruling

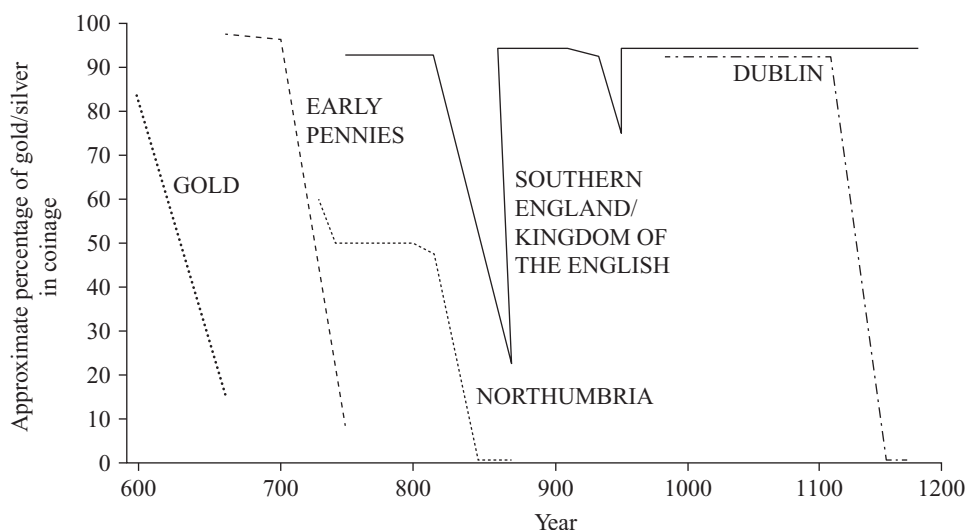


Figure 1. Schematic graph of cycles of debasement in early medieval Britain and Ireland.

regime, as happened in France during the Hundred Years War and in Tudor England (Gould 1970; Sussman 1993; Rolnick *et al.* 1996). Effects on society varied. If debasement was combined with close control over inflows of foreign coin, its impact could be limited to those who actually had to exchange debased coin for purer foreign money, such as merchants. But realisation among the populace that the currency was debased often provoked destabilisation of prices and potentially even distrust of the currency: under such circumstances users might resort to more trustworthy means of exchange such as foreign cash, bullion or other commodities, fulfilling a similar role to US dollars and euros in parts of the modern developing world. It must be stressed that the causes and effects of early medieval debasements are extremely opaque: references to profits, prices and other essential background developments are virtually non-existent. While it is entirely possible that some of the motivations and outcomes laid out above did apply, individual cases need to be assessed on their own merits.

In Britain and Ireland, five cycles of debasement and restoration can be identified between the seventh and eleventh centuries (Fig. 1). Three of these coincide roughly with developments in Francia and Frisia. First, in the seventh century, the gold coinage declined in fineness, virtually from the time of its inception. By the second half of the century, 'gold' coins contained 20 per cent or less gold (the balance being made up mostly with silver), and culminated in issues which spanned a move to pure silver. This process coincides with debasement in the Merovingian kingdom, though on both sides of the Channel it is unlikely that progress was completely smooth or uniform.

A second cycle can be traced in the silver pennies of the late seventh and early eighth century. English coins started at a high level of purity, but declined rapidly in the second quarter of the eighth century. The latest specimens contain almost no silver at all. This fall was much more precipitous than in Francia or Frisia, which possessed similar coinages. Both show some degree of debasement in the eighth century, but far from as deep or swift a drop as in England (cf. Lafaurie 1998, 84). England probably depended heavily on these foreign sources for fresh silver (especially Frisia at this time), making it very prone to reductions in fineness and quantity when supplies

contracted (Naismith 2014g, 12–14). Restoration of silver coinage of higher and more consistent purity came piecemeal in the mid-eighth century as successive kings in northern Europe introduced new, explicitly royal coinages. Yet a by-product of the emergence of these ‘national’ silver coinages was increasing disjunction between kingdoms in features such as fineness and metrology (see above, pp. 8–9).

This break-up took place gradually. Mercia and Kent initially followed Francia in establishing and sustaining a very high level of fineness. The coinage of Eadberht in Northumbria occupied a halfway house of *c.* 50–75 per cent pure, and provided a model for Beonna in East Anglia. Thereafter Northumbria diverged from the south, continuing with a coinage of about 50 per cent silver throughout the late eighth century before a bout of severe debasement in the early ninth century, during the long reign of Eanred (*c.* 810–41). Northumbria’s quite separate trajectory in debasement corresponds to its retention of the older, thicker module of penny, in contrast to the Frankish-influenced south of England. There, a high level of purity (over 90 per cent) continued until approximately the 830s. Gradual debasement in the 840s and 850s, varying between the few mint-places of southern England, increased in the 860s and early 870s: the latest Lunettes pennies of Burgred and Alfred the Great contain as little as 10 per cent silver or less. This culminating phase of southern English debasement in the ninth century (coinciding with a surge in output) was probably prompted by the exigencies of Viking attack, while monetary co-ordination between Mercia and Wessex meant that southern English debasement followed a similar path in both kingdoms. The early stages of this southern cycle of debasement match developments in the western and northern portions of the Frankish Empire, but the process there never reached the nadir Mercia and Wessex arrived at in *c.* 870. Indeed, Charles the Bald’s reform of 864 restored the metallic quality of the West Frankish coinage to the high standard of the early ninth century (Metcalf and Northover 1988, 98–106).

Alfred the Great, in conjunction with Ceolwulf II in Mercia, oversaw a revitalisation of the currency in the mid-870s, as a result of which much finer coinage (similar to that of West Francia) reappeared. Anglo-Scandinavian moneyers broadly adhered to this standard (Metcalf and Northover 1988, 106–14), and their English counterparts also maintained a coinage of high-quality silver for much of the tenth century. A small proportion of coins dipped below about 90 per cent pure in the 950s, and the quantity of coins of lower fineness increased markedly in Edgar’s pre-reform coinage. The details of this period of debasement remain unclear, though it accompanied greater fluctuation in weight, and was more severe in some areas (such as the west midlands) than others (*CTCE*, 245).

In the period after Edgar’s reform, England for the most part maintained very high production standards in its coinage, including its metallic purity. Sporadic debasement did take place between the later part of Æthelred II’s reign and the middle of Edward the Confessor’s, with some specimens falling as low as 70 per cent silver; but this process seems to have been localised and *ad hoc*, and also was most pronounced in times of particularly high output (Metcalf and Northover 2002). The Dublin mint established in the 990s broadly followed the high standards of its English models: its products were for the most part comparable with, or a few per cent less fine than, mainstream Anglo-Saxon and Norman issues. From about 1115, however, a sudden debasement can be traced, culminating in a mid-twelfth-century issue which was essentially pure copper.

The actual sources of bullion for minting in Britain and Ireland in the early Middle Ages remain one of the central mysteries in studies of money and trade at this time. Evidently, supplies could at times be very large: tons of silver must have passed through major English mints in the early

eighth-century heyday of the early pennies, and again in the decades around 1000 when Viking tribute payments and circulation around the North Sea were at their peak. It is possible to identify four probable sources of bullion (cf. Naismith 2012c, 157–61):

1. Foreign coin. This was a major source throughout the period. In the seventh century, Merovingian gold would have been an important source for the earliest Anglo-Saxon issues, especially as the latter became more established in the later stages of the gold coinage. Frisian coins could have furnished a large proportion of the silver for late seventh- and early eighth-century pennies: specimens which had not been reminted account for about a quarter of all English single-finds of the period. At the same time, however, these finds indicate the absence of a general policy of reminting foreign silver pennies, raising the question of why some Frisian pennies might have been reminted but others not, and whether other sources of bullion could also have been called on. From the mid-eighth century onwards, it was customary to remint incoming foreign currency into the locally acceptable form. This in part explains why the east and south coast of England tended to be dominant in minting and coin circulation (though this lowland area also had comparatively dense population and rich agriculture).
2. Reminting local supplies of coin. Recoinages probably took place gradually and without political mandate in the seventh and early eighth century, as silver coin replaced gold and the quality of new pennies declined. There may well have been social or administrative imperatives which led to the limited reminting of local coin for specific purposes even when there was no general recoinage. From the time of Eadberht and Offa, politically driven recoinages occurred in England, through which a new issue replaced earlier local currency. These exercises remained rare until the later tenth century, however: Wessex seems to have implemented them more frequently between the 850s and c. 880, but there were no further recoinages in England until late in the reign of Edgar, after which they became common. In the late tenth and the eleventh century, a large part of the English and (to a lesser extent) Dublin coinages was probably supplied by recoinning previous types.
3. Minting gold or silver in other forms. It is extremely difficult to evaluate how large a contribution this source made to the currency. Direct references to the melting down of other objects to produce coin are rare, and metallurgical analyses cannot show whether the bullion of a coin came from objects or other coins. Nonetheless, specific circumstances may have forced a large quantity of plate into the melting pot. Bishop Æthelwold (963–84) broke up church silver to mint into coins for support of the poor in a time of famine (Wulfstan of Winchester, *Vita sancti Æthelwoldi*, chap. 29, ed. and trans. Lapidge and Winterbottom 1991, 44–5). The need to raise tribute payments under Æthelred II may have driven other churches and laymen to melt down gold and silver items. Changes in the level of demand (and perhaps market price) for various metals could also have had a similar effect: the establishment of the first large silver currency in the late seventh century, for example, possibly involved a significant degree of transfer from plate to coin (see Chapter 4, section (h), pp. 106–8).
4. Extraction of fresh bullion from mining. There is some evidence for lead mining (of which silver was a by-product) in Somerset and Derbyshire during the early medieval period (Naismith 2012c, 158–9). But neither area is likely to have yielded a significant output of silver relative to overall needs, and the local mint-towns were not especially productive. Some contribution from local sources of ‘primary’ silver cannot be ruled out, but this must have been limited.

Table 1. *Summary of estimated contributions of various sources to bullion supplies for mint-places in Britain and Ireland.*

	Foreign coin	Local reminting	Gold/silver in other forms	Mining
England, c. 600–750	Yes (Merovingian, later Frisian)	Limited? (in specific contexts)	Yes (esp. secular and ecclesiastical silver plate)	Negligible
Southern England, c. 750–850s	Yes (Frankish, Northumbrian)	Very occasional	Limited	Negligible
Northumbria, c. 750–870s	Yes (southern English, Frankish)	Probable (in response to changing fineness)	Possible	Probably negligible
Southern England, c. 850s–80	Yes (Frankish)	Yes (recoinages)	Limited	Negligible
Anglo-Saxon England, c. 880–970s	Yes (Frankish; coastal mints)	Sporadic (Anglo-Viking issues, and in specific contexts)	Probable (Anglo-Viking objects?)	Negligible
Anglo-Scandinavian England, c. 880–950s	Probable (English, Frankish, Islamic)	Limited (in specific contexts)	Yes	Negligible
Kingdom of England, 970s–1066	Yes (continental, Scandinavian, Irish)	Yes (frequent recoinages)	Limited (times of crisis)	Negligible
Dublin, 990s–1170	Yes (English)	Sporadic (some recoinages)	Probable	None
Isle of Man, eleventh century	Yes (Irish, English)	Negligible?	Yes	None

There is no secure evidence for gold mining in early medieval Britain or Ireland, though there had been gold mines in Wales in the Roman period (Annels and Burnham 1995), and Anglo-Saxon writers remained aware of the chthonic origins of precious metal (cf. *Beowulf* 2247–9a, ed. Fulk *et al.* 2008, 77).

All four of these sources were called on to some degree during the early medieval period, but the balance between them varied over time and place. It is likely that the ups and downs in metallic fineness described above derive (at least in part) from the difficulties of maintaining a secure supply of bullion based on varied sources of uncertain reliability. Quantifying the contributions of the four main sources of silver remains impossible, however. Table 1 provides a schematic and provisional summary of general estimates of the contribution made by various sources at different times.

(f) MONEY, COINAGE AND BULLION

Throughout the early Middle Ages, there was interchange between silver and gold in coined and uncoined form (Naismith 2012c, 285–6). English hoards from as late as the eleventh century occasionally contain jewellery and other precious metal objects alongside coins: a hoard from Oakham, Rutland (*Checklist* no. 175) contained a silver ring or chain; both the Oving, Sussex (*Checklist* no. 259) and Sutton, Cambridgeshire (*Checklist* no. 276) hoards included silver plates or brooches; and the Halton Moor, Lancashire (*Checklist* no. 212) hoard was contained in a silver gilt cup closely comparable with that of the Vale of York hoard, which must have been some two centuries old at the time of deposition (*Checklist* no. 111a). Wealthy institutions or individuals could store large sums of money in gold or silver objects, and in some high-value contexts such as land transactions might even make payments with these objects (Naismith 2013d, 310–12). But the use of silver and gold was especially fluid in Scandinavian and Scandinavian-influenced societies in Britain and Ireland. In Viking-Age Scandinavia, uncoined silver came to serve as a widely accepted medium for storing and exchanging value: bullion itself, reckoned by weight, was the principal unit. Coins were freely melted down into ingots or ornaments, and all precious metal objects could in turn be cut up into smaller pieces. The ‘bullion economy’ which resulted has been extensively studied from a Scandinavian perspective (e.g. Hårdh 1996; Skre 2008). It was founded on importation of Islamic dirhams through Russia on a massive scale (Noonan 1998; Kovalev and Kaelin 2007; Williams 2013a, 382), and recent work on the beginning of this inflow of silver has emphasised that large-scale availability of bullion was a comparatively new development in the Viking Age (Blackburn 2009, 44–6): the first dirhams appeared in Sweden and Gotland around 800, and only reached Denmark and eventually Norway in the course of the ninth century (Kilger 2008a; Kovalev and Kaelin 2007).

Increasing demand for movable wealth, based on swift penetration of silver and other commoditised goods into Scandinavian society, may even have been one factor behind the raids of the ninth century as Vikings sought to secure the material wherewithal for social advancement (Sindbæk 2011). Social payments such as dowries involved silver and gold in the same way as transactions of a more commercial character, and allowance must be made for use of bullion in Britain and Ireland in gift-giving, tribute and payment of fines: in short, the full range of exchanges which occurred in Viking-Age society. Silver possessed certain advantages as a means of exchange because of its relative stability and widespread desirability. It was also versatile in both form and function: silver and other metals were relatively stable in state and value, and could serve ornamental, symbolic, social and administrative purposes in addition to narrowly defined commercial needs (cf. Appadurai 1986). Surviving objects manifest this flexibility in several ways. Rings or brooches of unwieldy size were presumably made to impress as well as store precious metal, while weight-adjusted objects were at once ornament, bullion and money (Williams 2007b, 181–5; 2009b, 81; 2011b, 69; 2011c, 350–1; 2013c, 384).

It should be emphasised that silver was never the sole medium of exchange in Scandinavian-influenced areas of Britain or the Viking homelands. Commodities of other forms, including a wide range of perishable products, also featured in transactions of all kinds, even if their archaeological footprint is less clear. For these reasons, the ‘dual economy’ of coin and bullion is giving way in scholarship to multiple ‘economies’ or, better yet, numerous dimensions of a complex larger economy embracing both commercial and social concerns manifested in a number of means of

exchange (Graham-Campbell *et al.* 2011). A consequence of this has been greater appreciation of the complex relationship between coin and bullion. In principle, one aim in manufacturing coin was to circumvent the need to deal directly in or test bullion. The two means of exchange thus functioned quite differently, but were not mutually exclusive in circulation. Locally produced coin and bullion co-existed for decades in the Danelaw, Man and elsewhere (Blackburn 2001a, 135; 2009, 48–51; Williams 2009b, 75; Bornholdt Collins *et al.* 2014; Kershaw 2014). Even close to York, mixed hoards were common, and use of coin may only have been prevalent within the city itself (Williams 2009b, 80; Townend 2014, 151–3). Co-existence of coin and bullion might reflect the needs or tastes of different segments of society; alternatively, coin and bullion could also have been used by the same individuals for different purposes. Coins (or very small pieces of hack-silver) were perhaps better suited to the numerous and less personalised payments common to markets and towns, or to official payments of fine or tribute (Williams 2011c, 341–2), whereas payments in whole objects were more appropriate for high-value or socially embedded transactions (Bornholdt Collins *et al.* 2014). In a commercial setting, large pieces of hack-silver could efficiently convey the same value as hundreds of coins.

The central point for present purposes is that Scandinavians arriving in Britain were more familiar with a system in which precious metals were rated by quality and weight rather than appearance in coined form. Indications of bullion-based use of silver or, more rarely, gold (Blackburn 2001a, 134–5) in a hoard or collection of site-finds include:

1. Employment of coin from varied origins. Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the ninth century typically excluded foreign coins from circulation. Finds including coins from overseas, and also from both Northumbria and southern England, are therefore indicative of coins being treated differently, sometimes essentially as bullion. Dirhams were especially characteristic of Scandinavian contacts, and British and Irish finds of Arabic dirhams represent the final link in a long chain of circulation stretching from the caliphate through Russia and Scandinavia (Naismith 2005; Brown and Naismith 2012). Most of the three hundred or so dirhams now recovered from hoards in Britain and Ireland are cut fragments. Dirhams disappear in most of England after about 930, either because imports dropped off or because incoming coins were more thoroughly reminted on arrival, although in Cumbria, Ireland and Scotland they continued to circulate until the later tenth century. Carolingian coin finds also decline in number by about the 920s, as they now had to pass through expanding English territory and were more systematically reminted (Williams 2013e, 478).
2. Hack-metal and objects. The frequent occurrence of ornaments and ingots, either whole or deliberately cut up to form hack-silver, is associated with the ‘bullion economy’. Finer distinctions are possible within the category of hack-metal finds, depending on whether ingots and ornaments are present, and on whether one or both categories of object have been broken up, bent, twisted or otherwise modified. These divisions are especially useful in assessing hoards made up solely of Viking-Age silver objects (Sheehan 2007, 151–7; Williams 2009b, 76–8; 2013c, 383–4; Kershaw 2014), but there are also many examples of mixed hoards containing both coins and other silver items. Coins (especially dirhams) could also be cut into smaller pieces.
3. Testing. Coins (and other objects) of this period provide evidence of several different forms of testing, meaning that the metallic quality of the item was not taken for granted. The edge of

a coin could be nicked, or the whole coin bent (Blackburn 1989a, 23–4; Archibald 1990). The most common form of Viking-Age metal testing was the so-called peck-mark (sometimes also known as the test-mark): a small, usually crescent-shaped cut made in the surface of a coin using the point of a knife, which served the dual purposes of prying below the surface and checking the hardness and thus the quality of the silver (Kilger 2006; Archibald 2011, 54–5). Pecking became widespread in Viking-Age Scandinavia, but seems to have begun in England in the late ninth century, probably following the reintroduction of fine silver coins in southern England in the mid-870s. It was used most commonly to check specimens of old or unfamiliar appearance, implying that already some coins were accepted on the basis of visual inspection (Archibald 2011, esp. 55–61; Moesgaard 2014, 436–8). Decline in the practice in England by the 920s perhaps accompanied increasing familiarity with monetised exchange (Williams 2013e, 478); it had a resurgence in Scandinavia during the second Viking Age of the late tenth and earlier eleventh century.

Assessment of how the ‘bullion economy’ operated depends almost entirely on the evidence of surviving finds rather than documents (for exceptions from outside England see Graham-Campbell 2011, 215–17). Importantly, it clearly embraced more than just silver. Gold was melted and cut in similar fashion, if on a much smaller scale (especially in the north: Graham-Campbell 2001a, 57), though even the limited quantity of hack-gold and contemporary gold artefacts associated with Viking-Age Britain and Ireland is significant compared with other areas of early medieval Europe after the seventh century (Blackburn 2007c, 73–7; Williams 2009b, 74). Copper-alloy objects, presumably of lower value, were also sometimes handled in such a way as to suggest they were being treated analogously to hack-silver (Blackburn 2011a, 235–6; Sindbæk 2003; Williams 2011c, 356). Inclusion of other metals would arguably have made the ‘bullion economy’ more versatile than the relatively limited monetary economy of the period, which remained overwhelmingly dependent on a single silver denomination. Both gold and, especially, copper-alloy finds are sometimes associated with traces of metalworking, however, in which case cut items might be interpreted as the detritus of production rather than evidence of exchange (Williams 2013c, 386–7).

Weight-based reckonings of precious metal also presuppose widespread access to scales and weights; finds of the latter have occurred in some number across Britain and Ireland, particularly in areas associated with Scandinavian cultural influence (Kruse 1992; Wallace 2013; Haldenby and Kershaw 2014). Several different forms of weights occur, in copper alloy and lead, and some find parallels in shape and (more contentiously) metrology in Scandinavian material (Kilger 2008b; Pedersen 2008; Haldenby and Kershaw 2014, 112–21).

The developments of individual regions in Britain and Ireland are considered in further detail in the relevant chapters, but it is worth summarising here their major features and differences:

1. England. Dirhams, ingots and other signals of Scandinavian-style bullion handling can be seen at various sites from the 870s. As with locally minted coinages there were important sub-regional differences. Mixed hoards including coins as well as ingots and other objects are most characteristic of northern England, while south of the Humber use of bullion is best attested by single-finds. Circulation of non-numismatic silver and foreign coin declined rapidly after Anglo-Saxon conquest in the early tenth century, though it persisted longer in the north-west, which was more closely related to the Irish Sea sphere of circulation and part of

which was probably under the control of the kingdom of Strathclyde/Cumbria in the tenth century.

2. Wales. Evidence for bullion circulation in Wales is limited, but it can be observed in the early tenth century around the coast, presumably under Scandinavian and/or Hiberno-Scandinavian influence.
3. Scotland. A degree of 'bullion' use based on fragmented Roman silver is evident in late antique finds, though on a smaller scale than later Viking-Age material and probably with less role in exchange. Hoards and stray finds of silver ingots and cut objects mostly occur on the western and northern seaboard, and date from the second half of the ninth century to the mid-eleventh. Hoards from the mid-tenth century onwards are distinctive for containing large amounts of 'ring money', also found in Ireland and especially on Man.
4. Ireland. Ireland saw rich and well-developed bullion circulation from the late ninth century onwards, based in large part on locally made objects. This persisted throughout the tenth century, and has been extensively researched. Coin hoards became more numerous from about 940 (possibly in response to changes in supply from England), and for half a century both coin and bullion circulated side by side in large quantity. Non-numismatic silver effectively disappeared from Irish hoards in the eleventh century.
5. Man. Datable Manx hoards only begin in the mid-tenth century, though some finds without coins could have been deposited earlier. Most Manx hoards dating to between the mid-tenth century and the second half of the eleventh century include a significant quantity of non-numismatic silver alongside coins, some also with 'ring money'. English pennies seem to have been cut to create halfpennies and farthings on Man from the mid-tenth century, earlier than elsewhere.

Both the widespread establishment of Scandinavian-style bullion use in the late ninth century, and its more gradual decline in the tenth and eleventh centuries, stand out from this survey. In England, Ireland and northern and western Scotland, large-scale Viking raids and settlement in the mid- and late ninth century saw the arrival of characteristically Scandinavian ways of handling uncoined silver and gold (Williams 2015). Evidence for similar use of bullion appeared significantly later on Man, perhaps due to migration and realignment of political and economic networks in the 950s and after. Over the tenth century, distinct Hiberno-Scandinavian forms of manufacturing and handling silver emerged, evolving from their Scandinavian roots. Whether the objects this involved were made for exchange, for storage of wealth or for decorative purposes is a moot point, as the attraction of the 'bullion economy' was that all these roles could be served simultaneously. Specific types of silver object and ornamentation have been assigned to Ireland and Scotland at this time, including brooches, arm-rings and ring money (Graham-Campbell 1995; 2011).

There was considerable variation in how dominant the 'bullion economy' came to be in relation to other forms of exchange in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In Yorkshire, the east midlands and East Anglia, it probably always existed alongside monetary exchange. Different individuals, payment types or settings could have dictated use of coin or bullion, or indeed of a completely different form of transfer. It was in these areas that the retreat of Scandinavian-style bullion use can first be seen. By about 930 datable finds generally no longer contain foreign coins, ingots or other objects. North-west England, which was more closely linked to Ireland, went on using uncoined silver alongside English currency into the mid-tenth century. In Ireland, bullion gradually declined

in the face of increased use of coin in the later tenth century, and effectively ceased after the establishment of the Dublin coinage around 1000. A last burst of relevant hoards dating to the 970s and 980s can be detected across the Irish Sea area (stretching into Scotland) (Graham-Campbell 2011, 158). Man and the Scandinavian-settled areas of Scotland were the last redoubts of the 'bullion economy': both have produced significant numbers of hoards containing uncoined material from as late as the later eleventh century. Linking the two areas is circulation of 'ring money', itself an indication that continued use of bullion was by no means a signal of stagnation.

FROM ROMAN BRITAIN TO ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

(a) HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The history of Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries is notoriously obscure, yet at the same time proved transformational, as the burgeoning secondary literature relative to the limited range of written source material emphasises (accessible recent surveys include Heather 2009, 266–305; Gerrard 2013; Halsall 2013). During this period the Roman diocese of Britain metamorphosed into a patchwork of smaller kingdoms; those in the east gave rise to Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, those in the west to British. Texts bearing on this process are scarce, especially from Britain itself. Archaeology, language and epigraphic evidence therefore play a prominent role. Collectively, these sources tell a story of changes just as far-reaching as those presented in the origin legends which were the most prominent historiographical legacy of the period. The fifth and sixth centuries saw significant simplification in living standards for most segments of society, as well as a fragmentation of political structures. They also, however, saw preservation of a dynamic Roman-influenced Christian culture in the west, and the emergence of complex new social and cultural identities across Britain.

In the fourth century Britain was still very much a part of the Roman world. It was a diocese within the prefecture of Gaul, and consisted of four (or possibly five) provinces with their capitals at Cirencester, Lincoln, London and York. The land was divided into a series of *civitas* territories, each with an urban centre, following the territorial organisation found throughout the Roman world (Jones and Mattingly 1990, 148, 154). Britain's elite lived in elegant and well-appointed villas which reflected wealth and refinement, and participation in empire-wide traditions of literature, religion and display of status (Gerrard 2013, 118–55). Those whose labour supported the town and villa dwellers were not always as integrated into the Mediterranean-patterned Roman state infrastructure, though the stability of Roman rule fostered the development of production and exchange in bulk, and the benefits of this reached down to all levels of society: many inhabitants of southern Britain in the fourth century used Gallic pottery for even their day-to-day needs (Ward-Perkins 2005, 97–100). A crucial institution which protected and in some respects propelled the manufacture and circulation of cash and commodities was the Roman army. Always the primary recipient of imperial taxes in both cash and kind, the later Roman army was a formidable presence in Britain, with its heavily manned northern frontier. These soldiers, and their counterparts across

the Channel on the Rhine frontier, were probably the main consumers of British agricultural produce at this time, and their salaries were a major source of disposable income which could be spent within the provinces (Jones 1964, 623–6).

This prosperous view of Roman Britain was already fading in the second half of the fourth century. Raids from Picts north of Hadrian's Wall and from the Irish in the west mounted from about 360, and in 367 these two confederations of smaller peoples joined forces with the *Attacotti*, the Saxons and also the Franks to produce what the historian Ammianus Marcellinus called a 'barbarian conspiracy' (*barbarica conspiratio*: Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* xxvii.8, ed. Rolfe 1956–8, iii, 50–7). Order apparently broke down in Britain, and had to be re-established by a military expedition led by the general Theodosius (father of Emperor Theodosius I (379–95)). This attack and its suppression may have exacerbated deeper problems in the Roman provinces of Britain. The high point of the Romano-British villas and towns seems to have passed by the last quarter of the fourth century (Esmonde Cleary 1989, esp. 131; Faulkner 2000). The army remained a powerful force, though no longer always one committed to the maintenance of central authority. In 383, the British garrison was led by a Spanish officer, Magnus Maximus, in a revolt against the imperial government. Maximus took his men into Gaul, where they defeated and killed the western emperor Gratian (375–83). The rest of Gaul and Spain, as well as Britain, fell under Maximus' control, and he was apparently recognised (briefly) as co-emperor by Theodosius I, who ruled in the east, and Valentinian II (375–92), who still held power in Italy. However, when Maximus invaded Italy in 387 Theodosius retaliated, and he was defeated and killed the following year.

Britain remained within the Roman fold politically and militarily until the first decade of the fifth century. As in the 380s, the context of the last phase of regular Roman government in Britain was one of military revolts. These can be reconstructed from later historians, principally Orosius and the Greek writer Zosimus (who wrote around 500 but depended on the lost early fifth-century history of Olympiodorus) (Matthews 1970; Thompson 1977; Bartholomew 1982). According to these texts, a string of usurpers arose in Britain: Marcus and Gratian in 406 (around the same time as a major incursion of barbarians across the frozen Rhine), followed a year later by the much more serious insurrection of Constantine III (407–11) (Heather 2005, 191–232; Halsall 2007, 210–12). Like Magnus Maximus before him, Constantine took elements of the Roman army of Britain overseas with him to Spain and Gaul, divesting the island of any effective military presence. He succeeded in restoring order in the rest of the prefecture of Gaul, and was recognised as part of the legitimate imperial regime in 409, but that same year was unable to counter a fresh barbarian attack on both Britain and Gaul. At this point, according to Zosimus, the Britons took matters into their own hands: they 'rejected the rule of the Romans and lived according to their own decisions, no longer submitting to their laws' (Charles-Edwards 2013, 41–2, translating Zosimus, *Historia nova* vi.5.2–3). In 410, Honorius – senior western emperor – allegedly sent the British *civitates* a letter, instructing them to look to their own defence, though it is possible that this was in fact sent to another province of the empire, either Raetia or Bruttium (Woods 2012). Constantine III himself met with defeat after an attempted invasion of Italy, when he was besieged by his own rebellious men in Arles; after Honorius surrendered, his general Constantius had him executed in 411.

By the end of the first decade of the fifth century, therefore, Britain was no longer under the effective control of the Roman Empire. Whatever remained of the old military establishment had presumably been removed by Constantine III, and there is no evidence thereafter that the British

provinces were subject to the direct rule of the central imperial authorities, with all the consequences that entailed: the provinces no longer paid taxes or had to obey the edicts of the emperor, but neither did they receive the economic, administrative and military benefits of close integration with the empire. Imports of pottery as well as coin and other commodities seem to have withered rapidly, while it is difficult to identify evidence of urban life in most towns or cities after the first half of the fifth century (Fleming 2010, 30–88; 2012). This veritable collapse has been dramatically if justifiably characterised as ‘the end of civilisation’ (Ward-Perkins 2005), and comparisons have been made with ‘failed states’ of the modern world (Esmonde Cleary 2013).

After the first decade of the fifth century, as material indexes of Roman culture began to disappear, a curtain of obscurity descends over Britain. An annal in a mid-fifth-century Gallic chronicle (under the year 441 or 442 but not necessarily precise in its accuracy) states that in that year the British provinces were brought under the authority of the Saxons. A life of St Germanus of Auxerre (written probably in the 470s) tells of that saint undertaking one or possibly two visits to Britain to combat Pelagian heresy: he found an apparently rich, Romanised society, struggling with Saxon invaders – though these features may owe as much to hagiographical topoi as fifth-century reality (Thompson 1984; Barrett 2009). One Briton led a contingent of soldiers into Gaul against the Goths in support of the western emperor Anthemius (467–72) (Charles-Edwards 2013, 59–60). All these events are known from external sources, written by observers in Gaul or elsewhere. From Britain itself, the only significant texts from the fifth or sixth century are the writings of St Patrick and the *De excidio Britanniae* of Gildas. The former consist of a letter to the soldiers of a ruler named Coroticus and a *Confessio* defending Patrick’s actions as a missionary in Ireland. Patrick himself was the son of a member of the curial class responsible for government at *civitas* level, and his *Confessio* is directed at *dominicati rhetorici* (‘clerical intellectuals’) (*Confessio* chap. 13, ed. and trans. Hood 1978, 25, 43). Even if much remains uncertain about Patrick’s mission (not least its exact date in the course of the fifth century), he seems to have grown up in a society still conforming to late Roman norms of local government, and which supported a learned clergy who might be expected to look down on his unsophisticated Latin (Dumville 1993b). Gildas’ *De excidio* is altogether different. Its dense and complex prose indicates a formidable command of Latin, gained very probably through rigorous classical training: Gildas’ rhetorical prowess evidences the high level of learning still attainable in post-Roman Britain. The *De excidio* itself is an admonitory letter to the rulers of Britain which includes a stylised précis of recent British history, the better to fulfil the author’s rhetorical aims. This summary has been extensively discussed, for its chronological vagueness and heavy biblical influence leave much room for interpretation (Dumville and Lapidge 1984; Sims-Williams 1983a; Perkins 2010). The key fixed point in Gildas’ narrative seems to be a quotation from a letter addressed by the Britons to Aëtius, a west Roman general, during his third consulship (446×454). Around this Gildas weaves a story of repeated invasions (first by Romans and later by Picts, Scots and Saxons), resistance and moral backsliding, subsequently punished by God with further invasions. The most recent cycle had been instigated by a ‘proud tyrant’ (*superbus tyrannus*) who invited Saxon mercenaries in to help resist the Picts and Scots. The Saxons were supplied with rations (*annonae* and *epimenia*) in the same manner as late Roman military units, perhaps implying the maintenance of systems of taxation in kind (Charles-Edwards 2013, 43–4). The Saxons later rebelled, and enjoyed much success against the Britons until their defeat by a general of aristocratic Roman background named Ambrosius Aurelianus. Gildas’ historical summary precedes a lengthy critique of the kings and priests of his own time, whose sins left the

Britons vulnerable to further divine displeasure. The Britain he knew was fundamentally different from that of the late Roman period. Crucially, Gildas viewed the Romans as a distinct people: the Britons respected them, used Latin and adhered to the same Christian religion, but were clearly separate from them (Dumville 2007). Gildas also wrote for a Britain which was governed by kings who ruled over small territories that sometimes corresponded to former tribes or *civitates* like the *Dumnonnes* in Devon and Cornwall, and the *Ordovices* in Gwynedd (Charles-Edwards 2013, 314–18; Dark 2000, 144–9).

East and west, major change was coming over Britain. Saxon raids and settlements such as Gildas described had been taking place since at least the early fifth century, and Germanic-speaking soldiers had been living in Britain for generations before that. Bede famously traced the Anglo-Saxon settlement back to Hengest and Horsa's invitation by Vortigern into Kent; he claimed they and the subsequent incomers came from the Angles, Saxons and Jutes of northern Germany (with Frisians, Rugians, Danes, Huns and Bructeri also listed in a later passage) (*HE* 1.15, v.9). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* gives an even more mythologised account of the settlement, one which is bound up with the desire of ninth-century Wessex to trace its origins back to a specific founder-figure whose campaigns essentially carved out the shape of the current kingdom (Sims-Williams 1983b; Clay 2013). The early progress of Anglo-Saxon settlers has also in modern times been followed through archaeological sources – specifically the distribution of burials containing grave-goods thought to be characteristic of Anglo-Saxon identity (Myres 1986; Hills 2003; and see below for the problems in establishing ethnic identity from the material evidence). These are found in eastern England from Yorkshire to Dorset. Within the area of 'Anglo-Saxon' burial, however, distribution is far from even, and there is much regional variation in the practices which are taken to define Anglo-Saxon burials. Anglo-Saxon identity may therefore have been flexible, and not necessarily tied exclusively to hostile incomers from across the North Sea. Elements of their material culture were inherited from the late Roman army (staffed with many Germanic-speakers, often from beyond the frontiers) (Halsall 2013, 215–20; though cf. Leahy 2007; Gerrard 2013, 145–55), and there are some sites where it is thought that the adoption of 'Anglo-Saxon' burial practice does not reflect any change in population (Hills and O'Connell 2009). Identity was being actively negotiated on many levels, to the extent that it now appears misleading to picture a simple two-way confrontation between 'Britons' and 'Saxons': smaller communities probably crafted more specific and nuanced cultural affiliations (Halsall 2013, 159–299). Yet Gildas is clear that St Albans was difficult to reach by his day thanks to the Saxons, and it is in general likely that south-east Britain was indeed taken over and settled by a significant number of incomers characterised by the Germanic languages from which Old English descends, and by a distinct form of material culture (Heather 2009, 277–305).

The post-Roman Britons, conversely, are notoriously difficult to detect archaeologically. It is possible that changes of taste and in expression of status are in part to blame: 'dark earth' in some towns could reflect organic build-up from post-Roman habitation, and there may have been a move among the elite away from civilian-style villas and towns towards militarised hill-forts and less archaeologically demonstrative signals of wealth (Dark 1994; 2000). The western areas where British kingdoms emerged had generally been poorer archaeologically in the Roman period, and so it is necessary to look to new forms of material evidence for how the new kings and other leaders of fifth- and sixth-century British society expressed their status (Campbell 2007, 126; Dark 2000, 105–49). A series of Latin inscriptions erected across western Britain

from the late fourth century onwards provides a valuable insight into preservation of Latin and Christian culture: some of these include parallel ogham inscriptions, indicating Irish influence, while others are manifestly Christian (Handley 2001; Yorke 2006, 110–12); a few examples are even written in verse, or contain references to current (east) Roman court terminology, as well as dating inscriptions based on reference to the consulships of Rome (Charles-Edwards 2013, 116–73, 234–8; Dark 2000, 32–43). These continuing ties to late antique cultural tradition are complemented by remarkable finds in western Britain and Ireland of pottery and glass from the eastern Mediterranean, North Africa and Gaul. Two principal sequences are apparent among the finds: east Mediterranean and North African material is concentrated earlier (*c.* 475–550) and is more geographically restricted to the south-western peninsula; Gallic material begins to appear approximately when the Mediterranean imports end, and continues to the end of the seventh century; it also has a much wider geographical distribution around the rim of the Irish Sea. Finds of this material are largely associated with high-status secular sites on or near the coast such as Tintagel, Dinas Powys and Dunadd. These pots and pieces of glassware suggest that elites in western Britain were involved in networks of exchange which stretched as far as the Aegean – perhaps specifically to Constantinople (Wooding 1996; Dark 2000, 125–32; Harris 2003, 139–52; Campbell 2007; Charles-Edwards 2013, 221–6). Their territories may have left comparatively little trace in the written or archaeological record, and were certainly a far cry from the villas and cities of Roman Britain, but it would be wrong to think of ‘dark age’ Britons as completely divorced from the wider developments of the late antique world.

(b) LITERATURE

The coinage has played a major part in broader interpretations of the end of Roman Britain, because it provides a relatively plentiful and datable category of material and formed an integral part of Roman material culture (Gerrard 2013, 73–117). There is consequently a long history of scholars paying close attention to the end of Roman coinage in Britain. As far back as the early eighteenth century it was known that regular Roman currency ceased to circulate in Britain in the fifth century, and coins which are now recognised as ‘barbarous radiates’ and *minimi* of the third and fourth centuries were assigned to the Britons who came after (e.g. Pointer 1724, unpaginated preface). Edward Hawkins noted that the end of Roman imperial rule in Britain ushered in an obscure phase for the coinage, and alluded to the possible continuation of imitative coinage under British rule in the fifth and sixth centuries; he acknowledged the scarcity of these ‘rude and uncouth’ coins ‘because they are rejected from all cabinets and thrown away as soon as discovered’ (Hawkins 1841, 16–17). More detail on this supposed continuation came with Charles Roach Smith: his experience of the Richborough coin finds, remarkably complete for most of the Roman period and also including early Anglo-Saxon issues, led him to identify certain very small bronze *minimi* as post-Roman (Smith 1850, 154–6). Some form of this interpretation prevailed down to the middle of the twentieth century (Mattingly and Stebbing 1931; Hill 1949–51a; Sutherland 1956, 5). However, it is now generally accepted that these supposedly post-Roman coins belong to an earlier epoch – the third century – and that the earliest Anglo-Saxon coins were significantly later in date and inspired by Merovingian gold rather than Roman bronze (Kent 1961, 5–7).

Interest has therefore gravitated in recent decades towards developments in the fifth century, which led to a near cessation in monetary coin-use by about the middle decades of that century.

Clipped *siliquae* and their administrative context have assumed particular prominence as the last substantial chapter in Romano-British monetary history, driven in large part by work on numerous newly discovered hoards (Guest 1997), above all the great Hoxne treasure of 1992 (Guest 2005; Johns 2010). The Patching hoard of 1997 has shed much-needed light on to the second half of the fifth century (White *et al.* 1999; Abdy 2006). In the twenty-first century, several surveys of the period 400 to 600 have been written by Gareth Williams and his colleagues in the British Museum (Williams 2006a; 2010a; Abdy 2006; Moorhead 2006; Abdy and Williams 2006), which stress the relatively swift collapse of a functional monetary economy in the first half of the fifth century, but also the continuation throughout the subsequent century and a half of a slow, constant trickle of mostly gold coin into Britain.

(c) GENERAL FEATURES OF THE COINAGE

Britain had had a plentiful and widely used coinage throughout the Roman period, and indeed before in the form of Iron Age coinage (Reece 2002). After the early fifth century, however, this money supply seems to have evaporated very quickly, following a final and spectacular surge of hoarding. The effective disappearance of coinage as well as pottery reflects a general drop of living standards in western Europe (Ward-Perkins 2005). This decline, it should be noted, was most extreme in Britain, though by no means exceptional in the context of the fifth-century empire. Northern Gaul in particular saw a comparable retreat in ceramic production and general economic complexity (Halsall 2012; 2013, 229), while copper-alloy and silver coinage was in short supply across Gaul and Spain: even Italy and North Africa saw a significant downturn in the production and circulation of low-value currency in the sixth century. The most unusual characteristic of Britain in this period is that not even gold currency – the key element of the coinage as far as Roman fiscal administration was concerned – was maintained, as it was on some level in most parts of the post-Roman West. Abandonment of all coinage in Britain speaks partly to the simplification of local economic networks, but production of gold coinage was driven primarily by the needs of the state (Naismith 2014a): in other words, cessation of all coinage meant a conscious distancing of Britain from part of Roman culture (Charles-Edwards 2013, 226–8; Halsall 2013, 258–9). Gildas for one associated the production of all coin with the imposition of Roman rule centuries before, when the incoming conquerors sought that ‘the island should be rated not as *Britannia* but as *Romania*, and all its bronze, silver and gold should be stamped with the image of Caesar’ (*ut non Britannia, sed Romania censeretur et quicquid habere potuisset aeris argenti vel auri imagine Caesaris notaretur*) (Gildas, *De excidio Britonum* chap. 7, ed. and trans. Winterbottom 1978, 19, 91). Continuity with Roman institutions lay in Christianity and Latin learning rather than aspects of government and economic infrastructure.

(d) THE END OF ROMAN COINAGE IN BRITAIN: THE FIFTH-CENTURY HOARDS

Before the fifth-century collapse of the coinage, there was a dramatic final burst of precious metal hoarding in Britain. As of 2012, some 232 hoards had been found which terminate with coins minted 395–423 (Moorhead 2014, 99–100; cf. Guest 1997, 413; Robertson 1988, 33). These British finds account for some 64 per cent of all hoards across the former Roman Empire ending with

coins of the period 395–410; the only other area with a considerable number of hoards from this time is north-east Gaul, effectively the Rhine frontier, where a cluster of hoards from the same period may be related to the deposits in contemporary Britain (Hobbs 2006, 54; Williams 2013a, 124). Moreover, the latest Roman coins which occur in any number in Britain, minted in the last two decades of the fourth century and the first decade of the fifth, tend to be significantly outnumbered in hoards by earlier material: some assemblages apparently terminating with coins of the mid-fourth century could therefore have been concealed much later, but happen not to contain diagnostic coins (Gerrard 2013, 80–2).

The late Roman hoards of Britain were for the most part a southern phenomenon, found south and east of a line drawn from the Humber to the Severn, with a cluster of finds extending to North Yorkshire and some as far as Hadrian's Wall. There are also significant regional and chronological variations among them, contributing to the conclusion that hoards were deposited as part of an ongoing process rather than a single event (*RIC* x, lxxxv; Guest 1997, 411–12; Carson 1976, 79). The earliest hoards seem to come from the south-west, the latest from East Anglia. There is also no guarantee that the pattern of hoarding silver, gold and copper-alloy coins was always the same, and changes in local practice as well as the chronology of the last additions to the money supply could have had a significant impact (Guest 1997, 414–15). Silver coins, known to modern scholarship as *siliquae*, are particularly prominent among British finds at this time. They seem to have entered the province in waves, with long periods of dearth in between (Guest 2005, 93–100; 2013, 95–6). Hoards tend to over-represent specimens from the very late fourth and early fifth century; those from the mid-fourth century are more prominent among single-finds (Bland *et al.* 2013). Gold appears less frequently: it may simply have been rarer in Britain (Carson 1976, 79–80), or alternatively the fuller picture of British hoards gives a better impression of the totality of the currency in use in much of the western empire. More site-finds and single-finds are needed from the rest of Europe to reach a stronger conclusion (Reece 2012, 24). Geographically, there is a marked east–west division within the British hoards, as has for a long time been noted in the context of archaeological finds of coins from various settlements (Reece 1993; cf. Sargent 2002). Hoards found west of Dorset, the Chilterns and Cambridgeshire tend to be more dominated by silver *siliquae* than those in the east, which have a higher proportion of hack-metal, other precious metal objects and gold *solidi* (Hobbs 2006, 55–9). East Anglia in particular emerges as an area of outstanding wealth, and has produced some of the largest, most diverse hoards of the period, such as Hoxne (1992) and Mildenhall (1942) (Guest 2005; Johns 2010; Hobbs 2012). The former consisted of about 3.5kg of gold and 24kg silver, including some 15,000 coins as well as 200 objects, all carefully arranged in small boxes within a larger chest, while the Mildenhall treasure included no coins, but has become famous for its beautiful silverware.

The social and historical background of these hoards is difficult to divine. Britain was always on the geographical fringe of the Roman Empire, but by the fourth century was nonetheless a wealthy and well-integrated part of the wider Roman world. Early fifth-century aristocrats belonging to the senatorial order, who operated on a lavish, empire-wide scale, sometimes owned land there, such as Melania the Younger, who abdicated her riches *c.* 405 to enter monastic life (Gerontius, *Life of Melania*, chap. 11, ed. Gorce 1962, 146–7). Melania's husband Pinian (possibly less well-off than Melania herself) once claimed he received 120,000 *solidi* in income per annum (Brown 2012, 291–300) – the equivalent of more than sixty Hoxne hoards by weight. For such a

couple, even the Hoxne or Mildenhall treasure was but a drop in the ocean: the cash and tableware needed at what may have been one of very many estates scattered across several provinces (Painter 1988; 1993; Johns 2010, 54–9, 204; Guest 2005, 24–6, 40). Insignificant for the super-rich, such an assemblage could have been of relatively greater importance for a lower-ranking member of the late Roman elite. This large and diverse body extended down to groups whose interests were focused within a single city (*civitas*) territory, like St Patrick's father, Calpurnius (*Confessio*, c. 1, ed. Hood 1978, 23, 41). There were many intermediate ranks between men such as Calpurnius and ladies like Melania, as well as distinct hierarchies tied to the army and the Church. All these figures had several means of access to gold and silver, which were widely available throughout the late Roman world (Naismith 2014a; Banaji 2007, 60–5, 76–7, 264–6). Certainly the names found inscribed on some pieces of British silverware are not ones normally associated with the senatorial aristocracy (Cameron 1992, 183), and it should be remembered that in East Anglia – the area of the richest British hoards of this period – the wealth of the hoards contrasts with scarcity of large villas or a well-developed local mosaic tradition, perhaps implying absentee *rentier* landlords, or that the local elite looked to movable wealth as the preferred means of expressing or storing material resources (Hobbs 2006, 133). In other words, the hoards reflect widespread access to gold and silver, but not necessarily an elite which possessed all the trappings of the fifth-century *crème de la crème*, or which operated on a trans-imperial, let alone inter-*civitas*, scale. Networks of imperial and senatorial gift-giving in the fourth and fifth centuries emphasised the quantity of recipients rather than the scale of individual donations: even a relatively small late Roman deposit might therefore represent the largesse of a general or emperor (Cameron 1992, 181–2; cf. Guggisberg 2013). Such donatives may be one explanation for why British-found precious metal objects were of the highest quality and most prestigious origin, without the direct presence of the empire's super-rich.

A diverse range of the middling-rich therefore probably lies behind the early fifth-century British hoards. Why would so many of them have hidden, or at least failed to recover, collections of treasure in the space of one or two generations? It has traditionally, and reasonably, been assumed that this phenomenon was related in some respect to the myriad troubles associated with the onset of the fifth century, above all the impact of barbarian invasions (e.g. Robertson 1988, 33–4; *RIC* x, lxxxii). But other provinces which suffered from invasion and military strife, such as Italy, have produced relatively few hoards (Guest 2005, 29–30). Within Britain, there were areas in the north and west where coins circulated comparatively healthily in the late fourth century but where no hoards have yet been found, a surprise if Pictish and Irish attacks were a threat, and if military activity was the chief motor behind the deposition and non-recovery of hoards (Guest 2005, 31). More recent evaluations have stressed that this was far from a simple process of one cause and one effect. The withdrawal of imperial administration and military presence was surely a major factor in itself, curtailing long-established networks of supply and demand (Esmonde Cleary 1989, 138–61; Wickham 2005, 309), and this process could have precipitated a number of local developments: economic disruption, social unrest and gradual adjustment of systems of landholding and political authority. The local mixture of these factors could have varied even if the overall result of more hoards being abandoned was the same across a remarkably large swath of lowland Britain.

The deposition of hoards over at least a generation must represent a continuous and in part socially driven phenomenon rather than a response to any single event (Hobbs 2006, 124–34);

importantly, the distribution of the hoards is also not obviously tied to features of administrative or military geography, though they do broadly correspond to the area of densely settled lowland Britain which was most characterised by aspects of Roman civilization (Jones and Mattingly 1990). Broad corroboration for these conclusions is provided by single-finds; they also show a gradual contraction of copper-alloy finds to urban settings and along major roads, while *siliquae* enjoyed continued circulation in the countryside (Walton 2012; Moorhead 2014, 104–12).

The fifth century marks a watershed, in which previously poorer west British sites come to show more signs of wealth and elite activity, while the east declines in material remains (Campbell 2007, 126). Hoards from the latter area may therefore represent cultural and economic dislocation in this part of the province, as the comparatively wealthier segments of society attempted to weather fast-changing conditions brought on by both local and external forces. Widespread brigand activity possibly associated with the enigmatic *bacaudae* (Faulkner 2001, 174–80; Montecchio 2012) may have contributed to a ‘crisis’ for members of the elite already beginning in the last decades of the fourth century as villas and towns declined, then compounded by a crisis of the state in the early fifth century (Esmonde Cleary 2004, 424–5; 2011, 21–2). It has even been argued that some precious metal hoards were hidden with no intention of recovery as a votive act aimed at winning supernatural favour: this is possible at Icklingham in Suffolk, for example, where there is evidence for a church or pre-Christian temple and several hoards were deposited in the same vicinity over a long period (Petts 2003, 113–15). Yet it is difficult to accept this sort of interpretation in all cases, and often the evidence is compatible with multiple different interpretations – as in the case of the great Hoxne treasure (Guest 2005, 29–32; Johns 2010, 202–3). It is unlikely that a very convincing historical context will ever emerge for each individual hoard, although it is possible to register the numerous factors which might have led to the widespread concealment and non-recovery of movable wealth (Millett 1994; Johns 1994; 1996), and to note that hoarding at the end of Roman Britain was not an activity confined to precious metal deposits with an obvious economic value. Collections of much lower-value copper-alloy coins have been found as well as assemblages of relatively mundane cooking- and table-ware, all within approximately the same area covered by precious metal hoards: one recent example of twenty iron, pewter and copper-alloy vessels from a well in London was thought by the excavators to be difficult to interpret as anything other than a non-economic ‘ritual’ deposit (Gerrard 2009, 179–81; cf. Poulton and Scott 1993, 127–30). A period of economic, social and political tension might well have driven fifth-century Britons to appeal for supernatural support with deposits of treasure as well as take financial precautions with hoards (Gerrard 2009, 180). In other words, the early fifth-century surge in hoards from Britain should most likely be read as one manifestation of the multifaceted trauma experienced by local elites as distribution of patronage and largesse shifted away from the north-west of the empire (Halsall 2007, 186–219), and the province of Britain gradually turned into several smaller kingdoms, British and Anglo-Saxon.

(e) CLIPPED *SILICVAE* AND THE QUESTION OF FIFTH-CENTURY CONTINUITY

Recent research has in essence supported the conclusion already reached by John Kent in 1961: ‘it seems legitimate to deduce that both silver and copper coin of the latest types to enter Britain had disappeared from circulation by *c.* 430’ (Kent 1961, 5). The main change since Kent’s time

has been some shuffling of the date at which coins disappeared from circulation. No substantial quantities of new coin were coming into Britain after about 400: most of the numerous fifth-century gold and silver hoards from Britain contain a mass of issues from the second half of the fourth century, with the latest plentiful issues from 395–c. 402/3 (in the names of Honorius and Arcadius); a very few hoards contain specimens from 407–8, early in the reign of Constantine III (Kent 1961, 2–4; 1979; Carson 1976; Archer 1979; King 1981, 5–7; Burnett 1984, 163–4; Guest 2005, 28–32; 1997). Copper-alloy coins (and other base-metal objects) were also hoarded at approximately the same time (Guest 1997, 417, 421; Collins 2008), and indeed there are a few British finds of copper-alloy coins from the period c. 410–50 (Abdy and Williams 2006, 30–2; Moorhead 2006, 102–6; 2014, 103) which may – along with recycling of older specimens – have sustained pockets of low-value coin-use (Abdy 2006, 91–4, though cf. Moorhead 2006, 105–6 on the pivotal finds from Wroxeter).

Cessation in importation of coin does not of course mean that circulation ended overnight: the question is how long the existing pool of currency could have continued to support a monetary system of exchange. At the heart of this debate is a more or less uniquely British phenomenon: clipping of silver *siliquae*, apparently in the years after coin imports had ceased (King 1981, 8–11; Burnett 1984; Guest 2005, 110–15; Abdy 2006, 84–8) (see Fig. 2). It is so peculiar to Britain that the only continental hoards to contain clipped *siliquae* (one each from north-east Spain and Pyrenean France) are generally accepted as deposits brought from Britain, probably by soldiers serving with Constantine III; there are more similarities with clipped coins and hoards of hack-metal found in Ireland, Scotland and Scandinavia (Abdy 2013, 109–11; Guest 2013, 103–4). The process of clipping in effect constitutes the final stage of substantive Roman coinage in Britain, as the inhabitants sought to eke out their remaining supplies of coin. The rub lies in determining how long clipping went on and what function it served. It probably began after importation of coins ceased, as the latest coins in the fifth-century hoards are not proportionately more clipped than the early ones (Guest 2005, 111–12). Clipping may have been a phenomenon of the first decade of the fifth century, perhaps during the disturbances associated with Constantine III's revolt or the years running up to it (Burnett 1984, 165; Abdy 2013, 111; Moorhead 2014, 101–2), but there are some hints that it had begun on a small scale already in the mid- and late fourth century (Bland *et al.* 2013, 120–1).

Eventually clipped coins made up much of the currency. The famous Hoxne treasure of some 15,000 coins, found in Norfolk in 1992, consisted mostly of *siliquae*, 80 per cent of them clipped, and so may have been hidden relatively late in the period of clipping; it is unusual in containing a few *siliquae* from the reign of Constantine III (Guest 2005). It should be stressed that clipped *siliquae* also occur in significant quantity as single-finds: more than three hundred were recorded on the Portable Antiquities Scheme as of summer 2012, representing some 46 per cent of all *siliqua* finds (Bland *et al.* 2013, 119). There can be no doubt that they were a major – even dominant – element of the coinage, probably for at least a generation. John Kent suggested that clipping continued until about 430, and some others have ventured slightly earlier or later dates (Guest 1997, 415 proposes c. 420; Moorhead 2006, 105–6 implies c. 410 for silver, with copper alloy disappearing as currency by c. 430). More optimistically, Kenneth Dark has proposed that *siliquae* could have been clipped multiple times in the fifth century, perhaps circulating into its second half (Dark 1994, 200–6; 2000, 54–5).

The Patching hoard provides an important new source for how long clipped coins continued to circulate. Alongside the gold coins discussed below (which date the assemblage to the 460s),



Figure 2. Unclipped, partially clipped and severely clipped *siliquae* of (a–b) Theodosius I (379–95) and (c) Magnus Maximus (383–8) (all from the Fitzwilliam Museum: CM.36-1983, CM.264-2013 and CM.RI.1983-R).

it included a small group of clipped *siliquae* of types characteristic of early fifth-century British hoards (White *et al.* 1999; Abdy 2013, 109–11). Only four of the twenty-seven silver coins in the hoard were clipped; the others were whole or broken, and among them were continental types generally unknown in Britain, as well as larger *miliarenses* and one much older *denarius*, which recall the contents of fifth-century Gaulish hoards (White *et al.* 1999, 308–10; cf. Martin 2004). One should therefore see only a small portion of this hoard as a remnant of the latest Romano-British currency, but this is nevertheless an important group: unless clipped coins were for the most part avoided by the hoarder, the Patching find shows that a few clipped *siliquae* were still available in the 460s. However, the eclectic composition of the Patching hoard obscures its precise relationship to the coinage available in Britain, and the presence of hack-metal and scrap silver may suggest that it does not even reflect a monetary use for the coins at all, but rather a collection of bullion (White *et al.* 1999, 310). In this it may parallel the one other hoard of fifth-century silver from Britain: a collection of three small coins in the name of Valentinian III (425–55) and Anthemius (467–72) found mounted as items of jewellery in a grave at Chatham Lines, Kent, in 1779 (Blackburn 1988). Another comparable find is the group of three coin-pendants (two containing mid-fifth-century Visigothic *solidi*, the other a third-century *denarius*) from Oxborough, Norfolk (Abdy and Williams 2006, 14). Gold and silver coins may even have come to be valued more as bullion much earlier, immediately after clipping ended (Moorhead 2006, 105; Hunter and Painter 2013). Indeed, there was a strong parallel tradition (visible from Roman hoards all over the western empire but especially in Britain and areas beyond the imperial borders such as Germany and Scandinavia) of hack-metal being used alongside or instead of coin as a store of wealth and a makeshift medium of exchange, especially in high-value contexts when supplies of coin were scarce or unreliable (Painter 2013, and other papers in Hunter and Painter 2013). As might be expected, hack-metal was therefore a significant part of the picture in fifth-century Britain: a continuum can be identified from hoards consisting entirely of coin, to those with intact precious metal objects, to others with a substantial or dominant hack-metal component. The largest and best-known examples of late Roman hack-silver hoards come from the fringes of the Roman province or beyond, such as the famous Traprain Law hoard from south-east Scotland and the Coleraine hoard from Northern Ireland, though several hoards combining silver coins with hack-silver have also occurred in southern England (Minnitt and Ponting 2013; Painter 2013, 216), as well as an increasing number of individual finds of hack-silver recorded through the PAS (Hobbs 2013).

Clipping should probably be seen as essentially a phenomenon of the first half of the fifth century, with a few survivors persisting into the second. Reasons for the practice are difficult to divine. Suggestions of an attempt to fall into line with continental weight standards founder on

the variation seen in the weights of individual coins, both before and after clipping (King 1981, 6–11; Guest 2005, 113). Yet it is unlikely that coins were being clipped haphazardly by individual users (though sporadic clipping in the fourth century may have been private in nature: Bland *et al.* 2013, 121). Clippers were careful to leave the imperial bust intact, perhaps out of lingering respect for Roman currency laws (which prescribed severe penalties for clipping or adulterating coins) (Reece 2012, 26). Moreover, no finds are known of the silver shavings which would have resulted from the process of clipping (although, out of context, these would be extremely difficult both to find and identify) (Williams 2013a, 123). In general clipping was so widespread and undertaken with such care that it most likely had an official character, driven by a significant political authority, and serving as a substitute for the reminting process that had customarily replenished the late Roman gold currency (King 1981, 53; Abdy 2006, 84–8, 98; Williams 2010a, 56–7; Reece 2012, 26). The aim, in other words, was to derive bullion and/or profit from the coinage without reducing the volume of the currency – presumably because there was no expectation that it would be replenished. Only silver coins were targeted, perhaps because gold *solidi* were regularly checked for weight, or because silver had particular associations with military payments (Southern and Dixon 1996, 77–9; Abdy 2006, 88–9; Banaji 2007, 43–4). What became of the clippings is unclear: imitation silver *siliquae* probably of British origin are known, which were indeed probably made from clippings of genuine coins, but they are of good fineness and were seemingly intended as an occasional supplement to the much larger stock of official *siliquae* (Burnett 1984, 165–6; Guest 2005, 102–9, 113–15, 130; 2013, 98–100).

(f) GOLD AND THE CONTINENT (c. 450–580)

The fifth and sixth centuries never saw a complete cessation of the flow of new coins into Britain (Bland and Loriot 2010, 86–8; cf. Abdy and Williams 2006, with new finds on PAS and EMC), yet the character of the incoming coins changed considerably. The quantity of coins was dramatically reduced compared with the fourth century, and imports consisted largely of gold *solidi* and *tremisses* from the Roman and barbarian territories across the Channel (Bland and Loriot 2010). This retreat to an almost exclusively gold currency was mirrored across western Europe in the fifth and sixth centuries, as rulers and minting authorities cut back to what had been the most fiscally important segment of the late Roman coinage (Carlà 2010; Naismith 2014a). Britain was therefore not exceptional in its continued use of gold coin, but it was unusual in not producing any of its own gold currency.

The number of gold coins from the period c. 450–580 found in Britain remains small in absolute terms, but has grown significantly in recent decades. About ninety such coins are known as single-finds (Williams 2010a, with PAS and EMC for the period after 2010). Their distribution is now relatively widespread, though there is still a significant concentration of gold coins in the south-east and especially Kent, implying that contacts with Gaul were the primary source (Sutherland 1948, 25; Rigold 1975, 665–6; Metcalf 1995a, 254; Harris 2003, 163–4; Williams 2010a, 59–60). Hoards remain rare, and when they do occur tend to be comparable in composition to contemporary finds from Gaul (for which see Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière 2003). Patching is again significant. Its twenty-three gold *solidi* include official imperial issues extending from the mid-fourth century to the time of Valentinian III, as well as ten mid-fifth-century Visigothic specimens in the names of emperors down to Severus III (461–5). The find comes from an area in the

south-east (Sussex) with relatively strong ties to Roman material culture and to Gaul, manifested in much besides coinage (Esmonde Cleary 2011, 24–5). Another relevant yet obscure find, from Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey in 1848, consisted of at least ten gold *tremisses* made under barbarian rule in Gaul but in the name of Justin I (518–27) (*Checklist 1*). Coins from these and other late fifth- and earlier sixth-century finds were struck by a number of different authorities. Some were made at Constantinople or other mints under the authority of the east Roman or Byzantine emperors, with a cluster from the reigns of Justin I and Justinian I, as part of a general taste in Britain for prestigious east Mediterranean imports in the sixth century (see below, section (g), pp. 36–7; Gerrard 2013, 176–7). Most of the fifth- and sixth-century gold coins found in Britain, however, come from the territories in Gaul, Spain and Italy ruled by the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Franks and Burgundians. Very few of these specimens state where and under whose authority they were made, citing instead an emperor living or dead and using a similarly erroneous mint-signature (for guidance on attributions see *MEC 1*).

An appreciable proportion (18 per cent in 2006 (Williams 2006a, 163)) of the coins dating to this period have been found pierced or mounted in some way, implying eventual use as ornaments instead of coins as such. After the end of centralised imperial rule in Britain and of the monetary system this sustained, coins could readily be used as bullion or decorative pieces of precious metal (Reece 2012, 26). The Patching hoard may have been essentially a collection of bullion, and the Coleraine and Traprain Law hoards of coins and cut and broken silverware very probably so, though these belong to a somewhat different context, having been found outside or on the fringes of the former Roman province (Charles-Edwards 2013, 35). Yet ornamental and bullion use was not universal for coins after the mid-fifth century. The scale of mounting and piercing appeared greater in earlier commentaries (e.g. Sutherland 1948, 23–5; Rigold 1975) because, prior to the 1970s, most known specimens came from excavated grave-finds, which produced a high proportion of pierced or mounted coins. Now, however, while almost three-quarters of coins from grave-finds are pierced or mounted, coins with evidence of such secondary treatment represent only a quarter of the overall number of finds (of ninety single-finds of coins produced c. 450–580, twenty-three show some form of secondary treatment, based on Williams 2010a). Coins found pierced or mounted may also have circulated in Britain for many years before undergoing secondary treatment, moving between different economic, symbolic and ornamental usages (Williams 2006a, 161–9; 2010a, 58–9; 2013b, 37–9; cf. Appadurai 1986). Scope existed for coins to play multiple roles in fifth- and sixth-century Britain, including a limited degree of monetary exchange. It is unhelpful (as with the Viking ‘dual economy’ of the late ninth and tenth century) to assume a clear and impermeable barrier between secondary, ornamental and monetary uses: societies with strong monetary economies could still use precious metal coins in decorative contexts, such as the *solidus* of Gratian mounted in the fourth-century Hoxne body-chain, pennies made into coin brooches in eleventh-century England (Williams 2001a), or indeed gold sovereigns in modern times.

Uniface gold disks (bracteates), inspired partly by contact with Roman coins, were made across northern and eastern Europe in the late and post-Roman period. About seventy such bracteates have been found in Britain (including one small hoard at Binham, Norfolk), all in what later became England and most from East Anglia and Kent (Behr 2010; Behr *et al.* 2014). The rich imagery and occasional runic inscriptions of these objects have been studied extensively, especially by German and Scandinavian scholars (see references in Behr 2010; Behr *et al.* 2014). However, there

is no indication that early gold bracteates served a monetary function, and the prevailing interpretation is that they belonged to a cultic and votive context.

(g) EASTERN CONTACTS AND THE PROBLEM OF BYZANTINE
COPPER-ALLOY COINAGE

In addition to the precious metal coins of the fifth and sixth centuries found in Britain, substantial numbers of Byzantine copper-alloy coins of the same period have also appeared. These have been the cause of no small controversy. If genuine early medieval losses, they might constitute evidence for an important corollary of the import of Byzantine pottery and glass seen in the late fifth and early sixth century, and for other forms of contact between Britain and the Mediterranean. Yet George Boon adduced damning evidence against some of the most spectacular finds (Boon 1958; 1991; supplemented by Metcalf 1995a), which seem likely to be modern deposits. Copper-alloy Byzantine coins of various common types became favoured souvenirs among British travellers already in the early nineteenth century. The wreck of HMS *Pomone* which sank near the Isle of Wight in 1811, for example, was found to contain nearly sixty ancient and early medieval copper-alloy coins from the eastern Mediterranean, among them Byzantine pieces of the types sometimes found elsewhere in Britain. These and other coins brought back to Britain in modern times can often be distinguished by a patina quite distinct from what would be expected of local finds (Boon 1991, 40). On this basis, Boon was able to dismiss a large clutch of coins found in Exeter in the early nineteenth century as a recent assemblage (Boon 1991); he also noted that coins found in modern domestic contexts such as gardens, allotments and towns were very likely to be modern losses (Boon 1958, 318). Similarly, a group of Byzantine coins supposedly found in antiquarian excavations of Caerwent is probably nothing more than a local collection assembled by a hobbyist or traveller in the nineteenth century (Boon 1958; Metcalf 1995a, 259–60; Morrisson 2014).

Even Boon and Metcalf recognised, however, that there were some copper-alloy finds which did not appear to be modern losses: coins which either had the wear and patination expected of genuine early British losses, or which in some fortunate cases came from stratified archaeological contexts (Boon 1991, 41; though cf. Campbell 2007, 75 on some of Boon's 'early' losses). Among these were a *decanummium* of Justinian I (527–65) from the Carthage mint found in Southampton in an eighth-century or later context (Metcalf 1988a, no. 187), together with a grave-find of a Roman senatorial issue of c. 500 from Kent (Boon 1991) and a later class A2 anonymous follis (c. 976–1030/5) found in an eleventh- or twelfth-century context in Winchester (Biddle 2012b, no. 5). To these three certain early losses Boon added five more possible cases; Michael Metcalf more optimistically estimated the proportion of genuine early finds to be something in the region of 10 per cent of the total known (Metcalf 1995a, 260–1). More recent metal-detector finds have continued to add to the corpus of early Byzantine copper-alloy coins from Britain. Although removed from any archaeological context, it is becoming more difficult to assign all of these finds to modern carelessness. A point in favour of these finds is the distribution which is beginning to emerge (Morrisson 2014, 215–20). This differs markedly from the general pattern of early medieval detector-finds, which cluster in the east, reflecting both medieval and modern concentrations of population. Rather, the Byzantine copper-alloy coins are more common in the west, although some finds are now known from the south-east and East Anglia. Notable clusters come from Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, from the coasts

of the south-western peninsula and from the Wirral (Moorhead 2009, esp. 274; Biddle 2012b, 665; Georganteli 2012, 674; Bean 2007, 304–5, 342–3). These finds include a high proportion of issues from the capital mint at Constantinople, as might be expected, but also a relatively large number of finds (especially from the seventh century) of coins minted at Carthage (Moorhead 2009, 265, 272; Morrisson 2014, 214–20) – an important feature, as Carthage was comparatively prominent among Byzantine finds from contemporary Gaul, but not in the eastern Mediterranean where most modern ‘souvenirs’ would have been obtained (Lafaurie and Morrisson 1987; Morrisson 1999).

Interpretation of these early Byzantine bronzes presents many challenges. Even if many of the finds are early medieval losses, early Byzantine bronzes need not always have reached Britain or been deposited in the sixth or seventh century: the Southampton coin (minted in the sixth century, apparently lost in the eighth) is a case in point. Yet the western distribution of early Byzantine coins is a compelling point in favour of relatively early circulation, for it parallels the spread of pottery and glass brought to Britain from the eastern Mediterranean and latterly Gaul in the late fifth century and after. On some level it is very likely that there was a connection between these two phenomena (Harris 2003, 152–4; Moorhead 2009, 265–6; Georganteli 2012, 672–6). Yet the nature of that connection remains obscure: there is as yet no case of a copper-alloy coin actually found in the same context as corresponding specimens of pottery or glass, only (sometimes) in their general vicinity (Campbell 2007, 74; Morrisson 2014, 220), or on coasts or near roads used for transport (Georganteli 2012, 675–6). More finds and contextual information are needed before concrete conclusions can be reached; based on present evidence, it may be that copper-alloy coins represent part of the surplus held and expended by the inhabitants of western hill-forts like Cadbury and Tintagel and a side-effect of the main business of the trade between west Britain and Byzantium, manifested by the finds of pottery and glass. These last betoken an important phase of contact that may have been initiated by the east Roman imperial government to obtain tin, and which in Britain seems to have primarily benefited the secular elite (if find-contexts are any guide) (Campbell 2007, 123–4, 131–2). Coins of any sort are absent from these elite sites. In the contemporary Mediterranean, folles and other copper-alloy coins of relatively low value, found in small quantities, would be interpreted as signs of a socially diversified monetary system at work. Britain is of course a long way from the Mediterranean, yet the clear attempt to cultivate east Roman links could have carried over into involvement in small acts of monetary exchange in the course of provisioning travellers and their ships, alongside the main business of trading in tin, slaves, dyes and other high-value goods (Campbell 2007, 78–80).

(h) RE-USE OF ROMAN COIN

Roman coins loomed large in the imagination of Anglo-Saxons throughout their history, from the pre-Christian makers of gold bracteates to the designers of eleventh-century coin types (e.g. Kent 1961, 8–15). The *ASC* famously stated, in the annal for 418, that ‘in this year the Romans gathered all the treasures which were in Britain, and hid some in the ground, so that no one could find them afterwards, and took some with them into Gaul’ (*her Romane gesomnodon al þa goldhord þe on Bretene wæron 7 sume on eorþan ahyddon þæt hie nænig mon sibþan findan ne meahste 7 sume mid him on Gallia læddon*) (*ASC* 418, ed. Plummer 1892, I, 10–11; Whitelock 1979, 152).



Figure 3. *Two re-used Roman coins from Anglo-Saxon finds (both from the Fitzwilliam Museum: CM.7-1995 and CM.9-1995).*

Roman coins (in all metals) presumably came to light throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. However, it should be noted that even comparatively early instances of Roman coins in sixth- or seventh-century Anglo-Saxon contexts are much more likely to represent Anglo-Saxon rediscovery of Roman coins, either in hoards or from Roman sites, than survivors which persisted in circulation across the fifth and sixth centuries. The Roman coins in Anglo-Saxon hoards extend back to the early Roman imperial period, with representatives from every phase thereafter and heavy representation of the third and early fourth century; in other words, the same profile of finds one would expect in digging up a long-settled Roman site in modern times, including many coins which had been out of use for generations before the end of Roman Britain (King 1988; Reece 2002, 65; Moorhead 2006, 107–8).

Roman coins of all metals were regularly pierced or mounted in Anglo-Saxon England (though for some piercing in the Roman period see Moorhead 2006, 107) (Fig. 3). Some may possibly have been selected for their Christian motifs in the conversion period (White 1988, 100–1); others were presumably just attractive physical objects, imbued with something of the history and memory of ancient Rome (Coz 2011). The prevalence of the custom of piercing or mounting Roman coins is difficult to measure; likewise, except in a stratified archaeological setting, identification of Roman coins without secondary treatment used in Anglo-Saxon contexts is impossible. Examples of such finds (mostly of base-metal coins) have come to light at West Stow and Southampton, among other locations (Metcalf 1988a, 25; King 1988, 225); it is possible that many other Roman coins enjoyed an afterlife in Anglo-Saxon hands, but these cannot be identified as such. At certain times and places, perhaps following the fortuitous discovery of a hoard, they could have served as a potential source of small change (Naismith 2012c, 289). However, it is difficult to imagine these coins enjoying a monetary function, at least under regular circumstances – they may always have served primarily as decorative and historic objects, and potential sources of bullion.

EARLY ANGLO-SAXON GOLD COINAGE

(a) HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The late sixth and seventh century witnessed the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity through a series of missionary enterprises, launched from Rome, Francia and Ireland. These spread the new religion across all of what is now England by the 680s (Campbell 1986, 49–84; Mayr-Harting 1991; Charles-Edwards 2003b; Blair 2005, 8–78; Yorke 2006; Pryce 2009).

St Gregory the Great (590–604) conceived the earliest Roman mission, which he dispatched in 595 under the leadership of St Augustine of Canterbury. Augustine and his fellow missionaries arrived in Kent in 597, and soon converted the powerful local king, Æthelberht (d. 616×618). Over the coming decades members of the Roman mission spearheaded the conversion of several other kingdoms, including Essex, East Anglia and Northumbria, though their success was still dependent on the support of local rulers. The death of Æthelberht of Kent was followed by a near-fatal pagan backlash against the fragile churches in south-east England, and the death of Edwin (616–33) brought a sudden end to the Roman mission's presence in Northumbria. Edwin's successor, Oswald (634–42), had already converted during a period of exile among the Irish-speaking Christians of western Scotland. He patronised monks and missionaries from the monastery of Iona, and allowed one of them, St Aidan, to establish the famous monastery of Lindisfarne on the Northumbrian coast. A blend of influences – British and Frankish as well as Italian and Irish – characterised the formative stages of England's conversion to Christianity. In all areas, initial conversion was followed by the slow process of Christianisation, which involved the establishment of an infrastructure providing religious teaching and pastoral care.

Christianisation meant the re-entry of England into the written, Latinate cultural mainstream of western Europe. As a result, the kings and kingdoms of the seventh century emerge into the historical spotlight much more clearly than their predecessors, above all in the pages of the venerable Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (Colgrave and Mynors 1969; Lapidge 2008–10), finished in 731, which tells the story of the conversion process in vivid detail. Bede's vision of the seventh century is the essential starting point for all subsequent scholarship, but his orderly presentation of events was constructed out of a mass of personal accounts and divergent sources. His level of information and interest varied geographically, with his native Northumbria receiving by far the most attention, while perceived lapses in spiritual and monastic discipline in Bede's own day influenced his rosy perspective on the seventh century (Campbell 1986, 1–27, 29–48; De Gregorio 2010).

In the Norman period Bede's narrative gave rise to the concept of the 'heptarchy': seven kingdoms (East Anglia, Essex, Kent, Mercia, Northumbria, Sussex and Wessex) which shared power over what would later become England in the period down to the ninth century (Kirby 2000, 1–9; Keynes 2014a). The exact number of kings was in fact highly variable, and individuals named as 'kings' were not always independent rulers of stable territories. Early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were stitched together from numerous smaller units, some of which can be detected in the famous document of uncertain pre-Viking date known as the *Tribal Hidage*, which lists some thirty-five peoples in the midlands together with their reckoning in hides (Dumville 1989c; Rumble 1996; Blair 2014). These smaller territories sometimes had kings of their own, or subordinate rulers: in the 650s, one *princeps* ('ealdorman') of the obscure South Gyrwe named Tondberht was the first husband of St Æthelthryth (Bede, *HE* iv.19, ed. Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 390–1). Larger kingdoms were made up from several – potentially very many – such smaller units; the Mercian king Penda (d. 655) led thirty *duces regii* ('royal leaders') into his final battle against the Northumbrians (Bede, *HE* iii.24, ed. Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 290–1). When Bede and other early sources begin to present a clearer picture of the leading kingdoms from about the year 600 (see Map 2), it is clear that fierce rivalries existed between them. Armies, exiles and marriage alliances criss-crossed the kingdoms of England and their British, Irish and Frankish neighbours. The outcome of a single battle or the death of a powerful king could shift the balance of power between the leading kingdoms precipitously.

Rulers across Britain shared a sharp concern with status and overlordship. Bede famously listed seven rulers who enjoyed *imperium* ('overlordship') across England south of the Humber, the first four of whom came from different kingdoms: even if it is not necessarily a reliable guide to the politics of the fifth and earlier sixth centuries, this list gives a sense of how quickly contemporaries could imagine the political scene shifting (Bassett 1989a; Yorke 1990, 9–19; 2009a; Kirby 2000, 1–22; Halsall 2013, 270–91). At the outset of the period considered here, Kent was the pre-eminent kingdom, under the leadership of Æthelberht. After the latter's reign, according to Bede, primacy in southern England shifted to Rædwald, king of the East Angles (d. 616×627), and subsequently to a series of Northumbrian rulers: Edwin, Oswald and Oswiu (642–70). The most glaring omission from Bede's list of the leading kings of the sixth and seventh centuries is Penda, king of the Mercians: a people whose name literally means 'border dwellers', and who were based in what is now the west midlands (Brooks 1989; Yorke 1990, 103–11; Kirby 2000, 68–81; Tyler 2005). Penda allied with Cadwallon (d. 634), a Brittonic king either of Gwynedd or possibly of a north British kingdom (Woolf 2004; Fraser 2009, 167–8), against other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and defeated and killed Oswald of Northumbria in 642. Eventually Penda fell in battle against Oswiu, and Mercia temporarily came under Northumbrian overlordship, but the stage was set for a resumption of Mercian power and expansion under his sons Wulfhere (658–74) and Æthelred (675–704). Both fought against the kings of Northumbria, including Oswiu and his successor, Ecgfrith (670–85).

Archaeological discoveries have revealed the richness of the material culture of England after about 600. A series of 'princely burials' is the most dramatic development: that from Mound One at Sutton Hoo, Suffolk, is the best known; others include Taplow, Buckinghamshire and Prittlewell, Essex, to name just two. These show new and much more overt assertions of power through burial. Occupants were interred with lavish quantities of wealthy adornments, weapons and other items, and beneath mounds, sometimes inside ships or wooden chambers.



Map 2. Anglo-Saxon England in the pre-Viking period.

The treasures and other resources poured into these burials were surely meant to impress the community at large, demonstrating the position of the deceased and, no doubt, their heirs. 'Princely burials' have been associated with increased stratification in society and the widespread creation, or at least entrenchment, of a hereditary elite (Hamerow 2005, 276–87; Scull 1992, 15–22; 1993; Welch 2011). Coinciding with these changes in elite society was growth in material and cultural ties to continental Europe. The treasures and burial practices from Sutton Hoo in particular reveal links with southern Scandinavia (Hines 1992), but the most prominent overseas relationship was with the Frankish kingdom. The much larger and more powerful Merovingian kingdom dominated southern England in the sixth and earlier seventh century (Wood 1983; 1992). The arrival of Christianity was one of the most prominent consequences of this relationship, coming initially in the train of King Æthelberht's Frankish wife, Bertha; adoption of the new religion in Kent and elsewhere was closely bound to power relations as well as spiritual considerations. Coinage too was inspired by the Merovingian Frankish model (see below, section (c), pp. 43–5), and a multitude of other commodities entered England from Frankish territory (Huggett 1988). These included high-status objects acquired by the elite (Moreland 2000b, 101–3), but the networks which supported their distribution were driven by the peregrinations of small-scale traders moving back and forth across the English Channel and the North Sea. Their efforts laid the foundations of trading *emporía* at locations such as east Kent, Ipswich and London, which would blossom into major centres of trade and craft production in the eighth century (Fleming 2009; 2010, 183–212; Loveluck 2013, 178–212).

(b) LITERATURE

Prior to the mid-nineteenth century there was serious doubt over whether the Anglo-Saxons had produced any gold coinage at all, and the subject was hotly debated (Pegge 1756; Clarke 1767; Ruding 1840, 1, 103–8). The publication of a Merovingian-style gold *tremissis* apparently minted at Canterbury (de Longpérier 1837) and, still more convincingly, of a hoard of gold pieces found at Crondall, Hampshire in 1828 (*Checklist* 7) established that a significant gold currency had been issued by the Anglo-Saxons in the seventh century (Akerman 1841–2; 1844; Lefroy 1870; Ponton d'Amécourt 1872; cf. Sutherland 1948). Subsequent scholarship assigned the label *thrymsa* to specimens of this earliest segment of English currency (*BMC* 1, xv–xvi), as the overwhelming majority are *tremisses/trientes* modelled on those of the Merovingian Franks. Coins from the latter kingdom circulated extensively in England too, as most famously demonstrated by the almost entirely Merovingian contents of the purse found among the treasures of Mound One at Sutton Hoo in 1939 (see below, section (c), pp. 43–4).

Humphrey Sutherland's seminal study of the Crondall hoard (Sutherland 1948), and of early gold coinage more widely in Anglo-Saxon England, set the agenda for a generation of scholarship after the Second World War (Stewart 1978a; Williams 2006a, 146–54). One important strand of research involved British numismatists in close analysis of Merovingian gold coinage; they enlisted the help of metallurgical experts in a pioneering collaboration, aimed at determining the date of the Sutton Hoo hoard and, by extension, the Mound One burial as a whole. Within England, the subject remained dominated by the Crondall and Sutton Hoo hoards, as other finds of coins were relatively few and largely recovered from graves (Stewart 1978a, 148–9). An important exception to the prevailing influence of Crondall lay in the coins from the very end of the

gold period, which Stewart Rigold discussed in relation to the beginning of the subsequent early penny coinage (Rigold 1960–1); his assessment of the Pada and Vanimundus coinages remains authoritative in many respects. The prevailing view was that circulation of coin was limited and driven largely by social and symbolic rather than economic concerns (Grierson 1959; 1961; 1970; Stewart 1978a, 144–5); geographically, Kent was thought to have played a very dominant role (Sutherland 1948, 68–9).

Since the 1980s, multiplication of finds of seventh-century gold has transformed understanding of the subject (*SCBI* 63, 84–5). Finds from burials now make up a minority of known specimens, and secondary uses such as piercing or mounting are markedly less common among finds from outside burials (Williams 2006a, 161–9). It was also realised at an early stage in the evaluation of new finds that Kent was not as exceptional as formerly believed (Metcalf 1989; Williams 2013a, 125); even the primacy of the Crondall hoard has been shaken off (*T&S* 1, 32; Williams 2006a, 173–84). Recent studies have in addition called into question the ambitious interpretation of metallurgical data in the 1970s, suggesting that its evidence for the chronology needs to be applied more loosely (Hook and Williams 2013). Gareth Williams is undertaking an important programme of research into the seventh-century gold coinage which promises to lay down a new framework for its interpretation.

(c) MEROVINGIAN COINAGE IN ENGLAND FROM c. 580

The first stage in the renewal of a large-scale currency in Anglo-Saxon England was increased importation of gold *tremisses* from the Frankish kingdom. These belonged to a new phase of Merovingian currency, the so-called ‘national’ or ‘mint/moneyer’ coinage which emerged in the 570s, based on a huge profusion of mint-places, some eight hundred being recorded in total (Naismith 2014a). This coinage is known from a great many French single-finds as well as a significant quantity of English finds (Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière 2003; Abdy and Williams 2006; Williams 2010a).

‘National’ coins continued to be issued until approximately the 670s, at which point a silver coinage was instituted (*MEC* 1, 93–5). Merovingian gold circulated in England throughout this period, initially as the dominant component of the currency: roughly four continental gold pieces of the period c. 575–675 have been found in England for every Anglo-Saxon one (Metcalf 2014b, 43), though later the pale-gold native types came to outnumber their Frankish counterparts (Williams 2006a, 169–70; 2013a, 131). Sets of weights found in England provide further support for the influence of Frankish coins by responding to an important change in the Merovingian weight standard in the late sixth century, when a 4.50g *solidus* was replaced with a 3.90g *solidus* (Scull 1990). Single-finds (more than 150 as of 2014) now account for the bulk of Merovingian finds in England, spread quite widely across the eastern part of the country (Williams 2010a, 58–60; Metcalf 2014b). They represent mint-places from across Francia, with no sign of northern mint-places being over-represented (Metcalf 2006c, 390–3), but provide some hints of specific routes of importation, including from Marseille through eastern France to the Channel (Metcalf 2014b, 54–60). There have also been a number of hoards, mostly quite small and associated with graves.

The largest and most celebrated of these is that which came to light during the excavation of the Mound One burial at Sutton Hoo in 1939 (*Checklist* 6). It consisted of thirty-seven coins, all of Merovingian origin (together with three gold blanks and two gold ingots) (catalogued in Rigold

1975). As these coins offered the best chance of closely dating one of the most important Anglo-Saxon archaeological assemblages ever found, a great deal of attention was devoted to them, and in turn to the 'national' Merovingian series as a whole. All thirty-seven coins named a different mint-place, although only twenty-four could be attributed with confidence. This seemingly eclectic mix is more likely to reflect the heterogeneity of the Merovingian 'national' coinage than deliberate selection of coins from different sources (Stahl 1992). Only four of the coins name a ruler: three are in the name of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice Tiberius (582–602) and belong to a group minted after *c.* 595 (Rigold 1954); and one other coin names the Frankish king Theodebert II (595–612). The dates of these rulers provide the only truly secure *terminus post quem* for the hoard (Stahl and Oddy 1992); however, many attempts have been made to arrive at a more precise date on the basis of comparison with the contents of other hoards (Lafaurie 1959–60, 177–8), through close analysis of comparable metalwork (Archibald 2013), and especially by scrutiny of the coins' metallic content (Coleman and Wilson 1972; Kent 1972; 1975; Oddy 1972). Both Lafaurie's comparative approach to the hoards and the series of analyses carried out in connection with the British Museum's publication of the Sutton Hoo burial in the early 1970s arrived at a likely date of *c.* 625, broadened slightly to 622–9 by David Brown following critique of the metallurgical data (Brown 1981). Further support for a similar date came from a separate, slightly earlier programme of research into the metallic qualities of Merovingian gold (Hawkes *et al.* 1966; Metcalf *et al.* 1968; Merrick and Metcalf 1969).

Yet the date of *c.* 625 depends on complex metallurgical information, presented in a misleadingly precise way in the principal publication (Brown 1981, 80–2), and also on a series of assumptions concerning Merovingian debasement which have since been questioned. There evidently was a general decline of gold standards in the seventh-century Merovingian coinage (recently confirmed using up-to-date techniques in Blet-Lemarquand *et al.* 2010). After about 575, fineness fell initially to about 84 per cent gold; standards became even more erratic (30–80 per cent pure) in the period 622–41, and most datable coins from after 639 contain below 55 per cent gold. But specific mints and moneyers across the kingdom need not have kept pace with the changes, or been internally consistent (Stahl and Oddy 1992, 134). Hoards (including Sutton Hoo and Crondall) commonly contained coins of widely varying fineness, and value was also placed on workmanship and appearance, perhaps at the expense of fineness (Codine-Trécourt 2014, 33–6). The process of debasement was probably not co-ordinated enough that independent dates may be derived from it (Stahl and Oddy 1992, 134–6; *MEC* I, 108–9). A looser dating bracket for the Sutton Hoo hoard is therefore prudent, and the latest evaluation by Gareth Williams favours a broad period of *c.* 610–40 (Williams 2005; 2006a, 179–80; 2013a, 128–9). This finds further support from careful radiocarbon dating of the deposition of the Mound One assemblage as a whole, which points strongly to the period 600–35 (Archibald *et al.* 2013, 502 no. 5).

Although Merovingian *tremissis* constitute the largest element in imported gold from seventh-century England, the corpus of recorded material also includes smaller elements of coinage from elsewhere in post-Roman Europe (e.g. Abdy and Williams 2006, no. 151, a Lombardic gold *tremissis*) including the Byzantine Empire. The quantity of Byzantine finds falls substantially during the course of the seventh century (Williams 2010a, 58; Archibald 2013, 56–8), mirroring a roughly contemporaneous drop-off in Byzantine finds from Francia which had begun in the mid-sixth century and bottomed out around the time of Heraclius as the Frankish monetary system became increasingly distanced from that of the eastern Roman empire (Lafaurie and Morrisson 1987,

Table 2. *Types of early Anglo-Saxon gold solidi, arranged in alphabetical order.*

Type name/ description	Cat. nos.	Sutherland 1948	Abdy and Williams 2006	North	T&S	Fineness (% Au) (XRF)	Fineness (% Au) (SG)
1 CNAT AVG	I	—	—	28/1	—	56, 62.2	47
2 Helena	—	IIS.i (20)	Vi	13	—	66.2	
3 Honorius/ skanomodu	—	IIS.ii (22)	—	15	—	90.5	
4 Valentinian I	—	IIS.ii (21)	—	14	—	94.6	

esp. 51–2, 55; Drauschke 2008; 2009, 286–7; Esders 2013, 226–38). Earlier Roman coins in gold and base metal also remained available in Anglo-Saxon England into the seventh century (see Chapter 2, section (h), pp. 37–8).

(d) EARLY ANGLO-SAXON GOLD COINAGE (c. 600–75)

Despite important additions to the corpus from single-finds since the 1970s, the total surviving body of seventh-century English gold coins is still comparatively small: probably fewer than two hundred specimens. Only a minority of these bear meaningful inscriptions which allow for confident chronological or geographical attribution, and finds are scarce enough that most types cannot be assigned on the basis of their distribution. Much discussion has therefore centred around the main hoard of the period (Crandall) and on the fineness of the coins, although (as noted above) even interpretations of these two cornerstones of scholarship have recently been queried. For this reason the conclusions presented here must be viewed as provisional: additional single-finds, and especially new hoards, as well as the results of current research into the nature of the currency, could significantly alter views of the period.

All coin types mentioned are tabulated in alphabetical order by name in Tables 2 and 3, with their corresponding type numbers in the major classifications of Sutherland (1948), T&S, North (1994) and Abdy and Williams (2006). All figures for fineness (unless otherwise stated) are quoted from T&S and Hook and Williams (2013).

1. Solidi

Only six gold *solidi* – larger coins weighing approximately 3.90g (on the late sixth- and seventh-century Frankish weight standard) – can be confidently assigned to English manufacture at this time (SCBI 63, 86–7, written just before the sixth find came to light). Two of these are the unique examples of their respective types and are now preserved in the British Museum (SCBI 63, nos. 1–2). One can be seen from its design and inscription to be modelled on coins of Helena, mother of Constantine the Great (d. 337; Table 2, no. 2), while the other (of different and noticeably

Table 3. *Types of early Anglo-Saxon gold shillings, arranged in alphabetical order.*

	Type name/description	Cat. nos.	Sutherland 1948	Abdy and Williams 2006	North	T&S	Fineness (% Au) (XRF)	Fineness (% Au) (SG)	
1	<i>Early types</i>	Bust/Cross	—	IT.iv (13–14)	V.vii	9	9 (69–70)	96.6	60.1, 62.1
2		Bust/Facing Victory	—	VIII T (84)	V.xviii	33–33/1	—	74.3, 89.3	
3		Eusebius	—	I.i (2)	V.ii	2	—		
4		Forked Cross/Cross <i>Ancrée</i>	—	VIII T (87)	V.xix	36	—	95.5	
5		Geometric	2						
6		Liudard	—	I (1)	— (pp. 15–16)	1	—		
7	<i>Substantive types</i> <i>Early</i>	benutigo	—	IT.vi (17–19)	V.xx	11–12	—	64.4, 72.3, 76.0	
8		Cross on steps	—	IT.iv (10–11)	V.v	7	8 (67–8)		63.4, 78.0
9		Eadbald (London)	4	VIT.i (77–81)	V.xv	29	11 (50)	67.8, 70.3, 75.0	60.8, 68.8
9a		Eadbald (Canterbury)	3	—	V.xvi	—	—	76.3	
10		Witmen	—	IVT.i (57)	V.xii	25	—	78.1	
11	<i>Early/ substantive</i>	Witmen-derived 1	6	IVT.ii (58–71)	V.xiii	25	1 (1–21)	32.1, 44.8, 47.0, 67.1, 69.5	42.5, 44.1, 48.4, 45.0, 50.4, 50.5, 51.2, 51.6, 52.7, 52.8, 52.9, 53.1, 53.6, 55.8, 56.1, 58.0, 59.4, 60.9, 62.4, 64.7, 70.1

12	<i>Substantive</i>	Abbo	—	IT.ii (3–4)	V.iii	3	12 (72)	65.5
13		æniwulufu	—	—	V.xxii	—	—	50
14		Bust/LOND	—	IT.iv (12)	V.vi	8	10 (71)	57.3
15		Cross/Cross	—	IT.v (15–16)	V.viii	10	6 (58–62)	48.7, 54.9, 56.9, 58.1, 60.7
16		EAN	—	VIT.ii (79–81)	V.xvii	30	7 (63–6)	35.1, 41.5, 53.5, 63.0
17		LEMC	—	IT.iii (5–9)	V.iv	4–6	4 (42–8)	52.1, 53.5, 57.0, 59.5, 59.8, 62.0, 62.1, 64.7
18		Licinius	—	IIT.iv (28–30)	V.ix	19	3 (33–41)	51.1, 52.4, 52.7, 54.7, 54.8, 55.8, 57.2, 58.3, 58.8
19		London-derived	5	IIIT.ii (48–56)	V.xi	22–4	2 (22–32) 69.2	59.0, 59.8, 60.2, 62.1, 62.2, 63.0, 64.7, 66.4, 67.5, 70.9
20		LONDVNIV	—	IIIT.i (45–7)	V.x	21	5 (52–7)	62.4, 62.6, 63.6, 64.2, 66.4, 68.7
21		Patriarchal cross	—	VIIT (90)	— (no. 379)	39	(73)	59.9
22		Uncertain/Cross Pattée	—	VIIT (85)	—	34	(78)	
23		Witmen-derived 2 (<i>Wuneetton</i>)	7–8	IVT.iii (72–4)	V.xiv	26	(77)	44.8, 48.9, 51.7, 52.4
24		York	8A	VT (75)	V.xxi	27–27/1	(76)	60.0, 62.2, 65.1

(*cont.*)

Table 3. (*cont.*)

	Type name/description	Cat. nos.	Sutherland 1948	Abdy and Williams 2006	North	T&S	Fineness (% Au) (XRF)	Fineness (% Au) (SG)
25 <i>Pale gold</i>	Concordia	—	IIT.i (23–5)	V.xxiii	16	—	34.4, 41.8	
26	Constantine	13	IIT.ii (26)	V.xxiv	17	—	9.7, 19.7, 20.0, 22.5	
26a	Constantine var.	14	—	V.xxv	—	—		
27	Crispus/ desaiona	12	IIT.iii (27)	V.xxvi	18	—	24.7, 35.2	
28	Cross <i>Ancrée</i>	—	VIII (88)	VI (no. 377)	37	—	42.6	
29	Flower	—	—	V.xxviii	—	—		20
30	Two Emperors	9–11	IIT.v (31–44)	V.xxvii	20	(79–80)	22.0, 33.6, 34.2, 36.5, 37.8, 40.3, 50.0, 50.3, 51.3, 51.8, 52.8	
31 <i>Transitional</i>	Pada	15–21	VIT.iii (82–3)	—	31–2, 151–4	(81–3)	0.05, 0.05, 0.3, 0.6, 1.0, 6.2, 6.3, 8.4, 9.4, 9.6, 10.5, 13.1, 16.6, 16.8, 17.2, 22.1, 22.4	
32	Vanimundus	22–5	—	—	12/1, 12/2	(84–7)	0.5, 4.6, 7.4, 7.6	

cruder style, possibly a cast (Rigold 1975, 675)) is probably inspired by *solidi* of Valentinian I or Magnus Maximus (SCBI 63, 86–7; Table 2, no. 4). The latter coin is of extremely pure gold (94.6 per cent), suggesting a very early date; the ‘Helena’ coin (66.2 per cent) is closer to the *scillingas* of the ‘substantive’ gold coinage. Both coins are Norfolk finds, and could have been made locally, though further finds and research are needed to confirm this (Williams 2013a, 132).

The other four coins form a more closely connected group, all sharing an obverse inscription ending in AVG around a late Roman-style bust. This obverse design is paired with a cross on steps on the reverse: a motif lifted from relatively recent Byzantine issues of Heraclius (Grierson 1953; Stewart 1978a, 154; Lyon 2014; SCBI 63, 86; Table 2, no. 1; 1). Just one has a known find-spot, in Kent.

All four of the latter coins (and the Valentinian I/Magnus Maximus piece) show evidence of some form of piercing or mounting. Such a small sample makes it difficult to know how representative this proportion of secondary use might be, but taken at face value, it appears that these coins tended to be used for decorative purposes. However, it should be stressed that the weights of the four AVG coins are relatively close considering the secondary treatment they have received, as is the fineness of the two specimens which have been analysed (56 and 62.2 per cent – comparable to the ‘substantive’ gold *scillingas*); moreover, they were not all mounted or pierced using the same technique. The results of x-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis of the most recently discovered specimen – the only one with an intact loop – are important, for they show that the loop is of quite different gold to the coin, and significantly finer (Lyon 2014, 401). It is very unlikely, therefore, that these coins were mounted at the time of manufacture. There is no indication that they were made specifically with ornamentation in mind, and the AVG group is also now represented by at least two pairs of dies. Anglo-Saxon *solidi* are rare among modern finds, but could have played a more significant part in storing and transferring wealth than is now apparent.

Uncertainty surrounds the attribution of a famous *solidus* bearing the runic inscription **skanomodu**, now in the British Museum (SCBI 63, no. 3; Table 2, no. 3). This attractive coin (of 90.5 per cent gold: Hook and Williams 2013, 57) takes its designs from late Roman *solidi*, but inserts the runic inscription on to the reverse. Its exact find-spot is unknown, though it has been in British collections since the early nineteenth century. Linguistic analysis of the runic inscription has tended to favour a Frisian attribution (Blackburn 1991c, 141–2; Quak 1990; Nielsen 1993; Page 1995, 159–60; Looijenga 2003, 308–9), though comparanda of clear English or Frisian origin from such an early date are few, and its source remains debatable.

2. Tremisses/scillingas

The bulk of early Anglo-Saxon gold coins are small and thick in format, like the Frankish pieces on which they are modelled. Also like Merovingian Frankish coins, they typically weigh about 1.20–1.30g (Sutherland 1948, 57–9; *T&S* 1, 38–42), and vary widely in fineness. Yet in important respects English coins of this form differ from their Frankish counterparts. Most of the latter carry a meaningful inscription, typically conveying the names of mint and moneyer, but literate inscriptions of any form on early English gold coins are extremely rare, and several of those which do occur are runic. Also, although ultimately derived from late Roman designs, Merovingian coins developed an iconography of their own in the later sixth and the seventh century, whereas English specimens more commonly adapted earlier Roman models (though some very early types were

more influenced by Frankish precedents, and the balance of Roman and Frankish models varied between regions) (Sutherland 1948, 38–41; SCBI 63, 88).

These criteria allow a relatively confident separation of Anglo-Saxon from Merovingian gold coins. About thirty major types can be distinguished, a few with important derivatives or sub-types. Their chronology and attribution are in most cases still understood in only loose terms (see below, section (e), pp. 57–9). Four major phases stand out, as outlined in Table 3, based on a combination of criteria including typology and inscriptions, metallurgy and distribution in hoards and other finds. In the past, presence in the Crondall hoard was seen as the decisive factor in determining the dating of types (Stewart 1978a, 144–9), but it is now accepted that, while important, this hoard does not necessarily give a representative view of the coinage (*T&S* I, 32; Williams 2006a, 173–84), and more weight is assigned to fineness, albeit still with some caution. Details of metallurgical analyses are hence included in Table 3, drawn from two principal sources: a series of specific gravity tests carried out by Andrew Oddy in the 1970s (Oddy 1972, printed in *T&S*) and more recent XRF analysis by Duncan Hook (Hook and Williams 2013). The latter are generally more accurate, though for gold coins of binary gold:silver alloy from before the extreme debasement of the later types, the specific gravity results are still valuable (Hook and Williams 2013, 63–5).

The Latin name for these coins was, as elsewhere in western Europe at this time, presumably *tremissis* or *triens*, though there are no clear instances of either of these terms being applied to current coinage in a seventh-century English text. Philip Grierson (supported subsequently by John Hines) made the case that these *tremisses* and their Merovingian counterparts correspond to the *scillingas* of the earliest Anglo-Saxon law-codes, extending back to the time of Æthelberht I of Kent (see Appendix 2, section (a), pp. 361–3). An alternative name for the small early gold coins sometimes found in modern scholarship is *thrymsa*, which is an Old English reflex of Latin *tremissis*, but evidence of the term being applied to coins as early as the seventh century is limited (see Appendix 2, section (a), pp. 366–7). *Scilling* (the ancestor of Mod. Eng. ‘shilling’) or *tremissis* should be preferred over *thrymsa*.

A. Early gold types, c. 580–620

The earliest English gold *scillingas* are represented by a minute number of specimens. Probably the earliest are a pair of coins which between them exemplify the close bonds between Anglo-Saxon and Frankish coinage during its incipient years (see section (e), pp. 57–9 below for discussion of the tentative chronology). One (SCBI 29.6) is a famous piece from a tranche of five or six mounted gold coins found, probably in one or more graves, at Canterbury, in the vicinity of either St Martin’s church or St Augustine’s abbey (*Checklist* 3; Abdy and Williams 2006, no. 5; Table 3, no. 6) (Fig. 4). It carries the obverse inscription LEVDARDVS EP[iscopu]s, ‘Bishop Liudard’, who is presumed to be the Frankish chaplain mentioned by Bede as ministering to the religious needs of Bertha, the Frankish princess married to Æthelberht of Kent (Bede, *HE* 1.25, ed. Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 72–7). The reverse shows an elaborate cruciform motif possibly inspired by the cross of Golgotha and associated relics (Werner 1991; Wood 2008). Because it survives mounted with a loop, Sir John Evans described the piece as a ‘medalet’ rather than a coin (Evans 1942, 25–6), establishing a precedent followed by others who wrote of the object at a time when other evidence for the manufacture and circulation of gold coinage was minimal (Sutherland 1948, 31–2; Grierson 1952–4, 41–3). But the volume of surviving material has grown to such an extent that this piece



Figure 4. Gold coins of (a) Bishop Liudard and (b) Eusebius (World Museum, Liverpool, and BN; photographs from SCBI 29.6 and the BN respectively).

should no longer be seen as occupying a monetary vacuum, and the mounting of a coin does not preclude its having earlier enjoyed a monetary function. It is also entirely possible that, were the mount to be removed (at present weighing 1.57g), the ‘medalet’ would prove to correspond to the weight standard of other Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon *tremisses* (c. 1.20–1.30g). In other words, there is every likelihood that this was indeed made as a coin. It is intimately associated with the story of the conversion and Frankish influence, stemming from precisely the context in which coinage might have been made and used. Yet in naming a bishop but no mint or moneyer the coin departs from contemporary Merovingian practice, as do its epigraphy and style. It was thus presumably made in England, very probably in Canterbury itself, at some point between Æthelberht’s marriage to Bertha (c. 575×581) and the time when she died or was repudiated (601–616×618) (Brooks 1989, 65–7; Nelson 2004).

The second indisputably early coin belongs more firmly within the Frankish numismatic tradition. It is a gold *tremissis* of the ‘national’ type, similar in design and style to other Merovingian pieces from the earlier stages of this coinage, save that the mint named on the reverse is DOROVERNIS CIVITAS – i.e. Canterbury (Fig. 4; Table 3, no. 3). The moneyer bears the Greek name Eusebius. This specimen was first noted in the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale by Adrian de Longpérier (de Longpérier 1837), and despite initial scepticism (e.g. Akerman in an editorial note to de Longpérier 1837), it is now cautiously accepted as essentially a Merovingian coin made in England, at a time when Merovingian monetary influence was strong.

Other types are considered early on the basis of their metallurgy as much as their design, though there is in their iconography a greater tendency towards Merovingian influence than in later times. One type of Bust/Cross design is represented by a specimen with an exceptionally high fineness of 96.6 per cent gold (Hook and Williams 2013, no. Add 13; Table 3, no. 1), suggesting that the coinage may have begun at a very early stage. Two specimens of the type in the Crondall hoard produced specific gravity results of 60.1 and 62.1 per cent gold, however, suggesting the type may have continued into the ‘substantive’ gold phase, or had loose standards of production. The same may also be true of the Bust/Facing Victory type (Table 3, no. 2): two specimens have been analysed, giving results of 89.3 and 74.3 per cent gold. The origins of both types remain shrouded in uncertainty (Stewart 1978a, 150, 162–3). The Bust/Cross type is known from the Crondall hoard and one single-find from North Yorkshire; the Bust/Facing Victory type from a single find in Dorset.

Also tentatively assigned to this period is a unique coin of Forked Cross/Cross *Ancrée* type in the British Museum with an extremely high gold content (95.5 per cent), and a design more reminiscent of Merovingian than Roman precedents (SCBI 63.4; Table 3, no. 4); and a worn coin of geometric design in this collection (Table 3, no. 5; 2).

B. Substantive gold types, c. 620–45

A much larger variety of coinages can be assigned to this period, amounting to a total of some eighteen types (see Table 3, nos. 7–24). Even after two centuries the Crondall hoard remains the largest source for this first substantial Anglo-Saxon coinage. It contained representatives from a majority of the known types, and so was probably gathered towards the middle or end of their period of circulation. Presence in Crondall is hence one criterion for assignment of types to this period, supported by common patterns of debasement: most types in the hoard cluster between about 75 and 50 per cent gold, though some specimens dipped as low as 42 per cent pure, and there could be much fluctuation within these brackets (either over time, or as a result of relatively lax management of fineness). On the basis of their comparable fineness several types of gold coinage not represented in Crondall, including some probably minted in distant parts of the country, can be assigned to approximately the same period.

Among the types of this period not represented in Crondall is the so-called **benutigo** type, distinguished by an early runic inscription on the reverse (Table 3, no. 7). One specimen contained 76 per cent gold, at the higher end of the Crondall range. The **benutigo** coins may form part of a small cluster of types with similar fineness, perhaps minted earlier than the other varieties in the hoard (Hook and Williams 2013, 68). The type is known from finds in Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire and Surrey, prompting suggestions of a western or Thames valley origin (cf. *T&S* 1, 31–2; *SCBI* 63, 89–90).

Also perhaps belonging to the earliest stages of the ‘substantive’ gold coinage is an elegant and literate coin of uncertain provenance with a reverse legend naming a moneyer Witmen (*SCBI* 63.11; Table 3, no. 10), which contains 78.1 per cent gold. This type gave rise to an extensive series of imitations divided on stylistic criteria into two groups, labelled by Sutherland as the ‘Witmen-derived’ and ‘Wuneeetton’ types, the latter named for the corrupt form of the moneyer’s name found on the reverse (Sutherland 1948, 46–50). It is preferable, however, to describe the two types as ‘Witmen-derived 1’ and ‘Witmen-derived 2’ respectively (Table 3, nos. 11, 23; **6, 7–8**), as both stand at some remove from the original type, and indeed from each other: the two groups show quite different patterns of fineness and find distribution (Hook and Williams 2013, 69; *SCBI* 63, 91). ‘Witmen-derived 1’ is highly varied in its fineness, with specimens ranging from 32.1 to 69.5 per cent gold, whereas ‘Witmen-derived 2’ is much more concentrated (44.8–52.4 per cent). The first of these two types probably began earlier (it is strongly represented in the Crondall hoard) and persisted for a long time; the second may have begun later and been briefer in duration (*MEC* 1, 163). In terms of find distribution, ‘Witmen-derived 1’ is strongly concentrated south of the Thames, whereas ‘Witmen-derived 2’ is mostly found to the north (and is not present in Crondall: Stewart 1978a, 151; Williams 2013a, 132–3). Taken together, the Witmen coin and its derivatives illustrate the swift developments which were already taking place in the seventh century, with new issues recalling established types struck at (probably) multiple mints using a range of metallic standards (Stewart 1978a, 148).

Key historical evidence for the dating of the substantive gold period is provided by the one type which carries the name of a king. +AVDVARLÐ REGES, as the inscription is given on the coins around a Roman-style bust, has since the nineteenth century been associated with Eadbald, king of Kent (616×618–640) (Ponton d’Amécourt 1872, 78–9; Blackburn 2006b, 130–5; Shaw 2008, 98–101). Two major varieties are known, of slightly different style but comparable weight and fineness. One has on the reverse a debased but legible form of the London mint name

(Table 3, no. 9; **4**) (Blackburn 1998b; Williams 1998b); the other (known from a single specimen in this collection) a partial inscription which can plausibly be reconstructed as the mint name of Canterbury (Table 3, no. 9a; **3**) (Blackburn 2006b, 127–35). The London variety was present in the Crondall hoard, and both types include examples of relatively elevated fineness (60.8–76.3 per cent gold), placing them into the same group of probably early issues within this phase of the coinage.

A final type probably belonging to the finer portion of the ‘substantive’ gold coinage carries a Roman-style bust and a primitive cross-on-steps design (Table 3, no. 8). It is known solely from the Crondall hoard, with finenesses ranging between 63.4 and 78 per cent gold.

Beyond this small batch of probably early ‘substantive’ types, there is a large cluster of coins with a fineness of approximately 50–70 per cent gold (including the substantial ‘Witmen-derived 1’ type discussed above). A rare legible type among these bears the apparent name of a moneyer (Abbo; Table 3, no. 12). This feature has prompted debate over whether the coin is English or Frankish, but the balance of opinion now favours the former, though the moneyer’s name may be copied from a Frankish exemplar (Sutherland 1948, 32–3; Stewart 1978a, 147). A range of types carry some form of the mint name for London, which (like Witmen and its derivatives) break up into several distinct sub-types (Table 3, no. 19; **5**). The most legible of these clearly intends LONDVNIV and features an innovative facing bust design on the obverse, with a large Latin cross on the reverse. This combination of motifs has led to speculation that it might be an episcopal issue produced under the auspices of Mellitus, first bishop of London (acceded 604, expelled *c.* 617 and translated to Canterbury 619), though there is no explicit signal of episcopal (as opposed to monastic or Christian secular) input, and it is likely to date from somewhat later (Sutherland 1948, 41–5; Gannon 2003, 25; Hook and Williams 2013, 62). There are two further groups which both essay a crude form of the mint-name reverse. The more numerous of these two (the ‘London-derived’ type; Table 3, no. 19) replaces the facing bust with a bust facing right in profile. Finds are relatively numerous and more scattered than of the LONDVNIV type; hence, despite the reverse inscription, it may not come from London (*T&S* 1, 59–60; Gannon 2003, 25–6). However, the London-derived type is very close to the LONDVNIV type in its metallic content (59.0–70.9 per cent gold): if it was a direct derivative of the latter, it must have begun at a very early stage, and may reflect an otherwise unknown early prototype of the LONDVNIV type. Another type (‘Bust/LOND’; Table 3, no. 14) may also reflect the influence of the London coinage. It features a similar inscriptional reverse design, but a left-facing profile bust of quite different style. As with the Witmen type, imitation of the successful London designs thus seems to have been widespread, probably extending beyond London itself (Sutherland 1948, 44–5).

Two types carry inscriptions of less obvious interpretation (‘EAN’ and ‘LEMC’; Table 3, nos. 16–17). The former places the lettering around a bust of fourth-century Roman derivation, with a cross pattée in inner circle on the reverse; the latter arranges the letters in the angles of a long cross on the reverse, and carries a cruder, more abstract bust on the obverse. Both types include coins of *c.* 65 per cent gold, but specimens of the ‘EAN’ type fall as low as 35.1 per cent pure.

A type with a runic inscription and a problematic history in the scholarship is worthy of special note (Table 3, no. 13). It is represented by a pair of coins: one now in the Hunterian collection in Glasgow (Bateson and Campbell 1998, 171 (no. 3)), the other (now lost) found at Folkestone, Kent in the early eighteenth century and exhibited at the Spalding Gentlemen’s Society in 1732 (*MEC* 1, 640–3). The type was based on a Merovingian design (probably minted at Corneillan, *dép.* Gers),

albeit one with an unusual reverse which shows two standing figures (cf. Pol 2006). The English imitations insert a runic legend *æniwulufu* on the obverse: presumably an early form of the name Eanwulf, belonging to a moneyer (Blackburn 1991c, 143–4; Nielsen 1993). The fineness of the Glasgow specimen (c. 50 per cent pure: Blackburn 1991c, 144) hints at a date towards the later end of the ‘substantive’ gold coinage.

There are several types with no inscription at all to aid in interpretation. Among these is an elegant coinage known solely from nine specimens in the Crondall hoard, closely modelled on bronze coins of the fourth-century Emperor Licinius (Table 3, no. 18). This attractive, Romanising design appears to have exercised influence over several later coinages (SCBI 63, 96–7). An unusual and less elaborate type (‘Cross/Cross’; Table 3, no. 15) carries cruciform motifs on both faces, and is struck on particularly small and thick (almost globular) flans. Possibly related to this is a coin in the Crondall hoard with a patriarchal cross on one face and the other blank (Sutherland 1948, no. 90; T&S 1, no. 73); its English attribution has recently been bolstered by a die-linked single-find from Lincolnshire (EMC 1998.0039).

One of the most contentious types of Anglo-Saxon gold coins is the so-called ‘York group’ (Table 3, no. 24; 8A). It was not represented in the Crondall hoard, but one specimen must have been known in the eighteenth century when it inspired a forgery (F3; see also note to MEC 1.1481). A group of three (or, less probably, four) coins, all die-duplicates, surfaced in York in the 1840s, apparently from a small hoard found in the course of building work within the city; others may have come to light in York around the same time, though their association with the hoard is less clear (Tweddle and Moulden 1992; Pirie 1992). At least fourteen specimens were known as of 2014 (Naylor and Allen 2014, 157). These coins have provoked intense debate on several points. Their authenticity has been questioned (Metcalf 1960–1, 102–3; Kent 1961, 11; Grierson 1962a; Hill 1975, 678), but is now generally accepted on the strength of metallurgical analyses showing that the coins are comparable in fineness to other ‘substantive’ gold issues (55–62 per cent; for comment see Hawkes *et al.* 1966, 128; Williams 2007a). The design on the obverse of the coins created great confusion. Scholars have seen it as a stylised facing bust (Kent 1961, 11; T&S 1, 51), an anthropomorphic reliquary adorned with cloisonné ornamentation (Gannon 2003, 27–8), a Roman ‘camp gate’ design (Grierson 1962a) or a representation of a church (Pirie 1992; 2006, 217–18). More recent finds from Burton-by-Lincoln, Lincolnshire (Blackburn 1994b) and especially Harrogate, North Yorkshire (8A; cf. SCBI 63, 92) have clinched the case for an increasingly abstracted facing human figure: on the Harrogate specimen, presumably from close to the head of the series, the features of the figure are very clear, and it stands full-length holding two crosses (Naylor and Allen 2014). The reverses of the ‘York group’ show either a cross surrounded by a pseudo-legend, or a geometric pattern forming a larger cross, the latter being associated with the more anthropomorphic obverses, and hence possibly earlier. Despite the discovery of the one known hoard of the type in York, there is no specific evidence to tie its production to that city, although the increasing number of finds remains clustered in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, supporting a northern attribution. This type probably dates to the same period as the finer types in the Crondall hoard (Hook and Williams 2013, 68), with the caveat that a mint in Northumbria may not have followed the same pattern of debasement as those in the south. Given the explicitly Christian iconography of the type (Hook and Williams 2013, 61), a likely *terminus post quem* is the arrival of the first Roman Christian mission in Northumbria c. 618/19, or more probably the conversion to Christianity of Edwin in 628 (Bede, *HE* II.9–11; cf. Kirby 1963).

C. Pale gold types, c. 645–65/70

The later segments of the seventh-century gold coinage present less variation in design, but the individual types are often known from relatively large samples. None of these types is represented in Crondall or any other known hoard: knowledge of them has grown exponentially with the proliferation of new single-finds. ‘Pale gold’ types generally contain between 50 and 20 per cent gold. Their finest specimens thus overlap with the more debased examples of types from the previous phase (Hook and Williams 2013, 69), while the poorest ‘pale gold’ coins shade into the upper levels of fineness seen in the final ‘Transitional’ gold types. These divisions hence possess only limited significance: the gold coinages of the seventh century probably flowed together in seamless fashion (see section (e), pp. 57–9 on the chronology).

The largest of the ‘pale gold’ coinages was also most likely one of the longest lasting. More than thirty specimens of the ‘Two Emperors’ type (Table 3, no. 30; **9–II**) survive; all definitely or probably stem from single-finds. Historically, the concentration of finds in Kent inclined scholars to attribute it to a mint-place in that kingdom (*MEC* 1, 163), though it is now also very well known from finds made in East Anglia, especially Suffolk, and is well represented at the productive sites of Coddensham and Rendlesham (Williams 2013a, 134). At present, all that may be said with confidence is that ‘Two Emperors’ belongs to a mint-place somewhere in the east or south-east of England. The type covers a wide range of fineness, from 22.0 to 52.8 per cent gold, which implies a lengthy duration. There are no very marked stylistic variations (*SCBI* 63, 94–5), though the number of pellets on the reverse fluctuates. The eye-catching design of this type was copied from fourth-century *solidi* showing two emperors enthroned side by side (Gannon 2003, 84–7).

The next largest type likewise carries attractive imagery, combining Roman with Christian iconography. Its obverse design of a bust with clasped hands praying to a cross (or, on a sub-type, a star) carries obvious religious meaning, and provided the inspiration for the type’s modern name: ‘Constantine’ (Gannon 2003, 65, 74–5) (Table 3, nos. 26–26a; **I3–I4**). The reverse design probably represents a stylised altar or trophy with captives beneath (both devices used on fourth-century bronzes) (A. Marsden in Beaumont-James 2004, 241–3; Gannon 2003, 73). The ‘Constantine’ type lies at the lower end of fineness for even the ‘pale gold’ coinage (c. 10–20 per cent); a variant with a star reverse (**I4**) is still more debased, and may shade into the period of ‘Transitional’ types (*T&S* 1, 47–8; Gannon 2003, 164–5). Find distribution points strongly towards an East Anglian origin (Metcalf 2011, 20; Williams 2013a, 134; *SCBI* 63, 93–4).

Another visually arresting type based on a more unusual Roman design is known as the ‘Concordia’ type after the inscription found on its model, surrounding a pair of clasped hands. The Anglo-Saxon coins replicate this image (albeit with a corrupt and abbreviated legend) and combine it with a crowned bust on the obverse which went on to be the model for some of the early pennies of Series A (Gannon 2003, 43, 63; Table 3, no. 25; see Chapter 4, section (f), p. 94). Find-spots are few, but all are located in Kent (Williams 2013a, 134). The fineness of analysed specimens places the type around the middle of the ‘pale gold’ range.

The last substantial ‘pale gold’ coinage is the only one with a meaningful inscription, in the form of a series of runes which have been read as **delaiona** (in which case possibly a form of mint name for London: Archibald 1991, no. 50) or more probably **desaiona** (Blackburn 1991c, 144; 2006b, 137; Page 1999, 120) (Table 3, no. 27; **I2**). These runes surround an inner circle containing a Latin cross, normally flanked by two smaller crosses which potentially represent the crucifixion scene

with Christ's cross and those of the two thieves. The other face bears a well-executed helmeted bust, with a degraded inscription suggesting derivation from a coin of Emperor Crispus (Gannon 2003, 52–3). One of the later 'Pada' types derives its obverse design from this coinage (see below). A variant related to this type, the Flower type, shares a similar reverse to the Crispus/**desaiona** type (though omitting the smaller crosses and the runic legend), while the obverse carries an innovative ten-leaved floral design. This motif is paralleled in other media such as manuscript art and metalwork, but is not otherwise found on seventh-century coinage (Blackburn 2006b, 135–40). Finds of Crispus/**desaiona** coins are comparatively few and include several from Suffolk, though others come from as far afield as Wiltshire (Williams 2013a, 134). Fineness lies around the mid-point of 'pale gold' types (24.7–35.2 per cent pure), the floral type somewhat lower (20 per cent).

The sole surviving specimen (now in the British Museum) of a type with debased inscriptions surrounding crosses on both faces (one a cross *ancrée*) seems, on the basis of its fineness (42.6 per cent gold), to belong to the 'pale gold' phase (Table 3, no. 28).

D. Transitional ('Pre-Primary') gold types, c. 665/70–70/75

Two coinages ('Pada' and 'Vanimundus') bear witness to the final demise of gold coinage in seventh-century England, the former much more substantial than the latter. Both end with coins which are effectively pure silver, containing only a trace amount of gold. Finer 'Pada' specimens are comparable with more debased 'pale gold' coins (up to 22.4 per cent fine), as is one specimen of the earlier 'Vanimundus' reverse variant (c. 20 per cent gold: Mayhew 2006), suggesting once again a certain amount of overlap between the later and earlier ends of the various chronological groupings (see section (e), pp. 57–9 on the chronology).

'Pada'-type coins are united by a runic legend on the reverse (**pada**) (Table 3, no. 31; **15–21**), long thought to be the name of the Mercian king Peada (655–8) (Sutherland 1948, 54–5), but this is now recognised as unfeasible philologically (Rigold 1960–1, 13), and the coins probably belong somewhat later (*MEC* 1, 163). Pada was presumably a moneyer responsible for at least some of these coins, although it is possible that not all *scillingas* bearing his name were made by the same individual or mint-place. Coins with the **pada** inscription are typologically diverse, consisting of three different obverse bust variants combined with five distinct reverse designs (Rigold 1960–1, 13–15, 31–2; *T&S* 1, 73–9; *SCBI* 63, 95–7). These may represent separate mint-places or phases of production (Hook and Williams 2013, 70; *T&S* 1, 77–9). Metal standards point to a lengthy coinage, potentially made under quite loose control. Coins of variant PaI (helmeted bust; **15**) tend to be quite high in gold content (16.6–17.2 per cent), whereas PaII (diademed bust; **16–18**) and PaIII (helmeted bust; **19–21**) both have a much wider range starting slightly higher (22.4 and 22.1 per cent gold respectively) but ending in pure silver. Single-finds of PaIII are much more numerous than those of both other groups, and the coinage as a whole is distributed across eastern England, with strong representation in East Anglia, Kent and London: the traditional Kentish attribution should no longer be regarded as certain (Williams 2013a, 135; Metcalf 2001a, 38; *pace T&S* 1, 74–5), though is still supported by typological affinities with some of the earliest pennies (Metcalf 2014b, 60–1).

The 'Vanimundus' type (Table 3, no. 32; **22–5**) also carries an apparent moneyer's name, executed in Roman script with varying degrees of competence. Vanimundus could be the name of a Frankish moneyer operating in England, or simply copied from Merovingian coins by a moneyer Warimundus (Rigold 1966, 2; *T&S* 1, 82; Metcalf 2001b). Despite a number of French finds and the

likely Merovingian origins of the name, the type's English attribution has been accepted since the 1930s on the basis of its style and Roman model (Le Gentilhomme 1937, 81; Rigold 1966, 2; Stewart 1978a, 152–3; *MEC* 1, 164; *T&S* 1, 80–1; *SCBI* 63, 97–8). It also has affinities with early penny types (Rigold 1960–1, 13; but cf. *T&S* 1, 80–1), and certain elements of the 'Vanimundus' obverse design are related to those of 'Pada' (*SCBI* 63, 98). Two major reverse variants are known: one with a Latin cross flanked by the letters CA, inspired by the Merovingian coinage of Chalon-sur-Saône (22); the second, more plentiful, type has a cross pattée in an inner circle (23–5). A specimen of the former contained a relatively high quantity of gold (c. 20 per cent), comparable with the early Pada and late 'pale gold' types, but most analyses have been of the latter type: even the finest of these contain less than 10 per cent gold, and many are effectively silver (Hook and Williams 2013, 70). Like the 'Pada' type, finds come from a broad area of eastern England extending from Kent to Norfolk, though with a slightly stronger concentration north of the Thames (Williams 2013a, 135).

(e) CHRONOLOGY

Very few criteria are available for the construction of a chronology for the gold coinage, in either relative or absolute terms, and all schemes require a degree of flexibility. At its extremes, the influence of Merovingian coins of the 'national' or 'mint and moneyer' types hints that the inception of the Anglo-Saxon coinage occurred after about the 570s, while the end must have come by the time of Aldfrith of Northumbria (685–704) and probably a decade or more earlier: a conclusion based partly on Merovingian parallels and partly on extrapolation from the dates assigned with more confidence to later hoards (*MEC* 1, 93–5, 184–9). Within these outer brackets there are only a few fixed points. Gareth Williams has pointed out a general correlation between adoption of minting and the appearance of other trappings of Christian Roman culture, including conversion to the new religion (Williams 2006a, 186–8). Many of the earliest English coinages also bear Christian iconography. They are hence unlikely to pre-date the conversion of various parts of England. One of the very few coins with an intelligible inscription derives from the heart of the first Christian missions in England: the famous Liudard piece found in Canterbury, struck in the name of Bertha's chaplain some time c. 575×581–616×618. This provides the most secure *terminus post quem* for the inception of Anglo-Saxon gold coinage, albeit on a very small scale. The only other fixed point in the series is furnished by coins of Eadbald of Kent (616×618–40). As noted by Williams, his reign began with a brief period of apostasy, during which the production of explicitly Latin, Christian coinage is unlikely (Bede, *HE* II. 5–6, ed. Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 148–59).

Eadbald's coinage provides the only secure date for the Crondall hoard, which must belong after 616×618. How long after is debatable. Sutherland favoured a late date for Crondall of 660–70 (Sutherland 1948, 13), while a date between about 640 and 650 has been favoured by several subsequent scholars (*MEC* 1, 161; Hook and Williams 2013, 62–3; Archibald *et al.* 2013, 497), with a slightly earlier estimate by Metcalf (635×645; *T&S* 1, 31). The principal argument for assigning the Crondall hoard to the 640s stemmed from comparison of the fineness of its contents with Frankish issues (Kent 1967, 29–30; 1975; Rigold 1975, 659; cf. Stewart 1978a, 146–7). However, this methodology is no longer considered authoritative: dates dependent on the alloy of undated Merovingian moneyer/mint types are not reliable, and there is in any case no reason to assume that English coinage closely followed Frankish debasement (Hook and Williams 2013, 62–3). Other

evidence for the date of the Crondall hoard is inevitably looser. The Anglo-Saxon element of the hoard includes a high proportion of die-linked coins in fresh-looking condition, suggesting an assemblage of fairly recent material (Blunt 1948, 344–5). Yet the wide range of types and their variation in fineness indicates production and circulation for some period of time before deposition. Taken with the *terminus post quem* of Eadbald's coinage, any date in the period c. 620–45 is feasible depending on when during his reign the coins were issued (cf. Williams 2013a, 128–9).

Beyond this point the chronology largely depends on judgements of how long various typological, stylistic and especially metallurgical developments would have taken to emerge. Independent analysis of the English material has tended to be guided by fineness (Hook and Williams 2013, 60, 67–70). Types of very high fineness (c. 75 per cent pure or higher) but of anonymous design are tentatively associated with the early phase represented by issues of Liudard and Eusebius, probably dating to the end of the sixth century and the first years of the seventh century. Coins of the Substantive phase outlined above share a somewhat lower fineness of c. 50–75 per cent gold. The more debased specimens of the latter phase shade into the 'pale gold' types which begin at c. 50 per cent gold but go as low as about 20 per cent. Finally, two 'transitional' types witness the final decline of gold from 10–20 per cent fine to a negligible quantity, followed shortly thereafter by the institution of new and prolific silver coin types. This chronological framework must be loose enough to accommodate a significant amount of slippage between different phases: more debased specimens of one overlap with finer examples of the next. Yet there was also considerable variability even among contemporaneous issues. Some types show dramatic divergence in the standard of individual coins (by up to 30–40 per cent for the Bust/Cross, EAN, Two Emperors and Witmen-derived 1 types); even die-duplicates from the Crondall hoard can vary by as much as 12 per cent in gold content (cf. *T&S* 1, nos. 18–19, 22–3, 39–40, 43–4, 58–61, etc.). Such differences could be the result of ebbs and flows in bullion supply, though variation between die-duplicates also hints at a relatively relaxed attitude to metallic quality (Hook and Williams 2013, 67; cf. Codine-Trécourt 2014, 33–6). It follows that fineness can only be used as an approximate guide to chronology. Nevertheless, the broad outline of the metallurgical phasing is supported by other considerations, such as presence or absence from the Crondall hoard, a gradual visual change in metallic colour in the 'pale' types, and growth in the number of single-finds of 'pale' and 'Transitional' types.

The end of the gold coinage is difficult to pinpoint. Very late types show a seamless transition from highly debased gold to effectively pure silver. In England this is associated with the 'Pada' and 'Vanimundus' types (both from eastern England) and possibly late variants of the 'Constantine' type from East Anglia; the Frisian 'Madelinus' type and its derivatives seem to have enjoyed a similar fate, albeit with a higher initial purity of gold, and probably an earlier process of decline (see Chapter 4, section (e), p. 92). The so-called 'Pre-Primary' or 'Transitional' varieties of debased gold led to the genesis of several new types of silver coin (the 'Primary' pennies), all sharing a high level of purity (see Chapter 4, section (d), pp. 79–87). Links with the earlier currency remained strong. Several hoards of early silver pennies include debased gold coins; some are grave deposits in which either the gold or silver coins are mounted (e.g. *Checklist* 14a, 19b–c; cf. the Remmerden hoard: Pol 1989). A number of the new 'Primary' silver types took inspiration for their design from earlier debased gold coinages, and there are a small number of 'Primary' pennies which contain more than a trace amount of gold (e.g. *T&S* no. 88, of Series A and 93, of Series F). This was probably more by accident than design (*SCBI* 63, 98), but is suggestive of some overlap between

‘Transitional’ and ‘Primary’ issues (*T&S* III, 643–4). In other words, although there was a significant shift in the late seventh century, this probably did not involve a single conscious or concerted break with the gold coinage.

The chronology of this process has traditionally been derived from Merovingian parallels. These indicate a gradual move from pale gold to silver in the 670s. The latest datable gold coins belong to Clovis III (675–6) and Dagobert II (676–9) from Marseille; another coin of Clovis III comes from a different mint. The earliest silver coins come from Tours, struck in the name of Childeric II (662–75) during the brief period 673–5 when he controlled Neustria; others of the same period are in the name of Ebroin, mayor of the palace (658–73 and 675–80/1), and Lambert, archbishop of Lyon (674–84/8) (*MEC* I, 93–5). The assumption has been that the Anglo-Saxon and Frisian coinage followed the Merovingian move to silver in the 670s, though there is no direct evidence for this other than the traditional assumption that the Anglo-Saxon currency conformed to the norms of the Frankish system (*MEC* I, 187; but see Chapter 4, section (d), pp. 79–85). Certainly there was room on both sides of the Channel for regional variation as part of a gradual process (cf. Archibald *et al.* 2013, 512).

New scientific dates for a range of seventh-century graves containing coins (based on statistical calibration of multiple radiocarbon dates and other criteria) have important ramifications for the numismatic chronology (Hines and Bayliss 2013). Finds from the sixth and earlier seventh century dated using this methodology generally coincide with the numismatically derived chronology, but those containing coins from the period of transition between gold and silver point towards a somewhat earlier date than the traditional numismatic chronology would suggest (Archibald *et al.* 2013, 503–6, nos. 9–15). All seven graves containing ‘Transitional’ gold/silver coins or very early silver pennies in the sample were re-dated (including finds with different contents from several locations). It is difficult to dismiss this evidence entirely, especially because other fixed points in the chronology are so few. Further discussion of these important new data is needed, but moving the traditional start date of the silver coinage (from c. 675/80) back by five or ten years would not invalidate the rest of the chronology. Indeed, it would fit in well with other possible modifications of the chronological arrangement of early Anglo-Saxon coinage. It would allow a ‘Primary’ phase of greater duration, for example, and might support a slightly earlier dating for the Crondall hoard, in order to accommodate the large and complex pale gold coinage.

(f) SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

The earliest English coinage holds a special place in the development of the currency. Frustratingly, however, the context from which it emerged remains obscure, particularly with regard to how the coinage functioned in practice and how it fitted into contemporary social and political structures. Its immediate model, the Merovingian ‘national’ or ‘mint and moneyer’ coinage, was based on a highly dispersed and localised network of production, in which individual moneyers produced coins at hundreds of *vici* and *villae* as well as larger cities (*civitates*). Despite the rarity of royal coinage, and the near-total absence of coinage in the names of magnates (save a small number of bishops), it is very likely that Merovingian minting was being driven by the demands of the elite, including the specific need to extract gold from rural landholdings. Patterns of circulation, and presumably also the uses, of the resultant coins were diverse: the products of individual mint-places’ or moneyers’ products could remain relatively close to home, or travel over surprisingly

long distances following known axes of exchange and communication (Metcalf 2006c; Naismith 2014a, 289–300).

Proliferation of coinage in England presupposes a society, or at least an elite, which was amenable to its use. Increasing circulation of Merovingian *tremisses* had surely made coinage familiar even before local production began, and the decision to issue currency was as much cultural as economic. It was one of many new developments among the elite of late sixth- and seventh-century England, including the spread of Christianity, prompted by contact with other powers and peoples (see above, section (c), pp. 43–5; cf. Williams 2006a, 186–8; Hook and Williams 2013, 61). But conversion in itself did not lead directly to minting and coin-use; rather, both developments were part of a larger series of changes which tended to arise together (Naismith forthcoming), drawing upon intensifying assertions of aristocratic power and wealth (Naismith 2014a, 300–2). Wealthy members of society looked to Francia for marriage alliances, and sought out precious goods which had come from or through the Frankish kingdom (see above, section (c), pp. 43–5). In short, the emergence of a wealthy, competitive and outward-looking ruling stratum in society was an essential factor in driving the first monetisation of England. Elite demand and control over resources, which was not inconsiderable, is the only realistic cause for production of coins on the scale seen in seventh-century England (*T&S* 1, 33–7; Williams 2006a, 185–6; Metcalf 2014b, 43–6).

Less clear is whether the striking of coinage was restricted to royalty. The gold coinage of the seventh century is diverse enough that it must represent several mint-places, albeit not nearly as many as in parts of contemporary Gaul: probably at least half a dozen (*T&S* 1, 30), and arguably double that or more. As in later times, these coinages, and presumably also their sources, varied in character. At least one explicitly royal coinage was issued, under the auspices of Eadbald of Kent. The flexibility of overlordship and conceptions of power at this time leaves room for a multitude of secular patrons, potentially holding quite different forms and levels of authority (see above, section (a), pp. 39–42; cf. Dumville 1989c; 1997b; Yorke 1990, 9–19).

But Eadbald's ambitious coinage is not necessarily representative. There were also coins made in the name of the Frankish Bishop Liudard, and other inscribed types already cite the names of moneyers. Some among these (e.g. 'Abbo' and 'Vanimundus') are certainly or probably copied from Frankish models, and may not reflect circumstances of production in England; but some (Eusebius, Witmen, Pada and possibly *Æniwulufu*) do appear to carry the names of moneyers active in seventh-century England. These suggest that at least some production on broadly Merovingian lines was taking place, in which a moneyer acted as the primary point of reference by making coins on behalf of customers, probably drawn largely or wholly from the elite. Uninscribed types could have been made under royal, ecclesiastical or artisanal authority. In Francia (and by extension early Anglo-Saxon England) it is generally assumed that the dynamic driving production by moneyers was commercial-cum-official, but other possibilities should be borne in mind, including unfree 'moneyers' whose primary role was as smiths for secular or ecclesiastical masters, who were singled out for special treatment among subordinate groups in early law-codes (laws of *Æthelberht*, c. 7; laws of *Ine*, c. 63; cf. Coatsworth and Pinder 2002).

Diversity in production doubtless influenced patterns of use. Small coinages might have been produced over a brief period for a single, specific need or occasion, conceivably at a 'mint' associated with a rural estate centre or meeting place, and have circulated mainly in the locality. Larger issues (such as the 'Two Emperors' and 'Pada' types) could circulate very widely: they might represent the products of a bigger, more sustained operation, possibly connected with a royal

dynasty that enjoyed extensive long-distance contacts, or alternatively with one of the incipient *emporia* (Fleming 2009; 2010, 183–212; Loveluck 2013, 178–212). Broadly speaking, early gold types were relatively circumscribed in scale and substantially outnumbered by incoming Frankish issues; evolution of the Anglo-Saxon monetary economy is hinted at by the greater number and more widespread circulation of pale and Transitional types (Metcalf 2014b, 54, 62–3). Use of gold coin was inherently restricted by the high value of each individual specimen, and the scarcity of finds of gold coins led scholars before about the 1980s to take a very limited view of the seventh-century monetary economy (Grierson 1959; Stewart 1978a, 144–5). The hoards from Sutton Hoo and Crondall, for example, were interpreted by Philip Grierson as a payment for spiritual oarsmen and a wergild fine of 100 shillings, respectively (Grierson 1961; 1970; cf. Williams 2006a, 173–84). As noted above (section (b), pp. 42–3), the advent of metal-detecting has transformed views of the seventh-century currency with a rapid expansion of finds. This does not of course negate the underlying difficulty of a very high-value denomination: gold *scillingas* would have been far too valuable for most transactions, and a large portion of the population must have dealt with them only rarely. The remarkable survival of several seventh-century law-codes from southern England containing hundreds of fines reckoned in *scillingas*, for instance, provides one possible context of coin-use, yet this does not necessarily mean that Anglo-Saxon gold coins were made primarily for wergild payments (Naismith 2014a, 301–2). Use of the coinage was undoubtedly more diverse functionally and socially than previously believed. In the contemporary Merovingian kingdom there are many written sources which shed light on use of gold coin at multiple levels of society (including merchants and, in some contexts, peasants) for varied purposes, among them commercial exchange and payment of rent as well as gifts and political tributes (Heinzelmann 2013, esp. 276–91; Naismith 2014a, 287–8, 297–9, 305–6; Metcalf 2014b, 51). Within England, many ‘productive sites’ marked by large concentrations of early pennies begin with a small number of earlier gold coins, implying use on a smaller scale but in a comparable context (Naismith 2014a, 302; Metcalf 2014b, 52–4). Debasement could also have helped render *scillingas* more accessible economically, if the face value of coins stayed broadly proportionate to their intrinsic metal content (Naismith 2014a, 297).

Nonetheless, Grierson was undoubtedly correct in seeing a strong social and symbolic element in early medieval use of coin. This existed alongside, and was closely interwoven with, other motivations that drove coins to change hands, and applied to cutting and melting as much as other acts. Gregory of Tours wrote of how King Clovis’ father, Childeric, before going into exile gave one half of a cut gold coin to a trusted friend who would send it to him to match up with the other half once it was safe to return (Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* II.12, ed. Krusch and Levison 1951, 61). There can be little doubt that gold pieces in seventh-century England carried similar symbolic meaning (cf. Bede, *HE* III.8, ed. Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 238–9).

In a very real sense, therefore, the seventh-century gold coinage did mark the genesis of a dynamic monetary economy in Anglo-Saxon England, quite distinct from the small-scale use of coin in the two preceding centuries, or indeed from the expanded monetary system of the late seventh and eighth century. One of its more distinctive elements was a relatively strong bond between gold coins and other gold objects, similar to the role of silver in Viking territories in the late ninth and tenth century (see Chapter 1, section (f), pp. 18–22). Both the Crondall hoard and the Sutton Hoo purse – as well as some Frankish hoards of similar date – included other objects besides coins (Stahl 1992, 9–11). Crondall contained a pair of gold ornaments and a chain together with three

gold blanks; Sutton Hoo famously contained three blanks and two ingots. Other finds of blanks have since emerged, and also of cut Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon gold coins (Williams 2013a, 127–8). Several scholars have speculated that the total weight of gold in the Sutton Hoo purse, and potentially of other objects in the burial, related to seventh-century metrological units (Martin 1987; Hines 2010, 159–71). Gold in all forms was frequently being cut, melted and re-made to suit changing needs: coins minted to be a reliable standard for exchange purposes could readily be adapted (through either melting or secondary treatment) to a bullion or decorative role, and the gold would retain value in any form, potentially even magnified through display. Silver probably only featured in the display, exchange and storage of wealth in uncoined form at this stage (Hines 2010); the Merovingians maintained late Roman traditions of stamping silver plate for reliability (Cruikshank Dodd 2007; Hardt 2013, 333–5).

How this flexibility in metallic form related to the volatile fineness of early gold coins remains to be determined. Contemporary sources from Francia certainly show concern for the quality of gold. According to Gregory of Tours, Clovis (d. 511) had used bronze plated with gold to bribe the henchmen of a depraved Frankish king into betraying their master, and then decreed that this was the only kind of gold suitable for those willing to give up their lord; later, Gregory recounted a story of late sixth-century Saxon marauders in Gaul who paid compensation to the Franks using adulterated bronze bars (*regulae*) made to resemble gold, by which many were severely defrauded (Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* II.42 and IV.42, ed. Krusch and Levison 1951, 92–3, 177). Similarly, the *vita* of St Eligius told how the saint was commissioned to produce a throne from a set quantity of gold, and managed through his miraculous skill to make not one but two thrones, without losing any gold or resorting to any other form of trickery (*Vita Eligii* 1.5, ed. Krusch 1902, 672–3; for date and context see Bayer 2007). Concerns of this sort may have been prompted by dwindling supplies of gold, leading to value being assigned on other criteria besides metallic quality. Erratic fineness – bolstered with silver rather than copper – would thus become an increasingly accepted risk in handling gold. This may explain why weights gradually vanish from Frankish graves in the seventh century (Steuer 2013, esp. 301–2) and potentially why (for example) the clasp on one of the mid-seventh-century English *solidi* was of significantly finer gold than the coin itself (Lyon 2014, 401), a situation mirrored by some Merovingian coin-mounts (Codine-Trécourt 2014, 34).

THE EARLY SILVER PENNIES

(a) HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The later seventh and early eighth centuries are remembered as a period of dynamic cultural change in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. After the initial pioneering phase of Christian conversion in the early and mid-seventh century, a multitude of churches sprang up. These institutions were responsible for a remarkable series of artistic and intellectual achievements (Blair 2005, chaps. 2–5; Mayr-Harting 1991), including the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Codex Amiatinus, the Franks Casket and the Northumbrian stone crosses of Bewcastle and Ruthwell. They also produced authors of international renown such as the venerable Bede (d. 735), Aldhelm of Malmesbury (d. 709/10) and Cædmon (Webster and Backhouse 1991, chaps. 2–5; Wormald 1982a; Higham and Ryan 2013, 126–78). Thanks to these writers a rich range of textual sources becomes available for the first time. Learning flourished in Anglo-Saxon churches, and English missionaries, themselves only second- or third-generation Christians, played a major role in consolidating Christianity in what is now Germany and the Netherlands (McKitterick 1991).

Politically, England at this time comprised a large number of peoples or kingdoms, as had been the case earlier in the seventh century (much of the literature cited in Chapter 3, section (a), pp. 39–42 remains applicable; see also Map 2, p. 41). These units varied in size and their degree of autonomy. At least a dozen territories had rulers regularly described as ‘kings’ (*reges*) in the seventh century (Yorke 2014), but identification as an independent king or kingdom depended on specific relationships and situations: it was not an absolute status (Dumville 1989a; 1997b). All the larger kingdoms consisted of a number of smaller segments bound together by force and shared tradition. Northumbria, Kent and East Anglia, for example, all included at least two major segments: Bernicia and Deira in Northumbria, east and west Kent (manifested in the separate dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester), and Norfolk and Suffolk in East Anglia (again reflected in the two bishoprics of Elmham and Dunwich) respectively. Even these larger political entities could prove fragile. In Wessex, following the death of King Cenwealh (642–72), ‘sub-kings took upon themselves the government of the kingdom, dividing it up and ruling for about ten years’ (*acceperunt subreguli regnum gentis, et diuisum inter se tenuerunt annis circiter x*) (Bede, *HE* iv.12, ed. Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 368–9). Mercia in particular was formed from a conglomerate of midland peoples, of whom the Mercians themselves were just one (albeit particularly large and powerful) group (Yorke 1990, 100–27); some of the others, such as the Hwicce of modern Worcestershire and the Magonsætan of Herefordshire, had their own royal dynasties and bishoprics (Sims-Williams 1990, 16–53).

The major polities of Northumbria, Mercia, Wessex, Kent and East Anglia dominated this patchwork of interlocking kingdoms and sub-kingdoms. The balance of power among them shifted over time. During the 670s Mercia under the sons of Penda competed with Northumbria under Ecgfrith (670–85) for dominance in the midlands: Wulfhere (658–75) was defeated in an attack on the Northumbrians in 674, but his brother Æthelred won a major victory at the battle of the Trent in 679 which established Mercian supremacy south of the Humber. Thereafter the centre of gravity pivoted southwards, from the Humber and Trent to the Thames (Keynes 1995, 28). Mercia resumed its position of power in the south-east, especially with regard to London (Maddicott 2005, 7–24). But it was far from being the only kingdom of consequence in the south. In the later 680s an ambitious young nobleman named Cædwalla (685–8) seized power in Wessex and proceeded to conquer Sussex, Surrey and Kent before his death. The emergence soon thereafter of two long-lived and successful kings in Wessex and Kent – Ine (688–726) and Wihtred (690–725) respectively – inaugurated a period of relative stability (or perhaps more accurately stalemate) in the south of England (Keynes 1995, 25–8; Kirby 2000, 105–9). This lengthy détente ended with the death of Wihtred in 725 and the abdication of Ine the following year, which paved the way for the ascendance of Æthelbald, king of the Mercians (716–57). Within a few years he had achieved a position of political supremacy. Bede noted in his summary account of present conditions at the end of the *Historia ecclesiastica* (i.e. as of about 731) that ‘all these kingdoms and the other southern kingdoms which reach right up to the Humber, together with their various kings, are subject to Æthelbald, king of the Mercians’ (*hae omnes prouinciae ceteraeque australes ad confinium usque Humbrae fluminis cum suis quaeque regibus Merciorum regi Aedilbaldo subiectae sunt*) (HE v.23, ed. Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 558–9). A charter of 736 issued in the kingdom of the Hwicce presents a similar picture of Æthelbald’s elevated position, describing him as ‘king not only of the Mercians but of all provinces which are called by the general name “South English”’ (*rex non solum Marcensium sed et omnium prouinciarum quae generale nomine Sutan-gli dicuntur*: S 89; BCS 154; trans. EHD no. 67), and simply as *rex Britanniae* in his subscription (cf. Scharer 1988; Fanning 1991; Wormald 2006, 111–17). Æthelbald held sway as overlord of England south of the Humber for some three decades until eventually he was killed by his own men for unknown reasons. His supremacy remained loose, however, and local dynasties persisted largely undisturbed in Kent, Wessex, East Anglia and elsewhere (Keynes 2005, 7–8; Kirby 2000, 109–17; Yorke 1990, 111–15).

Alongside the flowering of Christian culture and the consolidation of political supremacies, England in the late seventh and eighth century saw the reappearance of substantial towns. These settlements were situated on the coast, either as *de novo* foundations (such as Ipswich and Southampton) or alongside existing centres of authority in former Roman towns (as at London, York and in the vicinity of Canterbury) (Cowie *et al.* 2001). Their life-blood was commercial: there is extensive evidence that a wide range of craft activities took place within these towns, as well as bulk exchange with both the surrounding hinterland and with more distant areas, even across the North Sea (Blackmore 2001). The place of these towns in seventh- and eighth-century society was in some senses anomalous. Contemporary writers did not describe them using the terminology associated with Roman cities, *civitas* and *urbs*, which generally remained restricted to focal points in ecclesiastical and secular administration (Hodges 2000, 69–92; Samson 1999). Rather, these large settlements were labelled with terms which emphasised their commercial function (e.g. *mercimonium*, as used by Bede for London), or (in the vernacular) with the place-name element *wic* (pl. *wic*)

(e.g. Ipswich, *Hamwic* (Southampton), Sandwich, *Lundenwic*, etc.), which carried a broad range of meanings associated with the central idea of an outlying estate or settlement (Naismith 2012c, 115). They are often known as *emporia*, using the word applied by Karl Polanyi to trade-focused settlements since ancient times (Polanyi 1968, 238–60). The *wic* or *emporia* grew to impressive size: up to 40–60 hectares, potentially supporting a population of several thousand (Fleming 2010, 190–9). Within these towns dwelt a variety of traders and craftsmen; indeed, the foundations of these towns were probably laid by groups of such men, who moved back and forth across the North Sea, responding to the demands of the local population in coastal regions, and later also the needs of larger-scale elites (including kings) who drove the reorganisation and expansion of the *emporia* in the course of the eighth century (Scull 2009, 317–19; Fleming 2009; Naylor 2012, 237–41; Loveluck 2013, 178–212).

These settlements were supplied with agricultural surplus thanks to a realignment of rural settlement and production beginning in the late seventh century. New forms of settlement hint at intensified exploitation of agricultural resources to supply the closely aligned needs of elites and *emporia* (Moreland 2000b, 82–96; Faith 2009; Loveluck 2013, 76–91, 124–42). Among the new kinds of settlement appearing in the countryside were semi-permanent sites for assembly, trading and production (a possible explanation for what have become known as ‘productive sites’, marked by a profusion of coins and other metallic goods (cf. Richards 1999; Moreland 2000b, 87–93; Pestell and Ulmschneider 2003; Pestell 2011)), together with high-status sites that defy easy categorisation as secular or ecclesiastical (Blair 1996; 2005, 182–290; Loveluck 2013, 84–91). The latter have produced impressive evidence for wealth and even metalwork, other crafts and exchange, and constituted a pseudo-urban stratum of permanent elite settlement which must have had a profound impact on the local economy, not least in creating a stable focus of demand for food and other commodities. Elite settlements identified as ecclesiastical are generally known as minsters, co-opting the Old English word *mynster*, which is derived from the Latin *monasterium*, but avoids some of the connotations of modern English ‘monastery’ (Blair 2005, 1–7; Naismith 2014b, 69). This usage accommodates the variation between large church institutions, for although some (such as Bede’s Wearmouth-Jarrow) were strict in observance of the Benedictine Rule, others were not, yet still commanded the patronage and respect of contemporaries; moreover, unlike later medieval monasteries, early Anglo-Saxon minsters were a major source of pastoral care, and so were deeply occupied with the spiritual needs of the surrounding populace.

(b) LITERATURE

The early English pennies have only been recognised as such since the late eighteenth century. Specimens known before that time were not attributed to the Anglo-Saxons: John Battely (1646–1708) and Obadiah Walker (1616–99) described various groups of early pennies as pre-Roman (Battely 1745, 92–3; Walker 1695, cols. cxvii–viii), while a series of early pennies from the Isle of Thanet reproduced in Withy and Ryall (1756) carried the caption ‘This plate of ancient and singular coins ... is presented to the curious collectors of English money ... in hopes that it may be a means of discovering by whom, in what age, or part of Europe they were minted.’ The rare runic pennies presented a partial exception to this uncertainty, but they were apparently seen by Ralph Thoresby (1658–1725) as medals, and by Walker as ancient British coins (Page 1965).

At the turn of the nineteenth century, Sharon Turner (1768–1847) and Rogers Ruding (1751–1820) began to associate these small silver coins with the early Anglo-Saxon period (Turner 1799–1805, IV, 163; Ruding 1817, I, 217–19), equating them with the *sceattas* of the early Kentish law-codes (Naismith 2015). They and subsequent scholars saw the silver coins as belonging to a very early epoch in Anglo-Saxon history – essentially the pre-Christian period of the sixth century, going on into the seventh (e.g. Hawkins 1841, 16–18; Lindsay 1842, 1–7). The catalogue of coins in the British Museum, prepared by Charles Francis Keary, consolidated and systematised knowledge of the series, and placed it in its proper chronological location after the early gold coinage (*BMC* I, xvi). Keary's catalogue marks the real beginning of modern study of the early pennies with its series of fifty-four distinct types, arranged into three classes to encompass designs Keary saw as deriving from Roman, Frankish and native tradition respectively (*BMC* I, xviii). At this stage early pennies were quite rare in England and dominated by finds from a small number of coastal sites in Kent: a quite different (and in many respects more rigorous) approach, based on several continental hoards of relevant coins, was taken by Jacob Dirks (1811–92) and other continental scholars in the 1860s (Dirks 1870; de Haan 1866). Further coins acquired from recent continental finds were discussed as part of a cross-Channel monetary nexus by their owner, Marie de Man (de Man 1895), and the Russian expatriate Col. Nikolai Timofeevich Belaiew (1878–1955) brought a wide-ranging perspective to the circulation and iconography of the early pennies in the 1930s (Belaiew 1931, 1935, 1936). Since this time, study of the early pennies has been marked by close dialogue between British scholars and their counterparts in France and the Low Countries.

The decades after the Second World War saw a resurgence in interest in this series (cf. Hill and Metcalf 1984, 1–3). Humphrey Sutherland (Sutherland 1942) drew attention to what remained a problematic coinage and stressed the value of assembling find-provenances of each type, though his proposed typology was not widely followed; neither was that of Brooke (1950). As in the nineteenth century, the British Museum collection was at the heart of research. Philip Hill undertook extensive study of the early pennies in the 1940s (Hill 1949–51a; 1949–51b; 1952–4), leading to a critical survey of the series prompted by new British Museum acquisitions (Hill 1953), but also embracing holdings from other collections. In all, Hill expanded the range of numbered *BMC* types to seventy-six. A still greater transformation was wrought in two studies by Stuart Rigold (Rigold 1960–1; 1977). Rigold instituted a completely new scheme for understanding the coinage, first with reference to the earliest types from south-east England, later expanding to the rest of the series (see below, section (c), p. 69). Although his system never displaced the expanded British Museum numeration entirely, and does not comfortably incorporate or subdivide all segments of the coinage, it has come to be accepted as the primary foundation for understanding the early pennies.

Since the 1970s, growing use of metal-detectors has transformed study of the early pennies. They have gone from being a rare coinage, individual finds of which merited special publication (e.g. Metcalf 1972b), to a huge and fast-evolving one. Virtually all of this increase can be attributed to the multitude of single-finds: hoards of early pennies remain relatively scarce. Many publications have appeared in response to the mounting total of new finds. Michael Metcalf in particular has devoted a great deal of significant research to the early pennies, and current understanding of them owes much to his work – above all his publication of the Ashmolean collection, which incorporates a detailed commentary on the coinage as a whole (*T&S*). Metcalf's work has concentrated on analysis of coin circulation, using the growing body of single-finds to pose questions concerning

economic and organisational structure, but other approaches have been taken since scholarship first began to react on a substantial scale to the new finds in the 1980s. A 1983 symposium held at Oxford provided a forum for British and continental research (Hill and Metcalf 1984), including a major paper on the chronology of the early pennies by Mark Blackburn (Blackburn 1984) and a further expansion of the British Museum/Hill type numeration by Lord Stewartby (Stewart 1984). More recently, Tony Abramson has been a major force in the field, producing important syntheses of the developing range of types and sub-types (Abramson 2006; 2012).

Although the early pennies have long been recognised for their contribution to Anglo-Saxon art history (cf. Baldwin Brown 1903–37, IV, 56–113), appreciation of their iconography has become a more prominent element of scholarship since the 1970s, principally through the work of Mary Morehart (Morehart 1970; 1984; 1985), and latterly of Anna Gannon (e.g. Gannon 2003; 2005; 2006; 2011). Both scholars' work has been distinguished by a sensitive and numismatically informed approach: they have been able to point out problems in the way numismatists have used and abused iconography, and how understanding of the coins' artistic dimensions can contribute to numismatic research. From the 1990s archaeologists and historians in general also started to take greater note of the phenomenal material and artistic richness represented by the early pennies, but it remains reasonable to conclude that the complexity of the coinage and its fast-changing interpretation have left its place in the larger setting of Anglo-Saxon studies somewhat nebulous.

(c) STRUCTURE OF THE COINAGE

1. Terminology

The coins under discussion are often referred to as *sceattas* (singular *sceat*, the first two letters pronounced like Mod. Eng. 'sh': see Appendix 4, s. v.). Scholars have recognised the *sceat* as a monetary sub-unit of the *scilling* since the time of William Lambarde (1536–1601), but early Anglo-Saxon silver coins only came to be known as *sceattas* around the year 1800, when they were believed to date from the time of Æthelberht (see Appendix 2, section (a), pp. 361–3). Subsequent scholarship has ascertained that the silver pieces belong at least half a century after Æthelberht's death. It is possible that the *sceattas* of his law-code did refer to silver (Hines 2010), though if so they cannot have been coins. Yet *sceat* has retained its position as the most common label for the early silver coins.

Seventh- and eighth-century references to monetary terminology are sparse, but the little evidence there is indicates that these coins were already described by contemporaries using the Old English word *pending*/*pæning*. None of the Kentish law-codes after the time of Æthelberht specify that the *sceat* was still being used as a sub-unit of the *scilling*. The word certainly never fell out of use altogether (and it resurfaces, possibly as an equivalent to the penny, in tenth-century texts), but the laws of Ine (688×694) and a group of biblical commentaries associated with the Canterbury school of Archbishop Theodore (d. 690) both use *pending* (see Appendix 2, section (a), p. 361). *Pending* is the ancestor of modern 'penny', and in later documents and cognate languages was normally equated with the Latin *denarius* (see Appendix 4, s. v.; cf. Stewart 1984, 6). These are exactly the same words that would be used for the standard English silver denomination down to 1066 and after. In other words, the silver coins of the late seventh and eighth century were already known as 'pennies'.

It is for this reason that the present chapter avoids the misleading term *sceat* in favour of '(early) penny'. The qualification has no medieval authority, but is intended to replicate one of the few advantages of the label *sceat*, which served to keep a terminological distinction between the early silver coins, which were all of small, thick module, and later pennies from the time of Offa and afterwards, which were much broader and thinner (and therefore sometimes known as 'broad pennies'). There is no reason to preserve the anachronistic *sceat*: referring to these coins as what they were – the earliest pennies – highlights the seventh-century roots of a central element of medieval monetary history.

2. Internal organisation

There can be no doubt that the early pennies are the most methodologically challenging portion of the Anglo-Saxon coinage. Dozens of major and hundreds of minor permutations are known, which can be fitted together in diverse ways depending on considerations of iconography, style, weight, metallic composition and find distribution. Imitation and typological cross-fertilisation were clearly rampant, to the extent that identification of 'imitations', let alone 'counterfeits', becomes deeply problematic: in a context where repetition of a familiar design could have signified ideological and economic respect, the line between official and unofficial becomes blurred (Gannon 2006). Only a minority of early penny types carry inscriptions, and a number of the most common are either blundered or immobilised and hence no longer necessarily carry their original meaning. The result is that attributions to specific mint-places and authorities are normally not possible.

Attempts to bring order to this intricate body of coinage are correspondingly complex. Jacob Dirks in the 1860s identified four major types among the coins available to him from Dutch, Belgian and other continental finds: 'she-wolf/standard' (Series E), 'Woden-monster' (Series X), 'sign of David' (ST) and 'royal profile' (Series Da, C, RP and RS) (Dirks 1870, esp. 31). He associated these with the various peoples moving between Britain and northern Europe in the fifth and sixth centuries. Dirks' arrangement did not find general acceptance, and neither did two typologies put forward in the mid-twentieth century: one by Humphrey Sutherland which favoured grouping by reverse design (Sutherland 1942); and one by George Brooke which attempted to simplify the British Museum series (Brooke 1950, 5–9).

Two schemes have historically prevailed in arranging the early pennies. They are at times contradictory, and neither is all-encompassing, especially after the latest surge of new finds. They are:

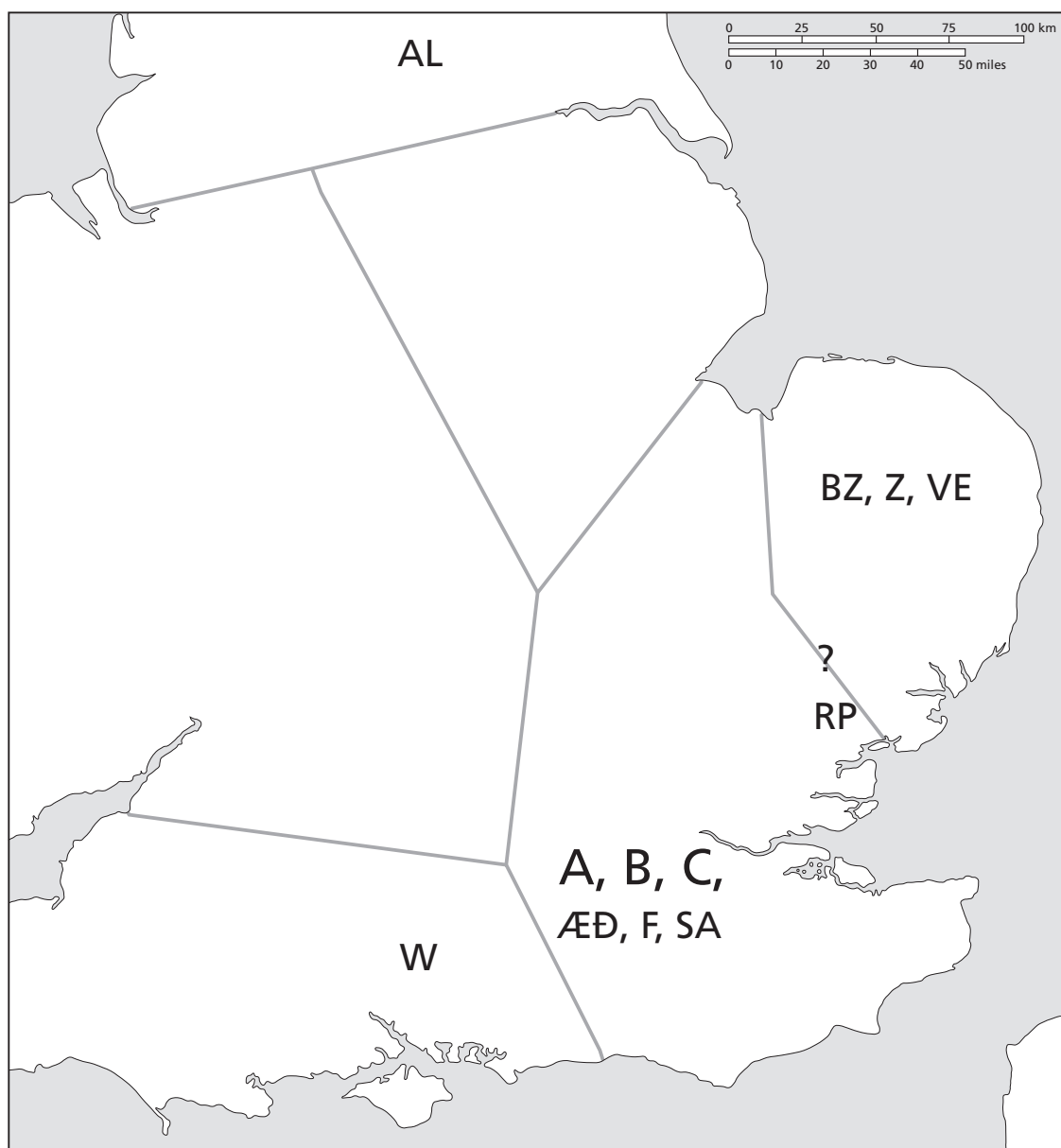
1. A numbered series of types (some with lettered sub-types) which began in the 1880s with Keary's arrangement in *BMC*. This catalogue listed fifty-four types as a means of structuring the holdings of the British Museum. Some seventy years later, Philip Hill reviewed the museum's holdings (and some from other sources), adding new specimens and variants to the existing type numbers and contributing more than twenty new types; he thereby brought the total up to seventy-six (Hill 1953). Jeffrey North broke some of these types down into a more helpful arrangement in his general listing of English coins (North 1963, its latest incarnation being North 1994, 57–69). Finally, in the early 1980s Lord Stewartby added thirty new types, created in light of Rigold's classification by series (see below; Stewart 1984). The original principle behind Keary's breakdown of the types – based on a subjective decision

about whether the iconography was of Roman, Frankish or native derivation – has long been superseded, and the actual ordering of types is little more than arbitrary by modern standards. Other deficiencies of this numerical scheme include its grouping of what are now recognised as distinct types into one (e.g. 23a and 23b), while other types are split between several numbers (such as Series K, L and Q) or not assigned a number at all (as was the case with Series R until Stewart 1984 instituted types 77–9). On the whole, however, the British Museum numerical classification has the virtue of offering a relatively precise set of pigeonholes for many types and sub-types.

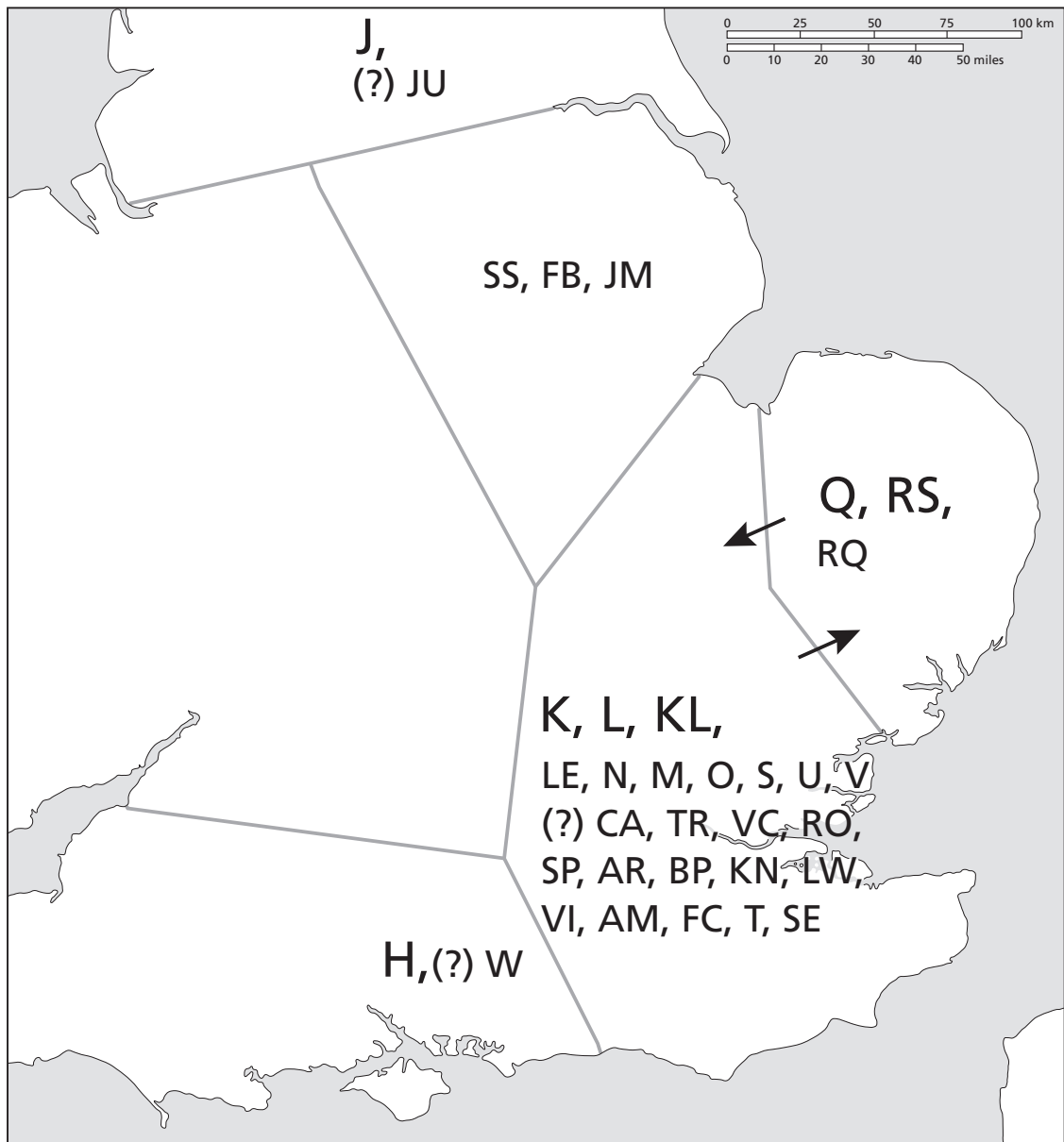
2. Stuart Rigold recognised the problems the venerable *BMC* classification still in general use in the mid-twentieth century posed for the early pennies. His solution was first essayed with reference to the early types (Rigold 1960–1), and expanded some years later to the rest of the coinage in an essay of remarkable brevity and lucidity (Rigold 1977). It advocated moving away from numbered types to lettered ‘series’: twenty-eight in total, corresponding to the letters of the alphabet, along with BZ and Va (*Vanimundus*). Although he began with the earliest types, Rigold’s series were not for the most part arranged in chronological sequence; indeed, several were deliberately assigned a particular letter as a mnemonic device (e.g. S for Sphinx and H for *Hamwic*, the Old English name for Southampton). In Rigold’s own words, these series were ‘intended to cover the serial or concomitant production of a mint, or more than one mint ... sharing [one or more] types but generally keeping within a limited group of types ... A “series” concentrates on the normal, the relatively enduring and relatively common, and takes account of the fabric, weight and metal of the coin as well as the design’ (Rigold 1977, 22). Rigold’s series thus allowed for the possibility of multiple different designs within the same group. It was also flexible enough to accommodate common motifs that spanned several series, varying in detail along the way. It is still generally accepted in principle that this is a sound approach to the early pennies: specific designs could travel and change within as well as between associated groups. Series thus have to be demarcated on the basis of additional criteria such as weight, metallic quality and points of style. Rigold’s classification suffers in part from its attempt at completeness. New finds have led to the recognition of new groups which ought to be classed as series but find no remaining letter in the alphabet. Another major difficulty, recognised by Rigold himself (Rigold 1977, 22), was drawing the line ‘between the passably orthodox, the tolerable imitation, and the downright fraudulent’; that is, many series contain specimens which deviate significantly in some respects and may not belong to the main grouping.

Rigold’s classification constitutes the foundation on which modern analysis of the early pennies has been built. British Museum type numbers are only resorted to as subdivisions of Rigold’s series (since he did not provide a new scheme of his own for sub-types), or for cases which are now thought not to fit into any of the Rigold series. Although a few very new (or newly recognised) variants or groups have neither a series nor a number, much of the existing scheme is acceptable in outline. Its most problematic feature is its multi-layered nomenclature: it is a microcosm of the history of the subject, consisting of a bewildering array of letters, numbers and descriptive names. Only a tiny number of specialists understand it in detail, and it has become an unwieldy tool of scholarship.

A new classification is badly needed. The central priority is to provide an intelligible, transparent arrangement which is amenable to expansion should new groupings or types come to light. At the same time, problematic though the existing structure is, it possesses the advantage of familiarity



Map 3a. Probable and possible regional attributions of early English pennies in the Primary phase.



Map 3b. Probable and possible regional attributions of early English pennies in the Secondary phase.

and is the framework around which existing scholarship has been built. A compromise is required by which the best of current knowledge can be rebuilt in more acceptable form. What criteria this should follow remains a matter of debate. Iconography is perhaps the most obvious consideration, and was probably central to the perception of the coinage by contemporaries (Gannon 2006, esp. 194). Designs on the coins, however, are only one aspect of their interpretation and not always the best route to understanding of the early pennies as a whole. One new scheme has grouped the coins according to nine iconographic ‘themes’, which in turn contain groups that approximately equate to the major Rigold and post-Rigold series or stand-alone types (Abramson 2012). The ‘themes’ are in many ways the most problematic aspect of this layout, however, for sometimes they are overly precise and at several points they include coins which do not conform iconographically but which may be associated with the coins in the ‘theme’ by their other features. But in many respects Abramson’s classification is exemplary, for it brings much-needed order to a numismatic cacophony. His groups offer a good overview of the current understanding of the entire coinage, and provide a model to be followed in assigning a clear and consistent terminology of discrete ‘groups’ containing ‘varieties’ and ‘sub-varieties’.

The aim of the arrangement presented here (see Table 4) is similar, and takes inspiration from Abramson’s groups. It is not intended to be as comprehensive in its treatment of sub-types (for which readers should refer to *T&S* and Abramson 2012), and it avoids an iconographically based superstructure (though types with related imagery are collocated where possible). The breakdown offered here retains the more organic approach to iconography pioneered by Rigold. Series or free-standing types/groups are arranged first into continental and English (with the understanding, of course, that there may be a minority of ‘English’ types minted overseas and vice versa). All types are identified using one or two capital letters (with major sub-types designated by lower-case letters), following the tradition of Rigold where possible; others are based on the descriptive name assigned to the particular group. This construction allows the easy insertion of new groups. In most cases these groups are believed to represent distinct coinages on the criteria for series laid down by Rigold (described above), even if some probably embrace the work of multiple mint-places. The English and continental portions are both broken down into the ‘Primary’ and ‘Secondary’ phases (with ‘Tertiary’ as well for some continental types), which remain a broadly satisfactory feature of the chronology (see below, section (d), pp. 79–87). Three major varieties originating in south-east England dominated the earlier Primary phase; these are listed separately. Smaller types which emerged later in the Primary phase are broken down according to their broad numismatic, iconographic and especially geographical associations. The Secondary phase, dominated by a large number of often relatively small groups, is treated in similar fashion. Generally speaking, the arrangement is based on regional origin (or at least circulation). This is to emphasise that the local minting of early pennies, even during the varied Secondary phase, was comparatively coherent in large parts of the country, such as Wessex, Northumbria, and possibly also East Anglia. The bulk of the highly diverse coinage seems to belong to Kent, the Thames valley and an area extending north from there to the Wash (see Map 3a–b). However, it must be stressed that regional attributions remain provisional. In particular, there are still many which belong to the ‘uncertain’ group of each period.

It should be noted that this layout is not followed in the catalogue forming the latter part of this volume. The scheme adhered to there is more traditional, and is intended to facilitate reference between this collection and other major holdings published recently, above all those of the Ashmolean (*T&S*), the British Museum (*SCBI* 63) and Tony Abramson (*SCBI* 69).

Table 4. *Series and major sub-types of early penny. Groups are assigned one- or two-letter labels, where possible based on the series letters familiar from Rigold, or the descriptive name assigned to the group.*

Continental issues (see section (e), pp. 87–93)						
	Series		Sub-types		Cat. nos.	
Primary	D	Series D/ ‘Continental Runic’ (Abramson 8–10)	a	Type 2c	143–83	
			b	Type 8	184–92	
			c	Type 10	327–8	
	E	Series E/ ‘Porcupines’ (Abramson 87–90, 94–101)	a	Plumed bird (Primary)	193–206	
			b	vico (Primary)	207–14	
			c	G (Primary)	215–31	
			d	D (Primary)	232–4	
Secondary (and Tertiary)			e	Modelled on vico (Secondary)	–	
			f	TOT / \ (Secondary)	235–53	
			g	‘Mixed grill’ (Secondary)	254–8	
			h	Cross reverse (Secondary)	259–63	
			i	E (Tertiary)	–	
			j	B (Tertiary)	–	
			k	F (Tertiary)	291–3	
	SC	Stepped Cross (Abramson 91)			288–90	
	MA	Madelinus			–	
	ST	‘Herstal’/Star (Abramson 109)			294–6	
	IN	‘Maastricht’ (Abramson 60)			297–8	
	G	Series G (Abramson 21)			299–311	
	X	Series X/ ‘Woden-monster’ (Abramson 103–4)	a	Ribe varieties	313–21	
			b	Insular varieties	623–7	
	English issues (see section (f), pp. 93–106)					
Pre-Primary/ Transitional	PA	Pada (Abramson 1)	a	Helmeted bust/ runes across field (PaIA)	–	
			b	Helmeted bust/ standard (PaIB)	15	
			c	Diademed bust/ runes in inner circle (PaIIA)	16–18	

(cont.)

Table 4 (cont.)

English issues					
		Series		Sub-types	Cat. nos.
Pre-Primary/ Transitional (<i>cont.</i>)		PA (<i>cont.</i>)	Pada (<i>cont.</i>)	d Diademed bust/ cross on steps (PaIIB)	—
				e Diademed bust/ cross and annulets (PaIII)	19–21
		VA	Vanimundus (Abramson 2)	a Latin cross with CA	22
				b Cross pattée in inner circle	23–5
Primary	Major types (south-east)	A	Series A (Abramson 3)	a A1	—
				b A2	26–34
				c A3	35–41
				d ‘VADOIBEAS’	—
		B	Series B (Abramson 15–16)	a BX	43
				b BIA–C	49–54
				c BIB	45–8
				d BII	56–8
				e BIIIA/C	59–64
				f BID–G (imitative?)	55
		C	Series C (Abramson 4–5)	a C1	67–70
				b C2	71–5
				c CZ	76
	Minor types (south-east)	ÆÐ	Æthiliræd (Abramson 92)		90–1
		F	Series F (Abramson 106)	a Type 24a	92–4
				b Type 24b	95–101
				c Type 24c	102
				d Type 24d	103–4
		SA	SAROALDO (Abramson 7)	a ‘FITVR’ reverse	134
				b Similar, but without inscription	—
				c Bristly hair	135
				d Similar, but more abstract execution	136–8
	(Wessex)	W	Series W (Abramson 108)	a W1	139–41
				b W2	142
				c W3 (Secondary?)	—

Table 4 (cont.)

English issues						
		Series		Sub-types		Cat. nos.
	(East Anglia)	BZ	Series BZ (Abramson 17)	a	Type 29a	105
				b	Type 29b	106–11
		Z	Series Z (Abramson 102)	a	Type 66a	112–15
				b	Type 66b	116–18
				c	Type Cf.Z	119–21
		VE	VERNVS (Abramson 6)	a	Radiate head	122–6
				b	Bristly/ disintegrated head	127–30
				c	‘Plumed bird’	–
				d	‘Plumed bird’; TOT	131–2
		(Northumbria)	AL	Aldfrith (Abramson 69)		
(uncertain)	RP	Series R (part) (Abramson 11)	a	epa runes (R.1)	77–84	
			b	epa runes preceded by (1)TAT (R.2)	85–9	
Secondary	(south-east)	K	Series K (Abramson 38–41)	a	Lion head (type 33)	387
				b	Coiled lion (type 32a)	369–86
				c	Crouching lion (type 42)	388–93
		L	Series L (with blundered mint signature (type 12–13)) (Abramson 23)	a	Standing figure in ship (type 12)	400–9
				b	Sitting figure (type 13)	410
				c	Porcupine	414
		KL	Series K and L with Bust/ Figure (type 15–20) (Abramson 33–6)	a	Figure with cross and hawk in ship (Abramson 33)	364–8, 420–4
				b	Figure with two crosses in ship (Abramson 34)	417–19
				c	Figure with two crosses (Abramson 35–6)	412–14

(cont.)

Table 4 (cont.)

English issues						
		Series		Sub-types		Cat. nos.
Secondary (<i>cont.</i>)	(south-east) (<i>cont.</i>)	LE	LVNDONIA and MONITASCORVM (Abramson 24)	a	MONITASCORVM	437–8
				b	DE LVNDONIA/ SCORVM	436
				c	Bird/annulet cross	—
				d	Standard/annulet cross	440
				e	With coiled ‘serpent’	—
		N	Series N (Abramson 52–3)	a	Type 41a	466
				b	Type 41b	470–7
				c	Type 41b/a	467–9
				d	Geometric reverses	—
		M	Series M (Abramson 61)		460–5	
		O	Series O/ ‘Rampant Animal’ (Abramson 54–9)	a	Type 38	481–2
				b	Type 21	480
				c	Type 57	483–5
				d	Type 40	486–91
				e	Type 43	492
				f	Type 56	512
		S	Series S (Essex) (Abramson 68)	a	‘Chains’ reverse	589–601
				b	Rosette reverse	—
		U	Series U (Abramson 45)	a	Type 23b (upper Thames?)	607–10
				b	Type 23d (Kent?)	611–14
				c	Type 23c	616–17
		V	Series V (Abramson 62)		619–22	
	(Wessex)	H	Series H (Abramson 46–9)	a	Bird in vine/cross (type 39)	329–30
				b	Bird and roundels/ bird in vine	—
				c	Facing bust with roundels/bird in vine (type 49)	331–8
				d	Wolf heads/rosettes (type 48)	339
(East Anglia)	Q	Series Q (Abramson 63–7)	a	QI (west Norfolk?)	493–500, 503–12	
			b	QII (west Norfolk?)	513–20	

Table 4 (cont.)

English issues						
Series			Sub-types	Cat. nos.		
	RS	Series R (part) (Abramson 11)	c	QIII (west Norfolk?)	521–3	
			d	QIV (Ipswich?)	524–6	
			a	Bust with epa (R3–4 and 6) (Ipswich?)	536–42	
			b	Head with epa (R8) (Ipswich?)	549–56	
			c	Moneyer Tilbeorht (R10) (Ipswich?)	561–5	
			d	Moneyer Wigræd (R11) (Ipswich?)	566–8	
			e	Bust with spi (R5) (east Norfolk?)	543–5	
			f	Head with spi (R9) (east Norfolk?)	557–60	
			g	Head with rhy (R7)	547–8	
			h	epa reversed (R6) (west Norfolk?)	546	
	RQ	Series RQ (or QR) mules (Abramson 12)		527–35		
	(East midlands)	SS	Saltire Standard (type 51 etc.) (Abramson 13)	a	Series R-style bust	576
				b	Moneyer Tilbeorht (as in RSc?)	–
c				Standing figures	577–8	
d				Coiled serpent	–	
e				Backward-looking beast	–	
f				Porcupine	–	
g				Moneyer Tiluwald	580	
h				Geometric design	579, 586–8	
FB		Facing bearded bust (type 30) (Abramson 105)	a	Two standing figures	581–2	
			b	Backwards facing beast	–	
			c	Standard	584–5	
JM		Series J type 36 (Abramson 20)	d	Annulet cross	583	
					345–50	

(cont.)

Table 4 (cont.)

English issues					
		Series		Sub-types	Cat. nos.
Secondary (<i>cont.</i>)	(Northumbria)	J	Series J (Abramson 18–19)	a Confronted busts/ birds (type 37)	351–8
				b Bust/bird on cross (type 85)	340–4
	(Unlocated)				
	(south-east	CA	CARIP group (Abramson 26)	a Bird in vine	—
	(and/or East			b Coiled serpent	—
	(Anglia)?)			c Standing figure	428
				d Standing/sitting figure	427
		TR	Triquetra (Abramson 110)	a Bird in vine	—
				b Standing figure	—
				c Victory/ <i>orans</i> figure	—
				d Facing bust	396–7
				e Blundered LVNDONIA inscription	—
				f Blundered MONITASCORVM inscription	439
		VC	Voided Cross (Abramson 27–9)	a Bust with blundered LVNDONIA inscription	432
				b Bust without inscription	430–1
				c Standing figure	433
				d Two standing figures	—
				e Bird in vine	434
				f Coiled ‘serpent’	435
		RO	Rosettes (Abramson 32)	a Coiled ‘wolf’ (type 32b)	—
				b Standing figure (type 68)	—
		SP	Serpent/standard (type 86a) (Abramson 42)		456–9
		AR	Archer (Abramson 50)	a Archer/Bird (type 94)	441–3
				b ‘Hen’/Bird	—

Table 4 (cont.)

English issues				
	Series		Sub-types	Cat. nos.
	BP	Biped (Abramson 44)		—
	KN	K/N related (Abramson 37)		449–50
	LW	Series L type 23e (Abramson 43)		457–9
	VI	Victory (Abramson 111)	a Standing figure with crosses	446–7
			b Standing winged victory	445
			c Bust/standing victory	—
	AM	‘Animal Mask’ (Abramson 112)	a Bird in vine	—
			b Backwards-looking beast	—
			c Standing figure	454–5
			d Geometric design	453
			e Standing bird	451–2
	FC	Fleeing Creature (Abramson 107)	a Cross and pseudo- inscription	—
			b Backwards-looking beast	501–2
	T	Series T (Abramson 25)		602–6
	SE	SEDE[s] (type 89) (Abramson 93)	a With porcupine	322
			b With coiled serpent	323–4
(Northumbria/ midlands?)	JU	Series J (Abramson 18–19)	a Bust/coiled serpent (type 60)	—
			b Confronted busts/ standing bird (type 72)	359–63

(d) CHRONOLOGY

The rarity of meaningful inscriptions creates severe difficulties in assigning the early pennies to specific years in the seventh and eighth centuries. Further problems stem from their sheer diversity and the relative scarcity of hoards for large parts of the period.

As a consequence, estimates regarding the date of the early pennies have varied significantly since study began at the dawn of the nineteenth century. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century

scholars assigned them broadly to the era before the broad pennies of Offa and his contemporaries, projecting their origins back into the pre- and early Christian period of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries (e.g. Ruding 1840, I, 115; Dirks 1870, 72–6; *BMC* I, xvi–xx; Baldwin Brown 1903–37, IV, 37). Humphrey Sutherland and Philip Hill observed that they must post-date the gold coinage of *scillingas*, and hence placed their inception in the mid-seventh century at the earliest (Sutherland 1942, 49–50; Hill 1949–51b, 134). Stuart Rigold associated the Primary coinage with the reign of Wihtred of Kent (690–725), and suggested that the payment in 694 of a huge compensation for the murder of Cædwalla's brother Mul exhausted the last gold coinages of Kent and led directly to the inception of the silver coinage (Rigold 1960–I, 22–9; 1977; cf. Blackburn 1984, 169–70). This construction depended on the late date Sutherland assigned to the Crondall hoard, which is no longer accepted (see Chapter 3, section (e), pp. 57–9), while the impact of the 694 wergild payment is also likely to have been overstated (cf. Metcalf 1978b, 234; Blackburn 1984, 169–70; *MEC* I, 184). The most authoritative interpretation of the chronology was presented in an influential study by Mark Blackburn (Blackburn 1984; *MEC* I, 184–9); his conclusions for the most part stand, albeit with some modification in light of new material.

The relative chronology of the early pennies is comparatively clear, at least for the larger series of coins. Its central pillars are three major periods of minting: Transitional, Primary and Secondary. These terms go back to Rigold (Rigold 1960–I; 1977). He also labelled the continental pennies as 'intermediate' to recognise their association with both Primary and Secondary coins, but this usage has been superseded as understanding of the internal chronology of the continental coinages has grown (see below, section (e), pp. 87–93); also, the Transitional gold/silver issues of 'Pada' and 'Vanimundus' are now sometimes referred to as 'Preliminary' or 'Pre-Primary' to emphasise their place at the beginning of the new silver coinage (Abramson 2006, 4; *SCBI* 63, 95). Rigold and Metcalf characterised the Primary phase as one of a relatively few large coinages, all of high weight and purity (*T&S* III, 632–3), whereas the Secondary phase saw considerable expansion in scale and variety, with reductions in weight and silver content (Rigold 1977, 22, 26).

Blackburn distributed coinages within the Primary and Secondary phases on the basis of hoard evidence (Blackburn 1984, 167, table 1). This information, updated to include hoards found since 1984, is summarised in Table 5. A cluster of grave hoards (mostly from Kent and East Anglia) illuminates the very early part of the period when Transitional and early Primary coinages (Series A and B: **26–66**) were in circulation. Slightly later grave-finds show Series C (in conjunction with Bc (BII: **56–8**)) appearing in succession to A, and the first occurrences of continental coins (Series D and E: **143–293**) in English finds. Another concentration of hoards reflects a more established stage in the Primary phase, and includes a wider range of English types; these hoards also contain a large proportion of Primary continental types. Best known among these hoards is the large find from Aston Rowant, Oxfordshire (*Checklist*, no. 21), but it has since been joined by a number of hoards of comparable composition: Aldborough, the Rodings and Loddon (see Table 5 for references). The mix of different coinages in all four hoards is broadly similar, indicating the relative homogeneity of the currency from Oxfordshire to north Norfolk by the latter part of the Primary phase. These finds are complemented by the late Primary coins in a number of Frankish hoards: Saint-Pierre-les-Étieux, Plassac, Nohanent and Bais.

A degree of regional expansion can be identified in the later Primary hoards. Different areas' coin issues had quite different fates moving into the Secondary phase. Some continental

(e.g. Series E: **193–293**) and English types (e.g. elements of Series Z, possibly Series RP/RS in East Anglia, and perhaps also Series W in Wessex: **77–89, 112–18, 139–42, 536–74**) persisted across the Primary–Secondary divide. All the same, the break between Primary and Secondary was a significant watershed, especially in the south-east (*T&S* I, 302, 307–8; Metcalf 2001a, 47): old coinages stopped being produced and new types appeared, which quickly became dominant in circulation.

The Secondary phase is not as well covered by hoards as the Primary. Its early section is represented by a group of hoards presumably put together or deposited at approximately the same time from England (Bradford Peverell), France (Cimiez) and the Low Countries (the earlier portion of Föhr, which may represent two hoards, or an early parcel in a late assemblage (Metcalf 2003a)). These contain a similar selection of late Primary and early Secondary English series (J, N, W, Z: **112–18, 139–42, 340–63, 466–78**), as well as new continental issues (Series G and Secondary E, sometimes Series X: **193–293, 299–321**). The middle and later Secondary coinage is less well covered by the hoard material, but the Woodham Walter hoard from Essex now provides important guidance. It contained a very wide range of coinages, including some stragglers from the Primary phase, but continuing into what must be the mid- to late Secondary coinage. The diversity of coinages in Woodham Walter is such that the substantial issues absent from it most likely post-date that hoard. Other finds from the mid-Secondary period include a rare grave-find from Garton-on-the-Wolds in Yorkshire and the Hallum hoard from the Netherlands. Late hoards are still fewer. Among them are Middle Harling from Norfolk, one hoard from Cambridge and three from London; as a group, they suggest the continuing prominence of Series R (**536–74**), as well as L (**400–26**) and Q (**493–526**), with the addition of Series S (**589–601**) and T (**602–6**) in the south-east.

While these hoards form the backbone of the chronology, many coinages are not included in them. Their relative date is based on other criteria: stylistic and typological similarity to other coins, and more importantly weight and fineness. As with the earlier gold coinage, metallurgical features provide only a general indication of date, since there can be no certainty that different regions, mint-places and moneyers all adhered to the same fineness at one time (*T&S* III, 611–14). Nonetheless, a general downward trajectory is apparent in the Secondary coinage. Early types were close in quality to those of the Primary phase (>90 per cent silver), while many of the mid-/late Secondary types represented in Woodham Walter cluster around half fine (cf. *T&S* III, 629–31), with Wessex's Series H perhaps assaying (but not always maintaining) a higher standard (*T&S* III, 632). Later types such as those of Series L and specimens from the London and Cambridge finds are decidedly more debased (*T&S* III, 620–1), and the most debased Southumbrian early pennies are those of Series R found in the Middle Harling hoard, which contain a tiny proportion of silver – as little as 5 per cent (*T&S* III, 518–20).

The absolute dates of the early pennies are very difficult to ascertain. Four fixed points in the chronology include:

1. The coinage of Aldfrith, king of the Northumbrians (**628–30**) (685–704; for his reign see Kirby 2000, 118–22). This is clearly a part of the Primary coinage. It occurs in both the Rodings and Aldborough hoards but none of the earlier finds, suggesting that it belongs relatively late in the Primary phase. A stratified find of a coin of Aldfrith from Southampton also belonged to the early eighth century (Metcalf 1988a, no. 125). Together, these confirm that the Primary coinage must have been well established by about 700 at the latest.

Table 5. *Hoards of early pennies and their approximate dates, modelled on Blackburn (1984, 167), with modifications and updates. (Types included in each hoard are listed in brackets after the find name. See Blackburn (1984)/Checklist for literature on the hoards known in 1984.) Less well-recorded hoards with uncertain contents are indicated with a question mark.*

Date	England	Francia	Frisia
	In Blackburn 1984	Additional hoards since 1984	
670	Mucking (Ba) Hougham (Ab, Bb) Milton Regis (Ab–c, Bb)	Harford Farm (Ba) (<i>Checklist</i> 14b) Bridge 5, 6, 9 (A, Ba) (<i>Checklist</i> 12b–d) Norwich (A, B) (<i>Checklist</i> 19b)	
680	Finglesham (Ab–c, Bb) Broadstairs (Ab–c, Bb) Barham (Ac, Bb)	?Boss Hall (B) (<i>Checklist</i> 14a) Ipswich (B) ?Coddensham 1–2 (B) (<i>Checklist</i> 19c–d) ?Snodland (B) (<i>Checklist</i> 19a)	
690	Southend (Ac, Bc, C)	Bridge 1 (A, Bb–c) (<i>Checklist</i> 12a)	
700	Birchington (D, Bc, C) Aston Rowant (D, E, A, B, C, F, SA, BZ, Zc, VE, RP)	 ?Royston (SC) (<i>Checklist</i> 22b) The Rodings (Da–c, E, B, C, RP, AL) (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 292)	Saint-Pierre-les-Étieux (D, E, Bc, C) Plassac (D, HE, Bb) Nohanent (D, E, B) Bais (D, E, A, Bb–c) Remmerden (D, E)
710		Aldborough (D, E, A, B, C, F, BZ, VE, AL, RP) (Marsden 2013, 492–8) Loddon (D, E, A, B, C, F, RP) (Marsden 2013, 498–500) Lambeth (E) (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 290) ?Royston (J) (<i>Checklist</i> 22) ?Colchester (D, E, F) (<i>Checklist</i> 22a) King's Lynn (D, E, A, B, C, F, BZ, Z) (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 289) Fincham (Ea, d, f, g, ÆÐ) (Marsden 2013, 500–1)	Escharen (D)

720			Cimiez (D, E, G, X, PA, A, J, N, UL, W, Z)	
	Garton-on-the-Wolds (G, J, K, RS)	Bradford Peverell (E, N) (<i>Checklist</i> 23b) Fishergate (Ja–b, TRd)		Hallum (E, E/N, G, X, N, J, [Lc?]) ?Rhens (Ef) (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 291)
730	?Southampton B (H)	Woodham Walter (Ea, b, c, f, g, MS, G, Xa, b, Bd, F, SA, Z, Jb, Ka–c, TRc, d, VCd, LEd, M, Nb–c, Oa, c, d, Ua–b, V, Qa, c, RPa, RSa, b, e, FBa, c, d) (<i>Checklist</i> 23a; <i>SCBI</i> 63, 39) Manchester (Ea, e, f, g) (Richardson 1984)		Lutje-Saaksum (Ec, f) (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 290) De Meern (E, others) (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 287) Kloster Barthe (Ea–g) (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 290)
740	London B (K, L, KL, U, LW) ?Cambridge (Q, RS)	London, Steward Street (S, T) (Cass and Preston 2010, 61–2) Wrotham (S, T) (Rigold and Metcalf 1977, 50)		
750	London C (L, KL)			?Föhr (Eh–j, ST, G, J) (Hatz 2001) Franeke (Eh–j, ST) (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 288–9)
760	Middle Harling (L, RSc, d, f, Beonna)			

2. Royal coinage in Northumbria resumed under Eadberht (**631–46**) (737–58), and includes an element struck in conjunction with his brother Ecgberht, archbishop of York (**866–70**) (735–66). When during Eadberht's reign these issues began is unclear (though his early years are most likely). Further south, Beonna of East Anglia (749–58 or after) instituted a new royal coinage (**927–9**); Offa of Mercia (757–96) followed suit at the mint-places in the south-east under his control, probably in the 760s (**999–1040**) (Naismith 2012b). These three new coinages are thought to have swept away the early pennies during the course of the period *c.* 740–65.
3. A great many early pennies were found in the course of excavations at several sites in Ribe, Denmark, the majority of which were of Series X (**313–21**) (probably the local type: see below, section (e), pp. 92–3). One of these sites (located at the town's post office) produced an unusually precise stratigraphy, and wooden material from the various layers allowed the archaeological layers to be dated with a high degree of precision (Feveile 2006b, esp. 281–4; 2008). Pennies first appeared in layers belonging to 705–25, including Series X, along with three Series Da pennies, three of Series Ef and g (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 139), and one English penny of Series Ja (i.e. a mix of Primary and earlier Secondary coins). Additional pennies of Series X occurred in later layers extending down to 800–20 in date, along with one more penny of Series E (a 'Tertiary' specimen of h–j) in a layer dated 760–80. These finds help fix the transition between Primary and Secondary coinages to some point in the period 705–25 and the late date of the 'Tertiary' types of Series E, and reveal a much longer duration for small, thick silver pennies at Ribe than at other locations around the North Sea (with the important exception of Northumbria: see Chapter 5, pp. 111–27).
4. The large and famous Cimiez hoard, found in a suburb of Nice (départ. Alpes Maritimes) in about 1850 has been the focus of close study almost from its discovery. Various nineteenth-century scholars assigned it to the later 730s or 740s on the basis of doubtful associations with historical events, but Grierson and Blackburn revised the date of this important find based on the largest part of its content: silver coins in the names of the patricians of Provence, whose reigns can be independently dated (*MEC* 1, 142–3; Blackburn 1984, 172–3; cf. Uhalde 2001, 143). In particular, more than half of the hoard (in excess of a thousand coins) consisted of pennies in the name of Nemfidius (fl. *c.* 700), with a smaller element (*c.* 100 coins) in the name of his successor Antenor II (fl. *c.* 714); both groups are heavily die-linked. Grierson and Blackburn's conclusion was that the hoard belonged to *c.* 720, with important ramifications for the chronology of the English and Frisian types contained in it. Michael Metcalf and Wybrand Op den Velde have challenged this date, however, on the basis of Jean Lafaurie's work on the coins of the bishops of Paris (Lafaurie 1989; 1998; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 133–9). If Lafaurie's identification of a series of episcopal monograms is accepted, the Parisian coins in the Cimiez hoard would include specimens from as late as the time of Bishop Ratbertus (fl. *c.* 730–40; cf. Dubois 1969 for episcopal chronology). Metallurgical evidence provides partial support for the order in which Lafaurie places these coins. Yet while there is one unambiguous episcopal issue in the name of Sigofredus (693–717 or after), the later attributions are more tenuous, and the coinages of other Merovingian cities indicate that *denarii* for secular and ecclesiastical patrons could be made side by side, using much the same design (e.g. Garipzanov 2001; Naismith 2012b, 318–22). Moreover, Lafaurie's later date for the hoard depends on the supposition that the great bulk of it – die-linked coins of Antenor and

his predecessors as patrician – represents old money, stockpiled and unused for approximately two decades (as would also have been the case with the English coins). While there is still room for debate, an earlier date (c. 720) for the Cimiez hoard remains preferable.

The inception of the silver coinage probably lies at some point around 670, and has been discussed above in relation to the end of the gold coinage (see Chapter 3, section (e), pp. 58–9). The only guidance to absolute dates comes from Merovingian parallels. In Francia, the first datable silver *denarii* belong to 673–5, when Childeric II (662–75) ruled Neustria, though other silver pieces in the name of Ebroin, mayor of the palace (658/9–73 and 675–80), could have been minted in the 660s; conversely the last datable gold coins are in the names of Clovis III (675–6) and Dagobert II (676–9) (*MEC* I, 93–5). England may have begun the transition to silver more or less simultaneously with Francia, or even before. There are no exact parallels in the Frankish coinage to the metallurgically ‘Transitional’ series of Pada and Vanimundus (**15–25**), and England, situated at the end of the line in terms of gold bullion supply from the Mediterranean, could have begun feeling the pinch of shortage before Francia. Recent archaeological research also suggests that the beginning of this move from gold to silver in England should be placed slightly earlier than has generally been accepted in the past, about a decade before the traditional date of c. 675/80 (e.g. Archibald 2013, 498). A date around c. 665/70 is feasible given the looseness of the chronology, especially around the start of the silver coinage, though an adjustment of more than about a decade is difficult to sustain (Blackburn 1984, 173–4). The divergence of Francia and England visible in the origins of this coinage continued in the subsequent silver coinage: the coins of England and Frisia were relatively distinct in typology and circulation from those of the heartland of Francia, and the former regions saw much larger development of silver currency (see below, section (h), pp. 106–10). Regardless of which side of the Channel first produced silver coinage, debased gold and silver must in both cases have circulated side by side for a number of years. The very earliest Primary pennies may even have overlapped with the later stages of the Transitional coinage (*T&S* III, 643–4).

The dating of coins between the fixed points provided by the few datable types remains flexible, but the new archaeologically derived chronology would accommodate the appearance of the Transitional coinages around 665, giving way to the first silver pennies c. 670. The rest of the period can be broken down as follows:

1. The looser chronology produced by an early dating for the ‘Transitional’ coinage fits the **Primary** coinage well. This comprises three segments: an early part dominated by Series A and Ba–c (both produced in south-east England); a middle part which saw these series replaced by C and Bd respectively, and the arrival of Primary continental types Series D and E (*SCBI* 63, 98); and a later group in which RP appeared (perhaps in succession to C) along with a range of smaller English types from East Anglia, Wessex and Northumbria (see Map 3a). The final portion of the Primary coinage includes the datable coinage of Aldfrith, so had certainly begun by c. 700 and conceivably already a decade or so earlier. The ‘mature’ period of the Primary phase, when all the known coinages were in circulation, is reflected by a cluster of hoards best placed between the years c. 705 and c. 715.
2. The **Secondary** phase witnessed several waves of new coinages marked by generally declining fineness and growing diversity. The first wave can be seen in the Cimiez hoard of c. 720

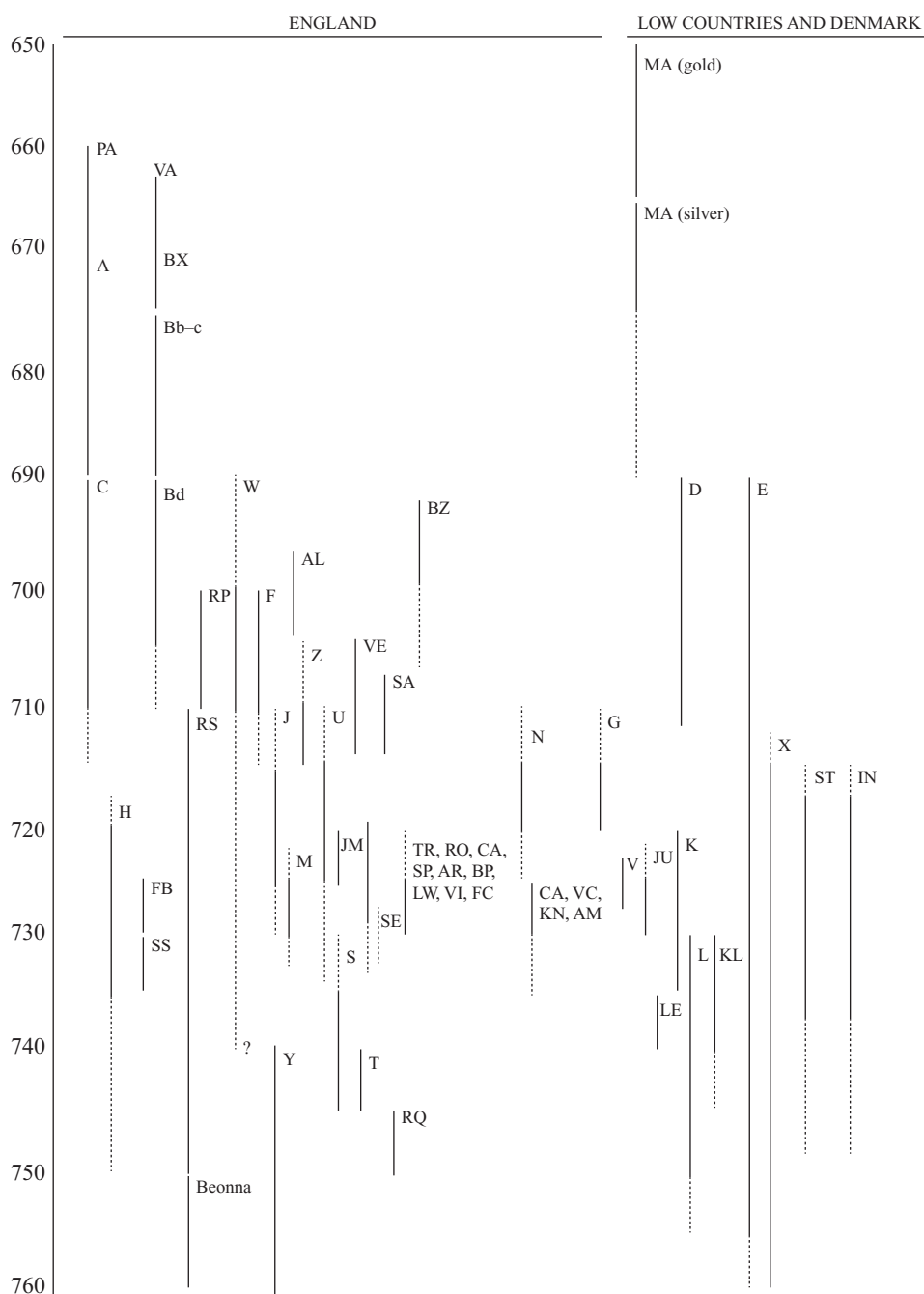


Figure 5. A possible chronology for the early pennies, modelled on Blackburn (1984, 171) and Op den Velde and Klassen (2004, 23). See Table 4 for details of each coinage.

and also in the early layers at Ribe from before 725. These finds point to the Secondary phase following on directly from the Primary; indeed, in East Anglia and potentially in Wessex, there may have been some measure of continuity between the two. The first Secondary types probably appeared *c.* 710 or a few years thereafter. New coinages emerged in profusion during the later 710s and 720s, and the Woodham Walter hoard (*c.* 730) powerfully demonstrates the richness of the currency by the latter part of this phase (see Map 3b). Certain substantive types, generally marked by low fineness and weight, belong entirely to the 730s and after, and a few earlier coinages also persisted into this phase. But the currency as a whole contracted. A much smaller range of debased types can be assigned to East Anglia and the south-east in the 730s and after, while the king of Northumbria instituted an important new coinage in about 740 (see Chapter 5, section (e), pp. 116–17). South of the Humber, the early pennies seem to have come slowly to an end in the mid-eighth century. Later ‘Tertiary’ pennies from Frisia and Denmark (of Series E and X) could have been brought into England and used alongside coins of Eadberht, Beonna and Offa, but specimens of this late date are unusual among English finds (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 197–9).

These remarks are primarily concerned with the Anglo-Saxon pennies. Related issues from elsewhere in the North Sea region have a similar chronology, but differ in points of detail, as discussed below.

Figure 5 presents a schematic view of the chronology of the early pennies, broken down into the major groups and types (English and continental).

(e) CONTINENTAL PENNIES

England was closely entwined in a network of exchange spanning the North Sea in the seventh and eighth centuries. Commodities of various kinds moved from Francia and Frisia to England and vice versa (Hill 1958; Lebecq 2005; Loveluck 2013, 178–212), among them coins. Awareness of this connection has informed research on the early pennies since the nineteenth century (see above, section (b), p. 66), and continues to be a critical component of the subject.

England, the Low Countries and also Ribe in Denmark shared in regular and large-scale interchange of currency, to the extent that more than a quarter of all English finds of early pennies originated elsewhere in the North Sea area; about 20 per cent of all finds are of the Frisian Series E alone (Metcalf 2003b, 40; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2). This traffic was largely one-way: far fewer English coins have occurred in continental finds, prompting important questions about how the coin finds relate to the overall pattern of trade in the seventh and eighth centuries (see below, section (h), pp. 106–10). The wide circulation of some of these coinages has inevitably posed problems of attribution, which the ever-increasing body of single-find material is helping to resolve. It is now possible to identify the regional origins of most major series with considerable confidence. Yet difficulties arise from more than the mingling of coins: in terms of type, metrology and other characteristics there is little to separate English and continental pennies. Both generally avoid meaningful inscriptions (though occasionally carry short runic legends), and specific designs such as the ‘porcupine’ of Series E and the bearded facing bust of Series X enjoyed widespread popularity on both sides of the North Sea.

It is hence both customary and historically appropriate to consider the Anglo-Saxon early pennies alongside their North Sea counterparts, for they formed part of a tightly integrated monetary continuum. Conversely, Merovingian silver remained quite distinct. It tended more towards inscriptional designs, or monograms or single letters, and also did not as a rule circulate in any quantity in Frisia or England. Just a few English locations have produced a substantial number of Frankish *denarii*, such as the 'south Lincolnshire' productive site (though even there they are heavily outnumbered by English and Low Countries issues) (Metcalf 2011, 29–31). English and Frisian early pennies likewise occur in only small numbers in France, both as single-finds and among hoards (Le Gentilhomme 1942–4; Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière 2003, 381). The overall impression is that the Merovingian kingdom was not as closely integrated into the monetary zone of the North Sea as its neighbours to the north-east and across the Channel.

The early pennies from this North Sea region are dominated by two main types, known (following Rigold's terminology) as Series D and E. The former was restricted to the Primary phase; the latter began in the Primary phase but continued, through various permutations, into the second half of the eighth century. These series circulated alongside other smaller coinages from the Low Countries and Denmark.

1. Series D and E

Between them, these two types account for the great majority of early pennies found in the Netherlands, and more than half of all single-finds of the Primary phase, if D and E are taken together (Op den Velde and Metcalf 2007, 111).

Also known as the 'Continental Runic' type, Series D is a large coinage including three principal variants, certainly related and contemporary, but not all necessarily from the same mint-place. The major type, Da above (type 2c in the British Museum classification) (**143–83**), derives its obverse design from the crowned bust of the English Series C (including its runic legend *æpa*), while its cruciform reverse probably stems from Merovingian tradition (*T&S* II, 184–5; Op den Velde and Metcalf 2007, 5–7). Many stylistic varieties can be distinguished (Op den Velde and Metcalf 2007, 29–41), over the course of which there was a decline in weight (*T&S* II, 184, 186–7). A second and significantly smaller type, Db (*BMC* type 8) (**184–92**), combines the reverse design of Da with a square design derived from a Roman standard, which was used on the reverse of many other Primary types, including Series A, C and E (*T&S* II, 191–5). Db probably belongs early in the series. The third type included within Series D, Dc (*BMC* type 10) (**327–8**), carries a form of the schematic bust of Da (*BMC* type 2c) on one face and a stylised, porcupine-like bust on the other, presumably inspired by the design of early specimens of Series E (Op den Velde and Metcalf 2007, 7–8). It is die-linked into Da, so must come from a source engaged in the production of both types.

The copying of Series C by Da is a valuable point for the chronology. It indicates an origin for Series D in the middle part of the Primary phase (Op den Velde and Metcalf 2007, 70–2). All known varieties of D are represented in the Aston Rowant and associated hoards, but not in hoards thereafter, implying that the coinage probably came to an end at the close of the Primary phase (Op den Velde and Metcalf 2007, 72–3), though specimens remained in circulation for some time. D is unusual for being a substantial and varied yet also relatively brief issue.

Series E (**193–293**) is significantly larger and more complex than D. It sports a characteristic 'porcupine' motif on the obverse and normally the Roman-derived square design on the reverse,

though both faces present a bewildering range of variations. The by-name of ‘porcupine’ is one of convenience, and there is no possibility that the obverse design was supposed to resemble the spiny rodent; rather, the likeness suggested itself to Humphrey Sutherland, as an obviously nonsensical and hence relatively neutral description (Sutherland 1942, 64). Numerous suggestions have been advanced about the actual origin of the porcupine design (e.g. Walker 1695, cols. cxvii–viii; Dirks 1870, 87; Baldwin Brown 1903–37, IV, 96–7; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1–5), the most recent being that a stylised bust and bird on the pre-Roman coinage of the Carnutes, who dwelt between the Seine and Loire, inspired both the porcupine and its ‘plumed bird’ variant which appear in the Primary phase of the coinage (Dhénin 1987). Some sort of bust is certainly a convincing proposition, but the case is far from proved. What is abundantly clear, however, is that the idiosyncratic porcupine motif enjoyed great popularity, being copied (often in apparently quite abstract form) many times, and probably was a recognised emblem of acceptable currency which became increasingly divorced from a discernible meaning (in much the same way as runic and Latin inscriptions). Some types which carry images of insects, birds, serpents or stylised busts were probably intended to rationalise an inexplicable design (cf. Gannon 2003, 176–81).

A detailed study by Michael Metcalf and Wybrand Op den Velde (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011) demonstrates that the porcupine design very quickly became established in its characteristic form when Series E appeared on the monetary scene in the Primary phase, probably at much the same time as Series D. Four major varieties can be distinguished in the Primary portion of the series. One of these is known for its ‘plumed bird’ (Ea; **193–206**) (which itself contains two obverse and four reverse variants: Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 17–23). As the name suggests, this renders the porcupine into what is clearly intended to be a bird. The *VICO* variety has what seem to be letters arranged in the standard on the reverse, which could potentially represent the dative or ablative of the Latin *vicus* (Eb; **207–20**); three sub-varieties are identifiable (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 23–8). Variety G was first identified by Michael Metcalf in a pioneering paper (Metcalf 1966) which sought to classify the known obverse and reverse varieties of Series E (Ec; **221–31**); Mark Blackburn and Mike Bonser subsequently refined his arrangement of what Metcalf had termed variety G, breaking it down into four subdivisions, one of which (G4) was noticeably lighter than the others (Blackburn and Bonser 1987; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 28–34). The final variety (Ed; **232–4**) also takes its name from Metcalf’s classification, D (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 34–6). These four types are the first to appear in hoards in England and Frisia, and for the most part are of very pure silver (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 96–100). Another distinct variety, the attribution of which to England or Frisia is unclear, placed a cross surrounded by zig-zag lines on the reverse (SC; **288–90**). Although SC is rare in the Netherlands, it is well represented in France and Belgium. This distribution implies it was probably struck somewhere in the Low Countries, but at a minor mint-place south of the main one(s) of Series E. Unlike the mint producing SC, much of the output of Series E was exported to England (*T&S* II, 243–5; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 226–39).

Porcupine pennies of the Secondary phase survive in truly colossal numbers: more than 1,900 are listed in the corpus built up by Metcalf and Op den Velde, which is far from complete. The range of variation within these ‘vast trackless wastes’ is daunting (*T&S* II, 222). However, Metcalf (with Op den Velde) has succeeded in clearing a pathway through parts of the wastes. Two large clusters can be distinguished within the Secondary porcupines. One carries on the reverse a standard containing some variation on the characters TOT / \ (Ef; **235–53**); the other (Eg; **254–63**) an

assortment of symbols, labelled (with tongue in cheek) the ‘mixed grill’ varieties (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 43–51). There is an important distinction in weight between these two groups. The TOT / \ types are more diffuse, and cluster at a lower modal weight of 1.17g, whereas the ‘mixed grill’ types are more tightly concentrated around a noticeably heavier peak of 1.27g (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 70–6; cf. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011). These groups account for much, but not all, of Secondary Series E. A great many diverse types still lurk in the enormous corpus, mingling various obverse and reverse elements (264–87). One cluster shares symmetrical cruciform reverses, some of which were probably intended to be viewed at 45° (i.e. as a lozenge rather than a square) (Eh: Abramson 2012, groups 95–6). A smaller group of Secondary Series E derives its specific form of porcupine from the VICO Primary variety (Ee), but combines it with three distinct reverses (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 40–2). Coins of these varieties start to appear in hoards associated with the early stages of the Secondary phase such as Cimiez, while a fuller range of varieties occurs in Woodham Walter alongside a plethora of mid- to late Secondary English types; there are also several substantial continental hoards which belong to approximately the same period and contain a similar range of Series E material (Kloster Barthe, De Meern, Lutje-Saaksum) (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 128–39).

Series E includes a final segment which is contemporaneous with the very late Secondary pennies from England (c. 730 onwards), and which probably went on being issued for some time after the English Secondary pennies came to an end (291–3). It is best known from, and often named for, the Franeker hoard from the Netherlands, which was dominated by three major types (Ei–k, Metcalf’s B, E and F), two of them modelled on Primary types (Ec and Eb: variety G and VICO) and one on a group of Secondary types with a thicker porcupine outlined with pellets (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 52–60). The exact chronology of this final phase is obscure, as Franeker did not include any independently datable coins (Op den Velde 2001), and the other principal find – the Föhr hoard, from Germany, on the North Sea coast of Jutland – is of uncertain significance, for it included a Merovingian or early Carolingian coin of debatable attribution together with English pennies from relatively early in the Secondary phase (Hatz 2001). The possibility should not be ruled out that the hoard actually represents two different assemblages (Metcalf 2003b). At Ribe, a porcupine of this ‘Tertiary’ phase was found in a layer securely dated to 760–80 (see below, pp. 92–3). The start of the final phase of the porcupines’ long duration should probably be placed about 740, with an end date at least twenty years later.

Secondary porcupines generally retained a high standard of purity: over half of all coins analysed were of more than 85 per cent silver (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 100–4). It was only in the Tertiary phase that the fineness of the porcupines seems to have been significantly reduced (to c. 50 per cent silver), though the principal set of available analyses from the Föhr hoard is of uncertain reliability (Hatz 2001; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 108–10).

A high proportion of penny finds from England belong to Series D and E; so much so that D in particular may have been intended as an export coinage, as it is curiously rare in the Netherlands (Op den Velde and Metcalf 2007, 109–12). The distribution of both types in England is diffuse, with no clear regional concentration, pointing to multiple points of entry and quick, widespread circulation (Metcalf 2003b, 42–3; Op den Velde and Metcalf 2007, 97–108; 2011, 181–200). Pennies of Series D and E were also exported to other areas, and have been found in Germany, Denmark, France, Belgium (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 239–61) and further afield: one specimen of Series D has reportedly been found in Israel (Op den Velde and Metcalf 2007, no. 1208). Different

Table 6. *Probable regions of origin within the Netherlands of Series D and E.*

	Friesland	Rhine mouths
Primary	Series D	Series Ea–d
Secondary	Series Eg	Series Ef
Tertiary	Series Ej	Series Eh–i

contexts and regulations for recovery make a direct comparison of the volume of exports difficult, but the weight of English evidence remains significant: England was surely the principal destination of silver coin from the Low Countries in the late seventh and eighth century.

Within the Netherlands, two separate minting traditions have been tentatively identified by Metcalf and Op den Velde. Close analysis of find distribution suggests that these can be associated with the area of the Rhine mouths (where major *emporia* such as Domburg and Dorestad were situated), and with Friesland (see Table 6) (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 144–59). The balance of productivity and exports between these areas may reflect the political fortunes of Frisia and the expansion of Frankish power during the early eighth century (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 279–84), but the fixed points in the history of the Low Countries at this time are so few and their significance for the coinage so unclear that they provide only limited guidance.

2. Other northern French and Low Country coinages

A. Series G (299–311)

Iconographically this type stands close to the English tradition (*MEC* 1, 170), but it is now believed to be the coinage of Quentovic (*T&S* II, 266–8), a major *emporium* situated on the river Canche, a few miles east of modern Étaples (département Pas-de-Calais), in the northern part of the Merovingian kingdom (Lebecq *et al.* 2010). Finds include a specimen found on the probable site of Quentovic, together with more than eighty single-finds from across eastern England (as of 2014); examples from the Cimiez, Hallum, Garton-on-the-Wolds, Woodham Walter and Föhr hoards suggest the issue belongs to the early Secondary phase. It is often associated with finds of Series J and indeed mules of G with JM and Jb are known (*SCBI* 63, 113; Metcalf 2011, 28–9), probably from a separate mint or mints to those of the main series.

B. Star ('Herstal') and interlace ('Maastricht') types (294–8)

These two small types have traditionally been known by geographical names: 'Herstal' because nineteenth-century scholars saw in Herstal's Latin name (*Aristallium*) a play on the word *stella* ('star') which is the distinctive symbol of its obverse (e.g. Dirks 1870, 105), while 'Maastricht' was likened to early Carolingian issues from the same city with a similar interlace reverse design (Amécourt 1868–72).

The star or Herstal type is known from only a tiny number of English finds, but is much better represented in the Low Countries, and appears among finds from Domburg and Dorestad as well

as in several hoards (Hallum, Föhr and Franeker, along with a small find from Wittnauer Horn in Switzerland: Geiger 1980). It probably dates from the mid- to late Secondary phase, while its fineness is typically about 80 per cent silver (*T&S* II, 256–8). An origin further north than Herstal, deeper into Frisia, is preferable, but evidence is too limited to reach a confident attribution (*MEC* I, 152; *T&S* II, 255–8).

The interlace ('Maastricht') type is found in the same selection of productive site assemblages and hoards as the star type. Its chronology was therefore probably broadly similar. The finds, however, point more towards the lower Rhine (Zedelius 1980; *MEC* I, 151–2; Op den Velde and Metcalf 2014), possibly to the Meuse valley (*T&S* II, 261); slightly more finds are known from England than of the star type, but still fewer than ten. Its eponymous interlace reverse (a motif common on other forms of metalwork in England and Francia: *SCBI* 63, 112; Op den Velde and Klaassen 2004, 63) is combined with a stylised left-facing bust on the obverse. Several stylistic classifications have been proposed, based on the execution of these two designs, though the chronological significance of these remains unclear, as 'late' developments already appear in early hoards (*T&S* II, 258–60; Op den Velde and Klaassen 2004, 63; cf. de Boone and Op den Velde 1983; Zedelius 1980). The alloy of this type varies considerably, even among coins of similar style (*T&S* II, 260–1).

C. *Madelinus pennies*

This rare offshoot of the extensive gold coinage from Dorestad by the moneyer Madelinus comes at the end of a series of increasingly stylised and debased gold issues. Its legends barely warrant the name, and the bust and cross on steps are far removed stylistically from those of the gold coinage; indeed, one example found at Dongjum in Friesland resembles Series D, raising the possibility that this coinage contributed to the design of the new type (Pol 2008), or continued to be made in the early stages of Series D, in which case the influence could have come in the opposite direction.

This type continued for so long that there is no possibility of all specimens genuinely being the work of one moneyer; neither is it certain that they all come from Dorestad. No specimens have yet been found in England. In several respects these final, immobilised 'Madelinus' coins are parallel to the English coinages of Pada and Vanimundus (*T&S* II, 251), and should probably be dated to the same late seventh-century Transitional period (*MEC* I, 151). Unlike their English counterparts, Madelinus pennies are quite variable in fineness, falling as low as 46 per cent silver (*T&S* II, 252–3).

3. Danish coinage

Evocatively dubbed the 'Wodan (*sic*) Monster' type by Jacob Dirks (Dirks 1870, 109), it is safer to view the facing bearded head which adorns the obverse of this type as part of a larger North Sea tradition of similar imagery originating with facing images of classical gods and latterly associated with representations of Christ (*SCBI* 63, 113–14; cf. Gannon 2011, 313–21). What it was intended to represent in a Danish context cannot be known: Odin/Woden remains a possibility, for the absence of one eye is an attribute known only from much later sources and is not present on (for example) bracteates which have been claimed to represent Odin (Hauck 1985–9; 1992; cf. Pestell 2013, 239). The reverse design – a curling s-shaped creature, impressionistically described as a monster or dragon – also recurs on other early pennies, and was

possibly intended to represent the Lamb of God on English pennies (Gannon 2015). On the Danish issues, the reverse includes a range of 'secret' marks: pellets and lines around the head of the creature which hint at careful organisation of minting (*T&S* II, 278–9, citing the work of Dr D. Barrett).

Michael Metcalf's attribution of this type to Ribe in Jutland (Metcalf 1984, 161–4; 1985a; 1986b; cf. Metcalf 2006d) was initially treated with caution (Malmer and Jonsson 1986; Malmer 1987; 1993; 2002; 2007, 13–15), and an older attribution to northern Frisia still has adherents (though for the distinction of Series X from Series E see Op den Velde and Klaassen 2004, 61). Yet already in the 1980s the proportion of Series X among finds from Ribe was anomalously high, and further excavations since that time have provided strong support for the attribution of Series X to this *emporium*. It accounts for 85 per cent of the total of more than two hundred early pennies found at Ribe (Feveile 2006a; 2006b; 2008; Feveile and Jensen 1993), while its facing bust and curling creature continued to be depicted on Carolingian-style broad pennies of the ninth century which can be attributed more confidently to Ribe (Metcalf 1996, 416–19). Moreover, the stratification of the post office site indicates that Series X came to be virtually the exclusive currency of Ribe, for only in the earliest layer of finds (dated 705–25) did it occur alongside pennies of other types. Finds grew more numerous in subsequent layers and the series dominated coin finds until after 800–20, with just one penny of Series E occurring in a layer dated 760–80 and a small number of dirhams in a layer dating to the 780s. It is likely, therefore, that Series X at Ribe constituted a controlled currency, replacing other issues from some point in about the 720s, soon after the inception of the type; it remained in production until the early ninth century (becoming highly debased and less consistent in weight in its later stages), at which point it was replaced by broad pennies with similar iconography. The extended duration of Series X finds a parallel in Series E (and in Northumbria: see Chapter 5, pp. 111–27).

Ribe was a dynamic trading *emporium* like others around the coast of the North Sea. It was a major source of glass beads (which have been found widely in Scandinavia), while excavations in the settlement have produced quernstones and pottery from overseas (Näsman 2000; Feveile 2010, 98–101). However, Ribe remains exceptional in Scandinavia for its evidence of extensive and tightly controlled eighth-century coin circulation (Metcalf 1996, 403–9), leading to the plausible suggestion that Series X might be the product of a Frisian trading colony (Williams 2007b, 185–6). Whatever the nature of its origins and use in Scandinavia, Series X enjoyed significant circulation further west. It was heavily represented at Domburg (Op den Velde and Klaassen 2004, nos. 726–820) and was the sole type of the Terwispel hoard. It also circulated heavily in England, though on nothing like the scale of Series D and E; but like the latter two types, it is scattered widely, with pockets of more concentrated usage inland (Metcalf 2006d). Some stylistic variants are confined entirely or mostly to English finds, and should probably be interpreted as Insular types (623–7) (Xb: *T&S* II, 286–92); traditionally these have been viewed as copies of the more numerous Danish originals, but iconographic analysis raises the possibility that finer English variants may lie at the head of the series (Gannon 2015).

(f) ENGLISH PENNIES: THE PRIMARY COINAGE

The Primary coinages grew out of the 'Transitional' issues of Pada and Vanimundus, drawing their iconography from these and earlier pale gold issues. Before long there was a significant expansion

in the scale of the coinage, which was accomplished without compromising the generally high weight and metallic purity of the coins.

Because south-eastern issues of difficult attribution form the bulk of the Primary coinage, this Gordian knot of coinage is treated first as a group before moving on to the other minor coinages from other regions.

1. Major coinages of south-east England: Series A, B and C

The three principal coinages of the Primary phase have been among the most closely studied of all (Rigold 1960–1; *T&S* 1, 85–114; Metcalf 2001a; *SCBI* 63, 100–3). A substantial number of hoards, mostly from graves, facilitates the construction of an unusually precise relative chronology (see Table 5 above). Attributions to specific mints within the south-east, however, remain contentious.

Series A (**26–42**) draws elements of its design – a crowned bust, usually with some form of TIC to the right, on the obverse and a standard with TOR / \ on the reverse – from the ‘Pada’, ‘Concordia’ and ‘Two Emperors’ *scillingas* (Rigold 1960–1, 10). It is of very high fineness (94–95 per cent silver) and consistent weight across all three of its major sub-types A1–3 (Aa–c in the classification presented in Table 4) which are distinguished by the shape of the bust’s shoulders on the obverse and of the ‘horns’ to either side of the standard on the reverse. Series C (**67–76**) was the successor to Series A, sharing its broad distribution (Blackburn and Bonser 1985, 61–2). In appearance Series C is virtually identical to Series A save that the TIC legend on the obverse is replaced with the runic **æpa** (sometimes **apa** or **epa**) (*T&S* 1, 90), though often retaining the initial T. At this stage the inscription may have referred to a specific moneyer, later becoming immobilised (Blackburn 1991c, 149). The sub-type C1 (Ca) retains a reverse standard similar to that of Series A, while C2 (Cb) places crosses on all four sides of the frame of the standard; CZ (Cc), a rare variant of the latter, replaces the lower side of the frame with a large cross pattée (*T&S* 1, 113; cf. Blackburn 1991c, 148–50). Separating Series C from the early stages of Series R (RP, which also belongs to the Primary phase) is difficult, but it is likely that the latter began as an offshoot of a south-eastern coinage which was later taken up in East Anglia (Metcalf 2001a, 47; 2007, 54; *SCBI* 63, 102–3; *pace* *T&S* 1, 112 and 508).

Series B (**43–66**) is an elegant type characterised by a diademed head or bust surrounded by pellets with a meaningless pseudo-legend on the outside, and (on the reverse) a bird atop a cross within a ring of pellets; both elements have affinities with earlier gold types (*SCBI* 63, 101). B contains a multitude of sub-types, which were studied in minute detail by Stuart Rigold (Rigold 1960–1, 18–22, 36–45). Some of his sub-groups have since been detached from the series as mules or contemporary imitations which stand outside the main group (Bf–g); Rigold’s BIIIB in particular now forms part of Series J (Jb; **340–4**; *T&S* 1, 94, 98). The four main groups can be placed roughly into chronological sequence (*T&S* 1, 95–9). BX (Ba) has a relatively small bust on the obverse, with shoulders that break the circle of pellets, and a diverse array of letters in its meaningless inscription. It stands at the head of the series, and is probably the earliest of all the Primary types. A second segment (contemporaneous with Series A), BI (Bb–c) features a smaller range of letters, and can be divided into B1b and B1A/C which show a bust and head (i.e. with no neck or shoulders) respectively. A third, slightly later group, BII (Bd) differs in its ‘legend’, which is often barely on the flan and consists of a string of As and Vs. BIIIA/C (Be) takes the same essential design as BI–II (Bb–d) but is of coarser execution and lacks an outer inscription, and probably does not

come from the same source. It includes several distinct stylistic clusters, one of which (BIIC, notable for the extremely large and pointed nose of the head) seems to originate in the east midlands (Metcalf 2011, 25). BIII (Be) may have persisted into the early Secondary phase.

Despite including many coins which one would formally class as ‘imitations’, all the analysed specimens of Series A, B and C are of very high purity (and indeed two of Series B contained an unusually high quantity of gold – more than 1 per cent), indicating that they were not made to deceive (*T&S* 1, 158–65). All types share a relatively high weight (normally over 1.20g), probably falling slightly over the course of the issue (*T&S* 1, 87, 100–1, 109–10). The very wide and relatively even circulation enjoyed by all three series powerfully illustrates the intensity of monetary circulation outwards from their probably south-eastern origin, but has made identification of their mint-places problematic (Metcalf 2001a; 2004). Series B is generally more common north of the Thames and A to the south. Series C is assumed to be from the same source (or sources) as A even though it was more widely and evenly dispersed (Metcalf 2004, 8). Assignment to specific mint-places is best left as an open question (see below, section (h), pp. 109–10).

2. Other coinages

The later stages of the Primary coinage – roughly from the time Series BII (Bd) and C appeared in the south-east – saw minting in silver spread to other regions of England. This was not always the first time production of coin had taken place outside the south-east: some issues of gold shillings can be attributed to East Anglia and Northumbria. But mint-places in these regions had probably been in abeyance for two or three decades before the resumption of coinage, now in silver. All Primary issues had high fineness, and usually relatively high weight; there was also an unusually high incidence of Frankish iconographic influence.

Comparable with the three major south-eastern types in its widespread circulation is Series F (92–104). Its distinctive design of a bust surrounded by a garbled legend, with a cross on steps on the reverse, is lifted from Merovingian coins of Auxerre (Prou 1892, nos. 584–5). Indeed, this high level of Frankish influence meant that the coinage was historically seen as a Frankish issue (e.g. Hill 1953, 93), and F has only been recognised as English since the discovery of the Aston Rowant hoard (which contained multiple specimens), reinforced by subsequent single-finds (*T&S* 1, 125; *SCBI* 63, 103). The bust is notable for what resembles a broad-brimmed hat, which should probably be interpreted as a stylised helmet or diadem (Gannon 2003, 49; *SCBI* 63, 103; *pace* Metcalf 2014a). English varieties have been divided into four major sub-groups based on the configuration of the reverse cross (Fa–d). These seem to have some chronological significance, as two specimens of Fa (one being 93) contain an appreciable quantity of gold (about 10 per cent), which is unlikely to have occurred later in the coinage (Metcalf 2014a, 54–5).

Frankish models are also apparent in the case of the so-called SAROALDO (SA) type (134–8), which takes its name from the inscription found around the outside of a standard on the reverse of certain specimens, possibly echoing a Frankish moneyer’s name (*T&S* 1, 147–8; cf. Blackburn and Bonser 1986, 86–7). What may be the earliest section of the type (SAa), however, places a clearer legend inside the banner: FIT / VR (‘it is made’, if intended as a passive form of *fieri*) (*T&S* 1, 148). Other coins of similar style replace this reverse design with the standard and outer inscription (SAb), while a different stylistic strand is marked by more bristly hair on the obverse

bust (SAc), and a final group loses coherency and becomes quite abstract (SAd) (*SCBI* 63, 108). Finds are too few for the type's origin to be identified, but they may well be from north of the south-east. The Vernus type (**122–32**) (named for a small cluster of letters sometimes found on the obverse) likewise shows continental influence, in that its obverse design seems gradually to have moved towards the porcupine of Series E (though evolution in the opposite direction has also been argued: *T&S* I, 141–2). On this model, the earliest part of the type (VEa) displays a bust with a radiate crown similar to that of Series A, C, D and RP, which subsequently transforms into a bust with bristly, porcupine-like hair (VEb), while the legend is sometimes replaced by a cross alone. On some specimens this bust becomes highly abstracted and more closely resembles a plumed bird (VEc) (*SCBI* 63, 107; Gannon 2003, 48). A separate strand with a different reverse standard (TOT || instead of the lines and angles found on the other type) is apparently modelled on the plumed bird variant of Series E (*T&S* I, 144–7). All Vernus types probably stem from East Anglia (*SCBI* 63, 107).

Another comparatively small group influenced by Merovingian iconography can be tied to Wessex in the Primary phase (Metcalf 2005, 6–9). Series W's spiky style and reverse saltire cross find parallels in Frankish issues, including a group attributed to Marseille (Prou 1892, nos. 1612–14; nos. 1615–16 are probably Frankish imitations of Series W; **139–42**). Finds include some which travelled a long distance, but these are concentrated in Wessex (Metcalf 2005, esp. 4). The two major varieties show the obverse's standing figure half length (Wa–b), in one case holding crosses with annulets at the three upper terminals (Wb) (Metcalf 2005, 11–16; *T&S* I, 153–5). Wa and Wb probably belong, respectively, to the Primary coinage and the transitional period between Primary and Secondary. A third variety with a cruder, right-facing figure (Wc) is unusual for being highly debased in its silver content (one specimen yielded about 3 per cent): on the face of it this could be a signal of a significantly later date, contemporary with very late Secondary issues that saw similar levels of debasement (Metcalf 2005, 10–11), but further analyses are needed to cement this conclusion, and the possibility of an aberrant local issue from the later Primary phase should not be ruled out.

The one Primary coinage that can be attributed to a named king is crucial for dating purposes (see above, section (d), p. 83). Aldfrith's inscribed coinage (**628–30**) created the precedent of explicitly royal minting in Northumbria which was later taken up by Eadberht. It also established the use of a quadruped (identified as a lion by Anna Gannon: Gannon 2003, 125–7) on the northern royal coinage, which would persist down to the late eighth century. The attribution to Aldfrith of Northumbria is now beyond all reasonable doubt, thanks to specimens found alongside other late Primary pennies in the Aldborough and Rodings hoards, and in a stratigraphically dated early eighth-century context in Southampton (Metcalf 1988a, no. 125). The coinage has at times been assigned to an obscure late eighth-century Aldfrith of Lindsey (e.g. Lyon 1955–7, 229, following a suggestion of Michael Dolley), but the one charter attestation of the latter around the time of Offa is probably a misreading of Ecgfrith, Offa's son (*S* 1183 (cf. Kelly 1998, no. 12); Foot 1993, 133; Sawyer 1998a, 49). Finds of the coinage include several from Yorkshire and north Lincolnshire – which had been closely linked culturally and politically with the northern kingdom down to about this time (Higham 2006; Rollason 2003, 34–6) – but others have been discovered as far south as Norfolk, Kent, Essex, Surrey and Southampton (Metcalf 2006a, esp. 150): a valuable illustration of how far a securely attributed coinage could travel.

A cluster of rare Primary and Secondary types are associated with Aldfrith's coinage by their iconography of a quadruped related to the spindly quadruped on that king's coins, combined with a facing bust, often bearded. In at least some cases this bust could have been inspired by numismatic and other representations of Christ (Gannon 2011) or possibly by the concept of sight as one of the five senses (Gannon 2005). Series Z (**112–18**) combined a bearded facing bust of elegant style with a quadruped on the reverse which recalls that of Aldfrith's coinage, but with the tail arranged in different ways (Za–b: *SCBI* 63, 105–6; Gannon 2003, 128–30). Series BZ (**105–11**) carries a facing bust on one face and a bird atop a cross (reminiscent of Series B) on the other (Gannon 2011, 88–91). The bust varies significantly in style, being sometimes of a vague and schematic form in low relief (BZa: cf. *SCBI* 63, 104–5; Gannon 2011, 91–5), while another group (all specimens of which are apparently struck from the same set of dies) is of a much more modelled style, with a carefully delineated beard and moustache (BZb). The distribution of finds points to Norfolk as the likely source of both Z and BZ (*T&S* 1, 136–8; Metcalf 2000, 9). A very rare and enigmatic group, associated tentatively with Series Z (Zc) and sometimes known as the Aston Rowant group (**119–21**), combines an especially stick-like rendition of a quadruped with a cross-crosslet reverse (Zc: *T&S* 1, 138–9; *SCBI* 63, 106–7).

The transition between Series C and RP (**77–89**) is complex, and depends on the interpretation of small details of the design and on analysis of the changing distribution of finds (Metcalf 2007; Blackburn 1991c, 150–3). Broadly speaking, Series R (RP) is distinguished by its inscription **epa** rather than **æpa** or **apa**, while on the reverse the two slashes of TOT / \ become straight: TOT | |. The division into R1 (RPa) with an inverted A behind the head, and R2 (RPb) with TAT or ITAT behind the head and a T before the runic legend, is a helpful distinction but simplifies a wider range of stylistic variation (*T&S* III, 507–9; Metcalf 2007, 55–7). RP exerted a powerful influence on East Anglian coinage even if it was not itself East Anglian (though this has been argued: Metcalf 1986c, 7; 1988a, 23–4; *T&S* III, 507–8): the distribution of finds is very scattered and does not point obviously to either East Anglia or Kent (Metcalf 2007, 49–52; cf. Blackburn 1991c, 151–3, for cautious attribution to Kent), though the relatively strong presence of RPb in the Aldborough hoard from Norfolk now lends some support to the former location (Marsden 2013, 256). A mint-place in either East Anglia or Kent which catered to long-distance traffic remains a possibility, as does a centre located elsewhere.

A coinage with a porcupine design on the obverse and the runic name **æpiliræd** in two lines on the reverse is of debatable attribution (**90–1**). In the nineteenth century the type was assigned to Æthelberht of Kent (Ruding 1840, I, 116) and later to the Mercian king Æthelred (675–704) (Haigh 1839–40, 154–5), though finds from Mercia are scarce and the name is now more usually read as belonging to a moneyer rather than a king (*T&S* 1, 120; Blackburn and Bonser 1986, 85). Its porcupine design resembles Series E type G (Ec). The type has generally been accepted as English, and probably Kentish (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 215–19; Metcalf 2001a, 44–5), though the presence of a specimen in the otherwise completely Frisian (Series E, Primary and Secondary) Fincham hoard reopens the possibility of a continental attribution (Marsden 2013, 501). The **æpiliræd** type is comparatively light and variable in its alloy, and also does not appear in any of the major late Primary hoards (Aston Rowant, Aldborough, Loddon), so it may belong to the very final stages of the Primary coinage and the transition into Secondary types (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 218–19).

(g) ENGLISH PENNIES: THE SECONDARY COINAGE

The complexity of the coinage already seen in the later Primary phase deepened in the Secondary. Large but relatively discrete series emerged in Northumbria, East Anglia and Wessex, while a plethora of types, both plentiful and rare, seem to belong to an area extending from the Wash to Kent, including the Thames valley (see Map 3b). Many of the Secondary types carry designs of rich meaning and beautiful execution, making this one of the high points of Anglo-Saxon numismatic art (Gannon 2003). At the outset of the phase came a realignment of coinage and the appearance of several new types. Further new groups emerged down to the middle part of the coinage, with a contraction thereafter; minting became confined to a few major centres in Northumbria, East Anglia and the south-east, forming the background of the new royal issues in the later eighth century (see Chapter 6, pp. 128–45). The fineness of the coinage began relatively high (c. 90 per cent), and seems to have fallen thereafter, but with different regions or series following their own trajectory: there was no uniform chronology or pattern of debasement for the country as a whole (*T&S* III, 644–9).

1. Southern England

The region of south-eastern England from the Wash to the Channel (including Essex, London, Kent, the Thames valley and the south-east midlands) was undoubtedly responsible for the largest and most complex range of early pennies. Most of these groups are relatively rare, and a number have in the past been described as ‘eclectic’ groups, notable for combining a multitude of different designs. Enough such groups can be assigned to the south that many with a more scattered distribution but of similar character can tentatively be attributed to the same large territory. Only a minority of these types can be associated with a more specific origin on the basis of find distribution, and just one rare group of coins carries a literate and meaningful mint name (London: LE).

A. Series K and L

By far the largest of the southern English coinages of this time is the complex series of types classed by Rigold as Series K and L. These both show a bust on the obverse, represented in varied styles and with diverse attributes, and combined with a wide array of reverse designs. Rigold divided the two on the mnemonic criteria of K for Kent and L for London and whether the bust’s diadem ties were knotted (Series K) or loose (Series L), but he also recognised the need to allow for intermediate types (K/L, K(L) and L(K), etc.) (Rigold 1977, 24–5). Additional research on the series, and an accumulation of new finds, has strained this already problematic classification to breaking point (Gannon 2008a). The arrangement followed here is modelled on that of Michael Metcalf (*T&S* III, 368–415, esp. 373) and Tony Abramson (Abramson 2012, groups 23, 33–41).

The core types assigned to Series K (369–93) are those with a lion design on the reverse (Gannon 2003, 131–3): either a lion head, a coiled lion or one crouching before some vegetation (Ka–c). The chronological order of these types is unclear (*T&S* III, 385) and each contains several sub-varieties. Three stylistic divisions based on the bust may equate to different mint-places, moneyers or phases of production: Ka and b are known with all three styles of bust but Kc with only one (Metcalf and Walker 1967; cf. *T&S* III, 380). Series L is here restricted to the types which place a

form of (garbled) London mint-signature on the obverse, and a sitting or standing figure on the reverse (**400–II**). A rare variant with a porcupine reverse (Lc) is known from one specimen in the Hallum hoard and from one other specimen in this collection (**415**). A continental origin is possible (*T&S* II, 246–7), but the evidence remains too thin to provide a secure conclusion. Since its low silver content and closeness to Series L otherwise point to a late date, the Lc coin could be intrusive in Hallum (which otherwise contains early Secondary English types).

Series KL (**364–8**, **394–5**, **412–26**) defines a large group of types which have a diademed bust on the obverse (with no inscription) and on the reverse a standing figure holding either a cross and hawk or two crosses, often in a simplified crescent-shaped ship (KL*a–c*). Several distinct stylistic groups can be detected in KL, one of which (characterised by a tall and spindly neck, a bust with a large, bulbous chin and drapery formed by curves or v-shapes of pellets) also extends to portions of Ka–b and La (Metcalf and Walker 1967, 12). KL was at one point associated with a mint-place in the territory of the Hwicce in the west midlands (Metcalf 1976), but is now thought to be the work of a source in the south-east which enjoyed strong links with the west midlands (*T&S* III, 381, 406; Metcalf 2003b, 44–5).

These formidably complicated and closely associated coinages are a case in point of the need for careful attention to style as well as iconography, and for a flexible approach to attribution and structure. They clearly stem from one or (more probably) multiple highly productive centres somewhere in south-east England. The Kent/London division inherent in Rigold's nomenclature has to a large extent been upheld by Metcalf, who emphasised the river Thames as a major dividing line (*T&S* III, 370–3), but the likelihood is that some elements of Series K were issued north of the Thames, with KL being more evenly split north and south of the Thames. London and Canterbury may have been responsible for large parts of these coinages, but exact attributions and the number of moneys and/or subsidiary mint-places remain speculative. The garbled London mint-signature on Series L need not signify that the coins in question were actually minted in London; the vague letters have almost certainly been carried over from an earlier model, and become distanced from their original meaning. One penny of Series Ka (*T&S* no. 306) which shows a bust with a hand apparently raised in blessing has been tentatively identified as an archiepiscopal issue from Canterbury (Metcalf 1988c), though a number of other religious figures could have been represented in this way, and the gesture could be rhetorical as well as liturgical (Gannon 2003, 64–5). Series K probably originated earlier than L or KL. K alone occurs in the Garton-on-the-Wolds hoard, while L and KL are found in very late hoards such as Middle Harling and London C. K also includes coins of significantly higher fineness (up to *c.* 85 per cent silver), though other specimens go down to about half-fine or less. The finest specimens of Series L and KL are of about 50 per cent silver, while those from the London C hoard were between 15 and 28 per cent fine, and others were of even lower fineness (*T&S* III, 621, 672–3).

B. Series N, U, V, M, O and S

Several small to mid-size series of discrete stylistic character can be assigned to southern England on the general basis of find distribution. Series N (**466–78**) originated early in the Secondary phase and circulated widely (*T&S* III, 459–67), with a correspondingly strong influence on many later coinages: its images of a backwards-looking beast and pair of standing figures were re-used many times. The details of the latter figures have been used to divide the series up into sub-types (Na–c), but this criterion covers only a portion of the series' variation (*SCBI* 63, 125–6).

Series U (**607–18**) was likewise an early Secondary type which provoked extensive imitation of its standing figure (clearly female: *SCBI* 63, 133–4) and bird in vine motifs (*T&S* III, 552–3). Unusually, its two major stylistic divisions (Ua–b: types 23b and d) correlate strongly with different areas of circulation, the former being distributed in the Thames valley, the latter in the south-east (especially Kent). A political explanation for this dichotomy has been advanced, associated with Æthelbald's extended sphere of influence (Metcalf 1972b; 1977b), but it is now known that the type came too early for the apogee of Æthelbald's power (which was in any case exercised in very loose fashion: see Chapter 6, section (a), pp. 128–9); it must instead reflect the swift diffusion and active interest in currency design characteristic of southern England in the early eighth century. A rare variant (**616–17**) (Uc: type 23c) has a facing figure with elaborate curling headgear (*SCBI* 63, 133–4), and may have been produced in Wessex (*T&S* III, 568–9; Ulmschneider and Metcalf 2013, 30). A further variant (EMC 2009.0303) is of normal Ub style but is laterally reversed, showing that fluctuations such as this could be found among mainstream coins as well as imitations (with implications for classification of other series).

The rare and attractive Series V (**619–22**) (probably a mid-Secondary type from Kent: *T&S* III, 570–5) shares an interest in birds and vines, though interpreting its subject material rather differently via a frontal or backwards view of the bird (Gannon 2003, 119–20; *SCBI* 63, 134). It combines this motif with a representation of Romulus and Remus with the she-wolf, taken from Roman coins of the fourth century (Kent 1961, 13; Gannon 2008b, 292–4). Series M (**460–5**) is also notable for its idiosyncratic iconography: on the obverse, a quadruped within a coil of foliage (viewed in some cases as the Lamb of God by Anna Gannon: Gannon 2014), and a delicately and elaborately coiled vine on the reverse. Find-spots point to the south-east, possibly Kent, and its metallic quality suggests a mid-Secondary date (as does its presence in the Woodham Walter hoard) (*T&S* III, 453–8; *SCBI* 63, 125).

Series O (**480–2**) (which overlaps with the so-called 'Rampant Animal' types: **483–91**) again occurs most heavily in the south-east, in the mid-Secondary phase. It is a wide-ranging group which combines a range of images in similar style: these include a distinctive bust with a sweep of hair, enclosed in an inner circle with a coiled interlace outside (possibly originating as a pseudo-inscription: *SCBI* 63, 126–7); a backwards-looking creature with quills; a standing figure holding crosses; a geometric interlace; a standard; and a crescent enclosing a small bird (*T&S* III, 468–76).

Finally, Series S (**589–601**) is highly concentrated in Essex (extending into modern Hertfordshire), and its fineness and occurrence in hoards indicate it belongs quite late in the Secondary phase – probably after the deposition of the Woodham Walter hoard (*T&S* III, 537–44). It carries highly distinctive imagery: a winged female centaur on the obverse and a whorl of wolf heads on the reverse, either with tongues coiling inwards (Sa) or (a rare and probably later variety) with a rosette in the middle (Sb). The obverse design has attracted considerable interest, recalling the centaurs from stone sculptures at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire, and literary references to centaurs as a symbol of man's rise from brutishness through God (Morehart 1985; Gannon 2003, 151–4).

C. Other southern types

An important cluster of types (grouped as LE, for 'London and ecclesiastical') (**436–40**) is unusual for carrying intelligible, literate legends, most revolving around an abbreviation of the word

sanctorum. Some (LEa) have a bust surrounded by +MONITA s[an]c[t]ORVM and a porcupine (similar to that of Series T) on the reverse (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 220–4); a closely associated group has the same design executed in somewhat different style, but replaces the obverse legend with +DE LVNDONIA, and locates s[an]c[t]ORVM alongside the porcupine on the reverse (LEb). The inscription *monita* (for *moneta*) *sanctorum* signifies ‘money of the saints’ (M. Archibald in Webster and Backhouse 1991, 66 no. 56), and the presence of *sanctorum* on the London coins indicates an ecclesiastical origin in London for both series (Naismith 2014b). The same inscription, MONITA s[an]c[t]ORVM, was also used on two further types united by a cross with annulet terminals on the reverse, but with different obverses: a bird (similar to Series Oa) and an annulet cross (Lc–d). Another inscription bespeaking ecclesiastical production – SEDE[s], ‘seat’ (or less probably AESE: Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 222–3) – was combined with either a porcupine design (SEa) or an adaptation of the porcupine into a rounded serpent-like form with radiating quills (SEb) (322–4) (Hill 1953, 107; *T&S* II, 246). It must come from an episcopal seat somewhere in southern England, but too few specimens survive to show which (Naismith 2014b).

All of these types can be assigned to southern England with a reasonable degree of confidence. Many others are of less certain attribution because of their sheer rarity, but are provisionally attributed to the same region because of its tendency towards a large number of small types. Find distribution, where known from any number of specimens, and typological affinities are compatible with this conclusion (cf. *T&S* III, 417), while fineness and the representation of many of these types in the Woodham Walter hoard suggest a mid-Secondary phase date for most of them. Several of these types have been described as ‘eclectic’, in that they combine motifs from several other series. But enough such types are recognised that it is inappropriate to continue to distinguish some, but not others, as ‘eclectic’: mingling of designs was characteristic of the period. These mixed groups are united by features of style, and often by one or two elements of the design which carry over between other motifs. One type (CA) (427–8), for example, is marked by repetition – in increasingly debased form – of a brief inscription CARIP alongside a bust, with a range of reverse designs including some drawn from Series K and U (*T&S* III, 416–21). Another has a recurring geometric reverse design of four interlaced triquetras (TR: 396–7). This is paired with images on the obverse recalling Series K, L and KL, including a facing bust with curled hair (*SCBI* 63, 118–19), and a standing female figure with outstretched arms, in the *orans* position (possibly intended to represent the Virgin Mary: Gannon 2011, 99–103); others have a bust surrounded by an inscription, either a garbled version of a London mint-signature or MONITA s[an]c[t]ORVM (*T&S* III, 422–5). Voided (or ‘Celtic’) crosses are the distinguishing feature of one small group (CC; 430–5); rosettes before busts on the obverse are the defining characteristic of another (RO; 429). Like CA and TR, these both drew on Series K, L, KL and U for a range of other motifs, including further occurrences of the debased London mint-signature (*T&S* III, 426–34). A comparable level of variation (though drawing on a slightly different range of types: K, N, Q and U) is seen in the so-called Animal Mask group (AM: *T&S* III, 446–8; 451–5), most notable for its unusual obverse design of a facing cat-like creature (Gannon 2003, 134–5). This animal face is executed in several different styles, raising the possibility of multiple sources utilising the same design. A final small group of comparable character focuses on a winged ‘victory’ figure (445), sometimes standing in a ship, which appears with either a bust, a standing figure or a second standing ‘victory’ (VIa–c: *T&S* III, 440–3; *SCBI* 63, 123–4). One find from Southampton comes from a layer datable to c. 700–25 (Metcalf 1988a, no. 101), again placing the type in the mid-Secondary phase.

Smaller but more typologically coherent groups of uncertain attribution also fit best into the southern English context, though attribution to other areas (especially East Anglia) cannot be ruled out. A portion of these combine motifs from other series. Series T (**602–6**), for example, is a compact type with a porcupine reverse (cf. Series E, and also portions of LE and SE among English Secondary types) and an obverse bust of distinct style, combined with a brief (but apparently nonsensical) legend, normally +LEL, or in rare cases TANVM. Metcalf proposed an east midlands origin (*T&S* III, 545), but a number of south-eastern finds have come to light since this time, tipping the balance towards the latter region (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 220). Series T also appears to have been an unusually late group, not found in the Woodham Walter hoard, and occurring alongside Series S in late grave-finds from London and Kent. Other types which combine imagery from different series tend to be based on a range of specifically English Secondary types. One (SP; **457–8**) combines a coiled serpent (similar to Kb) with a standard similar to that of Series RS (*T&S* III, 449–50); another (KN; **449–50**) carries a standing figure reminiscent of Series L and KL, with a backwards-looking beast on the reverse similar to Series N (*SCBI* 63, 124); and a further group (LW) pairs a similar standing figure with a whorl of three wolf heads with interlocking tongues, comparable with that of Hd or Sa (*T&S* III, 451–2, noting the existence of several apparent imitations). There are also types which sport images otherwise unknown from the coinage, though in most cases parallels may be found in other media. The so-called ‘archer’ type (AR) takes a form of the stepping bird well known from Series U and Ha–c (ARa), and juxtaposes it with an innovative archer motif on the other face (**441–3**). An archer could have connotations of hunting and secular power (*T&S* III, 439), and the image was well known in Anglo-Saxon sculpture and manuscript art, in which contexts it could carry religious overtones (Morehart 1984). An associated sub-type replaces the archer with a bird of different style (ARb). A type showing a crude standing figure and backwards-looking creature with two legs (FC) has only come to light in very recent years (Abramson 2012, group 107). It occasionally replaces the figure with a bust of similar style or a bird atop a cross, while in one case the reverse bears a cross on steps surrounded by a pseudo-inscription, lifted from Series F. A further new type (BP) has a wolf head on one face (close to that of Series Ka) and a complex reverse design of a biped with intertwining limbs and possibly a fish in its mouth (referred to as a ‘fledgling’ by Abramson, though this identification is not secure); finds include several from east Yorkshire, but these are very scattered, and the types are similar in content and style to other southern issues (Abramson 2008a, 33).

2. *Wessex*

The attribution of Series H (**329–39**) is one of the clearest among the early pennies. Single-finds are strongly concentrated in Wessex (especially Hampshire) and H made up approximately half of all the finds of early pennies from Southampton (first recognised in Blunt 1952–4; Metcalf 1988a, 18–22; 2003b, 40–1; cf. Birbeck *et al.* 2005). Of the two major sub-types 39 and 49 (Ha–b), the former is earlier and significantly less common than the latter; a third variant (type 48: Hc) was also well represented at Southampton but circulated more widely outside Wessex, so may have come from a separate mint-place operating in a different way (*T&S* III, 333–40). Ha and b both show a pecking bird on one face – an emblem which enjoyed wide currency in the Secondary phase, being shared by Series U (Gannon 2003, 117–20). Ha combines the bird with

four rosettes (which are also found on Hc, paired with a whorl of three ‘wolf’ heads), while Hb carries a facing bust reminiscent of Series Z surrounded by a variable number of annulets. The alloy of all three types is quite variable, typically falling in the range 50–80 per cent, presenting the possibility that successive types may have sought (and failed) to maintain a relatively high standard (*T&S* III, 339, 622–3). The series is absent from known hoards (save for one find consisting entirely of Series H from within Southampton (*Checklist* 25)), probably as a result of the comparative insularity of the series (Metcalf 2005, 1). It can only be dated in vague terms on the basis of its iconographical associations and metallurgy, both of which suggest a quite long-lived type which began in the early/mid-Secondary phase and may have persisted into its later stages (*T&S* III, 330–2), though probably not as late as the reign of Cynewulf (757–86) (Andrews and Metcalf 1984; *T&S* III, 332).

3. East Anglia

Two substantial groups of coins can be assigned to East Anglia in the Secondary phase, both of them long lived. The larger of the two is Series R (RS) (536–74), which was the final stage in the long evolution of the radiate bust/standard design which originated in Series A, and was transmitted onwards via Series C. The intermediary between Series C and RS, RP – i.e. the primary-period portion of Series R – is possibly East Anglian, but enjoyed a markedly wider circulation than the later types of RS. The remaining portion of Series R (RS) is a large and intricate coinage which has been divided up in different ways by Metcalf and Blackburn (*T&S* III, 502–23; Blackburn 1991c, 147–57). These accounts should be consulted for specific typological details. In broad terms, earlier coins have a bust with a clearly defined neck and tend to have about 50 per cent or more silver (RSa and e: *T&S* R3–6; Blackburn G); later ones have no (or a vestigial) neck and contain 40 per cent silver or less, eventually becoming visibly base (RSb–d and f–g: *T&S* R7–11; Blackburn H–K). These two clusters can also be divided on the basis of their runic legends. A small number both with and without neck have **spi** (RSe–f: *T&S* R5 and 9), and some of those with no neck have **rhy** or similar (RSg: *T&S* R7). The majority carry **epa** or a variant (RSa–b), but the latest coins carry a pair of moneyer’s names: Tilbeorht (RSc: *T&S* R10; Blackburn K) and Wigræd (RSd: *T&S* R11; Blackburn J). It is possible that **æpa/epa** had originated as a moneyer’s name in Kent in the late seventh century, though it had certainly become immobilised in RS: the reintroduction of current moneyer’s names may have been associated with an attempt to bolster the reliability of the more dubious later specimens of RS (Naismith 2012b, 309–10), which (in the case of finds from the Middle Harling hoard) could contain a minute amount of silver (3–4 per cent) (Archibald 1985, 47). Stylistic affiliations, supported to some extent by find distribution, tentatively point to a number of mint-places behind the various sections of Series RS: Metcalf discerned two principal sources, with **epa**-inscribed coins and later Wigræd coins at one, while Tilbeorht was tentatively seen as heir to the **spi**-inscribed coins at the other. However, there is room for flexibility, and it is likely that if there were two mints they were in close communication, as they show several common traits such as the omission of the neck on the obverse, and the introduction of moneyers’ names. Two die-cutting traditions in the same centre may be a possibility (and, for a closer relationship between the **epa** and **spi** coins, see Blackburn 1991c, 154–5). Differences in circulation (Metcalf 2000, 5–7) could be the result of serving different clienteles. Smaller mint-places following variants of the main Series RS design can also be detected: one (which find

distribution suggests was probably also from somewhere in East Anglia) replaces the regular **epa** or **spi** runes with **rhy** (*T&S* R7); and a laterally reversed version of the early **epa** variety (*RSa*: *T&S* R6) includes a high proportion of finds from just west of East Anglia, so it may have been produced outside or on the fringes of the kingdom (*T&S* III, 513–14).

The second major East Anglian series, Q (493–526), differs in a number of respects. While Series RS is highly conservative in its iconography, Series Q is among the most diverse, carrying a variety of human busts and standing figures, birds, quadrupeds and geometric designs with many layers of significance (Gannon 2003, 191–2). The most iconographically outstanding image is found on a rare type showing a facing bust with a crossed nimbus: an unambiguous representation of Christ, comparable with those on Byzantine and Visigothic coinage and in other media (Stewartby and Metcalf 2007). Others have larger facing busts with no cross which may also have been intended to represent Christ (Gannon 2011, 96–7), and the creatures of Series Q could also have carried Christian meaning (Gannon 2014, 168). The series divides into two major stylistic segments, one much larger than the other, which seem to correspond with differences in find distribution (and hence possibly of mint-place). The larger of the two segments includes at least eighteen different designs executed in a linear yet elegant style (cf. *SCBI* 63, 128–9). These eighteen types can in turn be broken down into three sections characterised by differences in iconography and declining fineness (which ranges between about 30 and 85 per cent silver) (*T&S* III, 488–98). The first of the groups is most typologically diverse, including the bust of Christ as well as one or two standing figures, a backwards-looking beast or a bird (Qa: *T&S* QIA–H). A second group moves away from this extreme level of diversity to a narrower range focusing on animal and bird combinations (Qb: *T&S* QIIA–D), while the third group uses similar designs, commonly with a triquetra added above the animal (Qc: *T&S* QIII). Coins which mule the crude radiate bust of Series RS with the quadruped of Series Qa–b (QR: *T&S* III, 498) may represent the latest development of this mainstream style. The other large element of Series Q is much better modelled and fluid in style, with sinuous, detailed execution of the various creatures (Qd: *T&S* III, 499–501 (QIVA–E)). Like Series RS, Series Q probably spanned a long period, from the mid-Secondary phase to its end.

The presence of two such different series within a single kingdom is an important demonstration that production and circulation of early pennies was not always dependent on political geography, at least at the level of the principal kingdoms. It is also possible that some of the rare types provisionally assigned to the south-eastern region are East Anglian. Within East Anglia itself, clear differences in the pattern of find distribution of segments of the two major local coinages hint at multiple mint-places: the mainstream section of Series RS is found all over the region, and has been assigned to the major *emporium* of Ipswich, while the types with **spi** runes (*RSe*–f) appear to cluster in east Norfolk; the larger portion of Series Q (Qa–c) appears to be associated with west Norfolk, but the better modelled types (Qd) belong to east Suffolk and the area around Ipswich (Metcalf 2000; cf. Naismith 2013a, 139–45).

4. East midlands

The east midlands seem to have contributed relatively little to the minting of early pennies. Local finds include a high proportion of continental issues (Metcalf 2011, 21–2), and only a few minor issues can be assigned to the region. These include one of the several types associated iconographically with Series J, specifically type 36 (JM) (345–50). The mounting total of finds now indicates an

origin in Lincolnshire (*T&S* III, 360–4; Metcalf 2011, 26–9). Appropriately, JM's obverse bust hints at the influence of the continental Series G (*SCBI* 63, 115–17), one of the types which circulated quite extensively in the east midlands.

Another group probably from this region is characterised by a broad (yet stylistically associated) range of types broken into two larger groups (*T&S* III, 524–36; Abramson and Bonser 1999). These have a wide assortment of motifs (SSa–h and FBa–d) including standing figures, serpents, birds, quadrupeds, two runic moneyers' names (one possibly copied from Series R) and geometric designs (577–88). A central design unites each group, being paired with a variety of other images. These core designs are a saltire-standard and a bearded facing bust, similar to those on the English varieties of Series X (Xb) (*SCBI* 63, 130–2). The two groups are die-linked together, but those with the facing bust tend to be finer (c. 85–90 per cent silver, as opposed to c. 70–80 per cent) and were present in the Woodham Walter hoard, so may belong earlier than the saltire-standard group. The two clusters probably stem from a source in the east midlands, though finds are scattered (*T&S* III, 526–7, 536; cf. Ulmschneider and Metcalf 2013, 28–9).

5. Northumbria

There was a lacuna in the inscribed royal coinage between the time of Aldfrith and Eadberht, i.e. from 705 until after 737 (see Chapter 5, section (d), p. 116). This gap was probably occupied by a substantial issue of uninscribed early pennies of Series J (340–4, 351–8). J encompasses several distinct sub-types, probably from a number of mint-places. The largest core types are similar in style but quite distinct in iconography: type 85 (Jb) carries a bust in profile on the obverse and a bird atop a cross on the reverse (and was viewed as part of Series B by Rigold (his BIIIb): Rigold 1977, 23); and type 37 (Ja) has an unusual obverse design of two heads confronting each other, with a cross in between, and four birds arranged in a cross on the reverse. Both the emblems of Ja have extensive parallels in other metalwork (Morehart 1970, 1–5; Gannon 2003, 37–9), and the two busts may also have been inspired by an Iron-Age coin issue (Sellwood and Metcalf 1986). The twin busts have been read as carrying political meaning, as a reference to co-operation between the king and bishop in York, just as would later be the case in the coinages of Eadberht and Archbishop Ecgberht (*T&S* III, 366), but there is no evidence that earlier kings and bishops enjoyed such a close relationship (Naismith 2012b, 302–4), and there are many other possible meanings behind the two heads: two saints, for example, or two biblical figures (Gannon 2003, 38). Yet even if type 85 (Jb) was not necessarily a parallel royal issue to type 37 (Ja) (*T&S* III, 364–6), the two types were clearly closely related: if they were not issued simultaneously they must have come in quick succession. Attribution to York depends on the type's dominance among finds from the city and its environs (*T&S* III, 356–61), though their overall distribution is very widespread, notably more so than the later Series Y. Cases have also been made on the strength of this evidence for an origin in Mercia (Metcalf 1966; 1977b) or, most recently, Lincolnshire (Naylor 2006, 163–9), though the find distribution of coins of Aldfrith now provides an important parallel to Series J, including strong representation in north Lincolnshire: an attribution north of the Humber therefore remains persuasive.

Series J was extensively imitated and combined with other types and styles, but most of these issues probably do not come from Northumbria; type 36 probably stems from the east midlands,

for example. Types 60 and 72 (**359–63**) (JUa–b) are modelled on 85 and 37 (Jb and Ja) but place, respectively, a coiled serpent and standing bird on the reverse. They are quite distinct stylistically, so probably come from another location; where this might have been remains unclear, but somewhere in the northern orbit of Series J is likely (*T&S* III, 354–61).

(h) SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTERPRETATION

In spite of their proliferation through metal-detected finds and an outpouring of scholarship, the early pennies remain something of an enigma. There can be no doubt that they were used widely. Eastern England and the Low Countries are thickly scattered with single-finds, in both the countryside and the trading towns of the day (Metcalf 2014c; though cf. Moreland 2000a, 12–13). In England, the period of the early pennies now stands out as the richest in terms of coin-losses between the fifth and the late twelfth century (Naismith 2013b, 201–3). The forces and agencies driving this unprecedented surge in the minting and circulation of silver coin are the major point at issue.

Adoption of silver currency came in the 660s or 670s after the purity and quantity of gold coin had been falling in England and Francia for several decades (see Chapter 3, section (e), pp. 58–9). Yet this was more than a simple move towards silver as stocks of gold dried up. Indeed, gold never did vanish altogether, even at the time when its presence in the coinage was becoming negligible. In ‘final phase’ furnished burials (especially of females), gold remained accessible (though still scarce in absolute terms), and, if anything, gold objects became relatively more numerous in grave deposits of the third quarter of the seventh century before finally disappearing from graves around the same time as furnished burials as a whole came to an end (Hines *et al.* 2013, 546–7). There is also no evidence for the effect of the declining purity of gold coinage on prices; if anything, intermingling of coins of varying fineness points to flexible attitudes towards their intrinsic quality (see Chapter 3, section (f), pp. 61–2). In other words, the move away from gold coinage towards essentially pure silver should be seen as an active choice rather than a last resort: gold was consciously abandoned in the context of coinage. Silver coinage evolved out of a comparatively large and dynamic gold coinage in Francia and England, with an increasingly diverse role in various forms of exchange (Naismith 2014a, 299). Gold found a new, more elite-focused role in England and Francia, in contrast to other areas of contemporary western Europe such as Visigothic Spain and Lombard Italy which, faced with similar limitations in bullion supply, persevered with highly debased gold currencies (Blackburn 1995b, 539–45; Naismith 2014g, 9–11; see also Chapter 3, pp. 39–62).

The handling of silver coins was in some respects not so very different from that of earlier gold pieces. The geographical scale of circulation of gold is now seen to have been wide, and the major difference is quantitative: there is simply a great deal more silver from England and the Low Countries (Metcalf 2014c). Why the coinage expanded so much and as fast as it did during the period of the early pennies is a central question. Mobilisation of such bullion resources is likely to have started with, though not necessarily remained the preserve of, the elite (cf. Moreland 2000b, esp. 101–4; Wickham 2008, 27–8; Rovelli 2009, 57–69), and large quantities of silver must of course have been available to support this growth. Two principal sources of silver can be identified: importation of foreign silver (as seen in the large presence of Series D and E in England: see above, section (e), pp. 87–93); and perhaps (especially at the outset of the process) dethesaurisation of

silver supplies in other forms. Yet these supplies answered to demand generated by factors specific to England and the Netherlands. The surge in silver coinage was not a Europe-wide phenomenon. In the Frankish kingdom, silver coins are noticeably rarer than gold among single-finds (Naismith 2014a, 300). In the North Sea zone of eastern England and Frisia, exceptional demand must have emerged for coinage.

Their runaway success can be linked to a host of interlinked developments in the late seventh and early eighth century. A burgeoning network of traders plying routes across and around the North Sea between *emporia* helped distribute a range of commodities in sufficient bulk that they probably came within the reach of a large portion of society, dovetailing with the spread of coin to promote distribution between different communities over a large area of eastern England. Exceptionally rich minsters, Ipswich-ware pottery and enlarged *emporia* all appeared during the same period as the early pennies, mutually supporting one another in their impressive picture of the English economy in the early eighth century (cf. Blinkhorn 2012, 90–9). If anything, the first flush of primary coinage in England began well before the heyday of Ipswich ware (Blinkhorn 2012, 3–8) or the *emporia* (see below), and prolonged availability of an extensive currency in eastern England may have been a significant element in the success of both. Relative political stability, especially in southern England between the death of Cædwalla in 688 and the end of the long reigns of Wiltred in Kent and Ine in Wessex around 725 (see above, section (a), p. 64), was doubtless also important in paving the way for the richest phase of development. Minsters, kings and other members of the secular elite could have patronised minting for numerous acts of large-scale expenditure, and in time a larger and more diversified market probably began to support the activities of moneyers, including the craftsmen, traders and free peasants who peopled the *emporia* and profited from the economic orbit of the elite (see above, section (a), pp. 64–5). This is the most likely context for the numerous smaller coin types later in the primary phase, reaching a crescendo in the mid-Secondary phase in south-eastern England (c. 720–30). Privileged access to silver flowing in through the Thames estuary and Kent (and up into the south-east midlands) brought plentiful bullion into this region, and a concentration of local patrons may have been one of the biggest attractions for moneyers: rich minsters were numerous (Blair 2005, 150), and so were the elites of the many small peoples of the Tribal Hidage (Davies and Vierck 1974; Dumville 1989c; Keynes 1995, 21–5; Blair 2014).

But among the many factors at work in the context of late seventh- and early eighth-century England and Frisia, the change most immediately responsible for sparking the effervescence of the early pennies may have been religious. Christianity strongly advocated the investment of worldly riches in heavenly goals, and one key mechanism for shoring up riches in heaven was the distribution of alms. The Canons of Theodore written by an anonymous *discipulus Humbrensiūm* enjoined those who reported stolen goods to give a share of the proceeds to the poor, as should those who gathered up excessive wealth unknowingly or won booty from a foreign campaign (*Iudicia Theodori* G156–8, U2.14.1, U2.14.10–11, ed. Finsterwalder 1929, 268, 332–3; cf. Shuler 2012, 67–8). Bede famously told the story of how King Oswald (634–42) broke up a silver dish to distribute among the poor who were begging for alms (*HE* III.6, ed. Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 230–1). Late antique and later Anglo-Saxon sources both show that almsgiving aimed to distribute aid to as many recipients as possible, or a smaller number in the long term (Naismith 2012c, 282–3; cf. Sternberg 1991; Sotinel 2010, esp. no. IX); Odo of Cluny in tenth-century France lamented that magnates competed in the scale of their almsgiving for the sake of status rather than charity

(PL 133, col. 548B). Almsgiving (along with other forms of Christian charity) was a potent force for the redistribution of wealth in general, and its piecemeal character, as well as the expectation that recipients would use the proceeds to purchase food and other small essentials, made coin a favoured medium for distribution. Popularisation of the practice and its possible association with coinage in the late seventh century would correspond with consolidation of Christianity across England during the time of the energetic Archbishop Theodore (668–90). The advent of a new generation of native bishops, together with Theodore's own measures and a vigorous wave of monastic foundation, set the Church on a much firmer footing in the last three decades of the seventh century (Blair 2005, 79): furnished burial effectively ended at about this time (Blair 2005, 228–45; Hines *et al.* 2013, 552–4); charters granting land to churches begin to survive (Wormald 2006, 135–66); and minsters evolved quickly to become a major new economic force across England, harnessing aristocratic support and material resources for the support of a large sedentary population (Blair 2005, 79–290; Foot 2006). In the words of Bede, 'to put it briefly, the English Churches made more spiritual progress while [Theodore] was archbishop than ever before' (*ut enim breuiter dicam, tantum profectus spiritualis tempore praesulatus illius Anglorum ecclesiae, quantum numquam antea potuere, ceperunt*) (HE v.8, ed. Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 474–5; cf. Lapidus 1995).

This is not to claim that all the early pennies were made for the purpose of giving alms. Minsters were also present in areas without minting or substantial circulation of silver. Rather, affirmation of Christian teaching with regard to the distribution of charity created a new and important outlet by which elite wealth – both ecclesiastical and secular – could flow in numerous but relatively small amounts into society more widely. This would have encouraged the dethesaurisation of elite reserves of silver, and helped generate demand for further precious metal, fulfilled by inflows of continental silver which started soon after the inception of the 'primary' phase. Before long the new volume of coined money played a nuanced role in systems of production and distribution as a whole.

It is possible that English and Frankish missionary efforts had a similar effect on the monetary economy of the Netherlands (McKitterick 1991 for context), but the slightly later expansion of productivity there and the remarkably high representation of Series D and E indicates that supply of English markets was a major factor, even from an early date. Behind all of this must have been the frequent exchange of goods, with England exporting unknown commodities in large quantity to bring in its supply of coin: wool may already have been prominent (Sawyer 2013, 72–3), as well as slaves and other items (Pelster 1980; Sawyer 2013, 50).

Coinage thus blossomed as a means of exchange capable of moving easily between individuals and communities, bringing compartmentalisation and parcelisation of wealth. Pennies could be used in 'social' and 'official' as well as commercial contexts, probably moving regularly between all three, and their versatility lay in their capacity to transfer easily between these different spheres. Early pennies thus served to liquidate a middle level of wealth which could span different strata of society: although too valuable to be used for day-to-day payments, they would still have been much more within the reach of peasants and traders as well as magnates than the earlier gold coinage (Naismith 2014g). A rise in exchange at this level would be the best explanation for the remarkable success of the early pennies.

Decline in the quality and quantity of the early pennies in England after approximately 735 was probably connected with interruptions to the supply of silver from the Low Countries, prompted by renewed Frankish aggression and conquest in Frisia (Naismith 2014g, 12–13). The result was

what can only be described as a recession, at least with regard to the monetary economy (Metcalf 1988b, esp. 236–9; 2009). The *emporia* continued to flourish, and the dip in minting and coin circulation proved temporary. But the downturn in the volume and quality of coinage precipitated much more direct involvement in minting by a series of kings, beginning with Eadberht in Northumbria (737–58) (Naismith 2012b). The aim of Eadberht and his imitators seems to have been to use their authority to re-establish a trustworthy coinage, implying that by the mid-eighth century there was strong demand for coin. The degree of royal involvement prior to this is much more difficult to pin down.

Indeed, the exact minting arrangements behind most individual issues of early pennies remain a mystery. On the one hand, English pennies grew out of a model derived from Merovingian Francia, which was dominated by numerous small minting-places, mostly of rural character and under the patronage of local magnates (see Chapter 3, section (c), pp. 43–5). On the other, when minting arrangements come into clearer view in the early ninth century, it is likely that a small number of major coastal trading towns accounted for most minting (see Chapter 6, section (d) and (e), pp. 138–45). The diverse early pennies seem to show a continuation of the former, Merovingian model, as well as the beginning of the latter, as part of a multi-stage process:

1. During the primary phase (as in the earlier gold coinage), mint-places were probably based on something approaching the Merovingian model: production at rural centres more notable for their elite connections than their commercial importance. Analysis of the early (seventh-century) stages of the major *emporia* shows the beginnings of their exchange role, but little to lift them beyond other rural settlements in terms of their coin deposits (Naylor 2012, 241–5). London and Canterbury had both been named as mint-places in the gold coinage, and in their capacity as major foci of ecclesiastical and secular authority could certainly have supported minting, rather than as ‘towns’ as such. The possibility of other estate centres and meeting places contributing to the coinage (especially the more numerous later primary types) should be left open.
2. The early and mid-Secondary phase saw the continuation of this stratum of minor mint-places, reaching an apogee in the multitude of mid-Secondary coinages. At the same time, issues appeared which can be associated with the expanding *emporia*: larger coinages such as Series H, J and RS from Southampton, York and Ipswich respectively. Coin finds at these locations pick up significantly, along with other signs of expansion and reorganisation. Analysis of the local distribution of finds actually hints at a drop in losses of coin in the immediate hinterland of *emporia* in the Secondary phase, as these hubs absorbed some of the functions of nearby centres of exchange (Naylor 2012, 254–66). Evidence for minor mint-places in much of England at this time is also thin. The south-east emerges as the area with most diversity, reflecting a combination of numerous local mints and (probably) some major centres such as London which supported multiple moneyers issuing different types simultaneously.
3. Finally, the contraction of the later Secondary phase signalled the end of the minor mint-places of southern England. Production fell back to a smaller number of issues, mostly associated with the major coastal *emporia*: Series L (London?), RS (Ipswich) and the Northumbrian regal coinage from York, though the origin of the late Series S, strongly associated with Essex, remains unclear. A source in London, or possibly the productive site at East Tilbury (Thurrock) which lies on the Essex coast but in the orbit of London, is a possibility (T&S 111, 537).

In broad terms, the variation in scale of early penny issues supports a view of highly diverse minting arrangements, which must often have been more elaborate than the ‘one kingdom – one *wic* – one series’ model promulgated in the past (compare *T&S* 1, 22 with Metcalf 2005, 8; cf. Metcalf 2011, 44). ‘Mints’ at this time, as in the later eighth century and subsequently, most likely comprised separate moneyers (Naismith 2012c, 132–49), who would have answered to a wide range of patrons and possibly worked in different ways: not all were necessarily independent commercial operators. Most early pennies betray no obvious signal of their patron or maker. Nonetheless, there is little doubt that they reflect on some level the economic and political dynamics of the day. Some of the larger series could well have been produced by multiple moneyers using a common design under royal authority (*T&S* 1, 10–25), but the few issues with meaningful inscriptions indicate a broad range of agencies at work: churches (LE, SE) and moneyers (ÆÐ, Rc–d, SSb and g) as well as kings (AL) (Naismith 2012c, 90–6). It may be more productive to consider how kings and other agencies engaged with a looser form of currency than to search for ‘royal coinage’ as such.

Identification of the most likely issuer depends on a number of factors, among them the scale and probable origin of a given coinage, its date and physical features as well as the most contested and well-studied aspect of the early pennies: their iconography. The artistic dimension of the early pennies is integral to understanding their place within contemporary society, and indicates active and intelligent engagement between different issuers. Imitation could be more an act of homage than of forgery (Gannon 2006; 2008a): images were adopted and reimagined many times, changing in meaning as they circulated. The infamous ‘porcupine’ was kept in its fairly abstract state by some issuers; others recast it as a bird, bust or serpent-like creature (see above, section (e), pp. 88–91). Quadrupeds, often represented with great economy of style, could be construed in many ways: some with lolling tongue and/or a long, three-pointed tail possibly represent lions (Gannon 2003, 125–34); others in a crouching position resemble images of the Lamb of God (Gannon 2014); and a few were given specific but unexpected attributes which indicate a surprising breadth of meaning, as in the case of one Series Qa die which adds antlers to a quadruped, transforming it into a stag (519). There was a strong Christian element running through the iconography of the early pennies. Crosses were ubiquitous, and some individual images can only reasonably be interpreted with reference to objects and representations from far-flung parts of Christendom, emphasising the high level of thought and intellectual attainment which went into the design of these coins (Gannon 2011). Many images on coins, as in other media, tapped into both Christian and native artistic traditions, and could be read in multiple different ways (like the quadrupeds and ‘porcupines’). It is partly for this reason that iconography proves an imprecise guide to the patron behind a coinage: coin designs with elaborate religious meanings could be used by Offa and his moneyers without any evidence of ecclesiastical input, while the early pennies produced by or for a church with the legend ‘money of the saints’ are not obviously Christian in their iconography (Naismith 2012c, 93–4; *pace* Gannon 2003, 185–6). There is good reason for caution in estimating the scale of the Church’s contribution to the early pennies (Naismith 2014b), but some involvement is undeniable. The Church’s role may in fact have been most pronounced in fostering almsgiving and stimulating local demand through minsters. England’s exceptional burst of minting and coin-use at the end of the seventh century and in the first half of the eighth can be seen as stemming in large part from a transformational fusion of Christian social practices with a dynamic economy.

THE KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBRIA

(a) HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Æthelfrith (d. 616) was the first king to unite the Deirans and Bernicians (Dumville 1989b), creating the kingdom of the Northumbrians, though its two major component peoples retained their own dynasties and power-bases which shaped the subsequent development of the kingdom: the vales of Pickering and York figured prominently in Deira, the lower Tyne and the area of Bamburgh, Yeavering and Lindisfarne in Bernicia (Wood 2008). Æthelfrith – a Bernician – was defeated and replaced by Edwin (616–32), a Deiran royal exile who was the first Northumbrian king to accept Christianity. Politically, Edwin’s accession marked the beginning of the high-water mark of Northumbrian influence in Britain, and of close relations with southern England (Yorke 2009a, 88–95; Fraser 2009, 166–99). Bede claimed that Edwin and his successors Oswald (634–42) and Oswiu (642–70) held supremacy across all England (Bede, *HE* II.5), and in the late seventh century Ecgfrith (670–85) vied with the Mercians for control over the Humber and the surrounding region (Yorke 1990, 72–86). Later kings intervened less often south of the Humber, but were nonetheless forces to be reckoned with (Yorke 1990, 94–5). Northumbrian kings continued to rule the lands of the Bernicians and Deirans until the Viking conquest and settlement of the 860s–870s; thereafter, Scandinavian rulers held York and the south of the kingdom (see Chapter 11, section (a) and (i), pp. 279–81 and 292–301), while a line of independent earls ruled the north from Bamburgh, eventually under West Saxon suzerainty (Rollason 2003; Higham 1993).

Seventh- and early eighth-century Northumbria is well known thanks to a remarkable body of literature and art produced by its churches. The venerable Bede (d. 735) – a scholar of international renown – is the most celebrated representative of this Northumbrian renaissance, while the Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Library, Cotton Nero D.IV: Brown 2003), Codex Amiatinus (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Amiatinus 1) and Ruthwell Cross are among its most impressive surviving artefacts (Blair 1976; 1990, 117–309; Wormald 1982a; DeGregorio 2010; Higham and Ryan 2013, 153–72; Ó Carragáin 2014). These achievements emphasise both the refinement and the diversity of the Northumbrian Church, which was influenced by Brittonic, Irish and Roman traditions. There was also much variation in monastic custom, with the Irish foundation of Lindisfarne and Bede’s rigorous and wealthy twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow at one extreme, and many small aristocratic monasteries at the other, which Bede accused (in a letter to the bishop of York) of being little more than tax havens where the secular elite could

claim privileges (Grocock and Wood 2013, 124–61; cf. Blair 2005, 79–108; Foot 2006). The treasures of the Northumbrian renaissance are thus only part of the picture of the kingdom, and need to be considered alongside the fraught political situation (especially in the early eighth century), occasional tensions within the Church (such as the troubled career of Bishop Wilfrid (d. 710)) and variation in monastic customs (Stancliffe 2012; Thacker 2014).

Northumbrian history after the time of Bede becomes noticeably more obscure, yet this should not in itself be read as a sign of unrelenting cultural and political disorder (Yorke 1990, 86–97; Kirby 2000, 123–33). What can be pieced together of the regnal succession from the later eighth century reveals that there were many usurpations and murders, as members of at least three kindreds competed for power. Most of these kings had short and brutal reigns, but these were punctuated by periods of greater stability. Eadberht (737–58, d. 768) enjoyed a long reign alongside his brother, Ecgberht, archbishop of York (735–66); together they addressed some of Bede's concerns about the ecclesiastical infrastructure, while Eadberht led military campaigns in the north and was in a strong enough position to abdicate in favour of his son (though he was killed within a year). Later, Eardwulf (796–806, 808–10) established a dynasty which held the throne for three generations, under his son Eanred and grandson Æthelred II, but with at least two temporary usurpations (Kirby 2000, 162–3). The fierce competition among the elite which took place in the eighth and ninth centuries may have been related to the straitened circumstances of the royal office and its inability to distribute plentiful largesse, if huge amounts of land had been given away to monasteries and conquest of new territory had been severely curtailed (Yorke 1990, 90–1; Wood 2013). It may therefore be no coincidence that the eighth-century Northumbrian Church remained wealthy and powerful, arguably more so than in other contemporary kingdoms. Alcuin (d. 804) was a product of the cathedral school at York (Bullough 2004), and in the early ninth century an otherwise unknown Æthelwulf wrote a poetic history of an unidentified monastery in the diocese of Lindisfarne (Campbell 1967; Lapidge 1990).

Both the secular and ecclesiastical rulers of Northumbria were threatened by a new affliction at the end of the eighth century. Lindisfarne was targeted by one of the first recorded Viking raids on 8 June 793, and the suffering of the monks shocked contemporaries across Europe (Keynes 1997b, 50–1; Bullough 2004, 410–18). Another raid hit an uncertain monastery the following year, and there may well have been further attacks, though only those impinging directly on the internal politics of the kingdom are recorded in the extant sources. In 844 the usurper Rædwulf and many of his men were killed in battle by the Vikings, and in 867 the 'Great Army' arrived in the midst of a struggle between King Osberht and the usurper Ælle. The two united to face the Vikings, but were defeated and killed in battle at York. Without doubt the Vikings played a leading part in the eventual downfall of the kingdom of Northumbria (the southern part of which was settled and taken over by Vikings in the 870s), but the extent of their impact in the decades leading up to this is more difficult to gauge. In the mid-ninth century attacks from what is now Scotland may have been just as pressing a concern: the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* states that Cináed, king of the Picts (843–58), invaded Northumbria six times and sacked Dunbar and Melrose (Woolf 2007, 95, 101–2).

If eighth-century Northumbria suffers from a scarcity of detailed sources, the situation is far worse in the ninth century (Kirby 1987). Brief annals in late and problematic texts permit only a sketchy reconstruction of even the basic regnal and episcopal chronology. These difficulties mean that the coinage has played an unusually significant part in scholarship on the course of events in

the kingdom, and both the historical and numismatic perspectives are discussed in detail below (section (g), pp. 119–27).

(b) LITERATURE

There is extensive early literature on the coins of Northumbrian kings going back to the late seventeenth century, spurred in many cases by the discovery of hoards such as Ripon (*Checklist* 40), Hexham (*Checklist* 38) and several from York (*Checklist* 31–3, 42). Much of this work is vitiated by misattribution of coins in a desire to fill gaps in the series (Lyon 1955–7, 232; Pirie 1987, 108–9). One contribution worth singling out is that of John Adamson, who analysed a large part of the major 1832 Hexham hoard; his discussion of it is now largely superseded, but the accompanying plates are an important resource, for they carefully reproduce 945 different inscriptions and designs (many representing multiple duplicates in the parcel available for study) (Adamson 1834). Joseph Fairless was apparently the first to recognise die-linking between moneyers (Fairless 1845, 35), which in later times emerged as a crucial feature in research on the coinage.

Understanding of the Northumbrian series evolved swiftly in the second half of the twentieth century. A seminal paper by Stewart Lyon (Lyon 1955–7) set the process in motion, asking innovative and important questions about the structure and chronology of the coinage, and indeed it used numismatic conclusions to query the established historical chronology of the ninth century. Hugh Pagan advanced Lyon's ideas with a stimulating reassessment of ninth-century chronology (Pagan 1969; cf. Pagan 1973). The 1980s offered occasions for stocktaking at two Oxford symposia on coinage and monetary history (Hill and Metcalf 1984; Metcalf 1987a). In both, James Booth laid out the earlier material down to 810 with clarity and intelligence (Booth 1984; 1987). Metcalf 1987a includes a multitude of important contributions, and remains the most important volume for understanding the complex ninth-century material. It is soon to be joined by the sylloge of the Lyon collection, in preparation at the time of writing (*SCBI* 68). The only other major works on the Northumbrian series are Elizabeth Pirie's painstaking die-studies of the vast collection of coins in York (Pirie 1996; reiterated in Pirie 2000; 2002; 2006); however, aspects of her interpretation of this material are deeply problematic, and her structural organisation of the ninth-century coins has not been accepted by other scholars.

Although new research on the Northumbrian coinage has slowed since the 1980s, subsequent finds of important specimens have maintained interest in the series, including the new coins of King Eardwulf, which only came to light in the mid-1990s (Pirie 1995; Blackburn and Gillis 1997), and other anomalous coins (Williams 2001b; Pirie 2003). Since the 1970s, the volume of new single-finds has continued to grow, such that they now constitute a major resource in themselves, which might usefully be compared with the hoard material (Naylor 2007; Richards and Naylor 2011, 139–47). Indeed, the combination of extensive and relatively well-studied hoards with numerous new discoveries makes this a fertile subject for fresh study, especially by scholars with the combination of skills needed to assess the coins alongside the complex historical record.

(c) GENERAL FEATURES OF THE COINAGE

Northumbrian coinage extends from the period of gold shillings in the seventh century to the troubled years around (and possibly after) the defeat and conquest of the kingdom at the hands of

the Vikings in the 860s. In many ways the currency of the northernmost Anglo-Saxon kingdom stands apart from the contemporary issues of its southern neighbours. Most notably, the broad penny module was not adopted north of the Humber, and severe debasement in the course of the ninth century eventually resulted in a coinage which contained no silver at all. On the other hand, explicit and tightly controlled royal involvement was established very early, probably in the 740s, based on a still earlier royal role in minting under King Aldfrith (685–704); recognition of the king on the coins continued until the end of the kingdom, and the archbishops of York were named on a parallel series of coinages. Northumbria seems to have been one of the major influences on resurgent royal coinages elsewhere in England and western Europe in the middle of the eighth century.

Closely related to this strong royal involvement is an apparent concentration of minting in a single location: York (for archaeological context see Hall 2011, 75–9). Contraction of coin production to a small number of larger centres seems to have been a general feature of England from the mid-eighth century onwards (Naismith 2012c, 130–2; see Chapter 6, sections (c) and (d), pp. 132–45), but if manufacture of coin north of the Humber truly was restricted solely to York for a century or more, this was the most extreme case. No mint-signature was ever used on the Northumbrian coinage, but it is unlikely that coins in the names of the archbishops of York were minted anywhere except York itself, and these were closely related to the royal series (cf. Metcalf 1987b, 7–8). This combines with strong evidence for a single, prolific mint-place later in the course of the Northumbrian coinage: specimens from the mid-ninth century are closely die-linked, including between moneyers, as well as (occasionally) between royal and archiepiscopal issues (Pirie 1987, 104). Earlier issues, from approximately the time of Eadberht to Eanred, are more difficult to pin down to a single mint-place. Die-links between moneyers are unknown, and differences in style and design between coins and reigns might represent different mint-places or other variations in die-cutting arrangements (e.g. Booth 1987, 68). The mid-ninth-century coins of poor literacy and difficult attribution could also reflect the products of less formal or stable minting arrangements, including an element from outside York. However, as yet there is no call to detach any of the mainstream Northumbrian coinage from York. As far as can be seen, it was the overwhelmingly dominant mint-place north of the Humber from the mid-eighth century until the appearance of new Norman mint-places in the late eleventh (Allen 2012a, 27).

In most of its visual and organisational essentials, the Northumbrian coinage was relatively conservative. The (re-)establishment of an explicit royal prerogative under Eadberht, the institution of moneyers' names in the 790s and a rapid decline of fineness in the ninth century are the outstanding developments in the series as a whole. Throughout these changes, however, Northumbria's rulers and moneyers maintained the small, thick module of coin which had been current in the mid-eighth century and long before. Adoption of the broad, thin format of coin only came with the advent of Viking coinage in the 890s (see Chapter 10, section (i), pp. 260–1). It is now apparent that Northumbria was not alone in preserving this form of coinage longer than southern England and Francia. Ribe in Denmark continued to have a local currency of early pennies until the early ninth century (see Chapter 4, section (e), pp. 92–3), though no direct links between Northumbria and Jutland at this time have yet been discovered. Although a large part of mainland Europe and England had adopted a new and (in later times) prevalent form of coin, the retention of older systems in northern Europe should not be seen as an eccentricity. Northumbria was conservative, but far from backwards or parochial. Indeed, having a clearly distinct coinage was in some respects

advantageous. Prior to Viking takeover, a separate sphere of currency prevailed north of the Humber, based on the immediately apparent physical difference between northern and southern coinage, and reinforced by sharpening debasement in the north. Northumbrian coins circulated relatively widely in the south, most probably as fractional coins, thus filling an important gap in the southern monetary economy (at least in the mid-ninth century) (Metcalf 1998b, 177–9; Naismith 2012c, 207–8). But southern coins are very scarce north of the Humber, presumably either crossing the border in smaller numbers or (more likely) being melted down on arrival (Naismith 2014g). Once again what stands out is the high level of control being exerted by the Northumbrian authorities.

Despite its curtailment in the later ninth century, in many respects the Northumbrian coinage had been a dynamic and economically versatile entity. Rulers and coin-users in the south probably saw much to envy in the Northumbrian currency. For these reasons, Northumbria ought to be at the heart of broader research on early medieval coinage, not distanced from it. Use of idiosyncratic terminology and (in some cases) orthography has, however, served to distance Northumbrian coinage from this larger context. The term ‘styca’ (i.e. OE *stycce*), for example, was first applied to the debased ninth-century Northumbrian coinage in the late seventeenth century by William Nicolson, at a pioneering stage in English numismatics (see Appendix 2, section (a), p. 367). But it is now known that there is no contemporary instance of the word being applied to ninth-century coins; nor indeed is there any written reference to these coins whatsoever. Debate about when the ‘styca’ displaced the *sceat* (another problematic label applied to early silver coins) is at best a veiled judgement on the dating of key shifts in the Northumbrian coinage such as the appearance of moneyers’ names (Pirie 1986, 67; 2003) or the beginning of serious debasement (Booth 1987); at worst, it is a wild goose chase into the realms of obfuscating jargon. Ninth-century Northumbrian currency inherited the module and design of later eighth-century coinage and its idiosyncratic features evolved gradually. There was, in short, no single break in the monetary development of eighth- and ninth-century Northumbria which warrants the imposition of new nomenclature: no more so, at least, than in any other Anglo-Saxon kingdom. To apply a different standard to the Northumbrian coinage serves only to distance it from the rest of the subject.

Elizabeth Pirie’s strong views on the orthography of Northumbrian name-forms present similar problems (e.g. Pirie 1988; 1996, 31). The fact that Northumbrian coin inscriptions are part of a relatively consistent and coherent dialectal tradition, related to that of early Northumbrian written sources such as manuscripts of Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica* and the Durham *Liber vitae*, is widely accepted, and important to the study of Old English (Smart 1987). Yet insistence upon the prevailing local orthographic form, as opposed to normalisation based on later West Saxon usage, risks creating the impression of a separate and insular numismatic entity, divorced from the rest of English tradition (cf. Smart 1997). It is true that Northumbria’s coinage was significantly more different from that of southern England than the contemporary coinages of Mercia, Wessex, Kent and East Anglia were from one another. Yet the names on Northumbrian coins are for the most part dialectal variants on names occurring throughout Anglo-Saxon territory. The Northumbrian coinage emerged from the same seventh- and eighth-century background as that of the south, and in a number of ways (such as the adoption of moneyers’ names) did occasionally look south for inspiration (cf. Kirby 2000, 163). For these reasons, Northumbrian coins will here be referred to not as *sceattas* or ‘stycas’ but where necessary as ‘(Northumbrian) pennies’ (cf. Booth 1987, 58;

Booth in Pirie 1987, 134), and the generally accepted ‘West Saxon’ normalisations of names will be used, not in order to obscure local usage, but to conform with the generally accepted descriptive system applied to all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

(d) EARLY GOLD AND SILVER COINS

As noted above, a small number of gold coins can be assigned to Northumbria in the mid-seventh century (see Chapter 3, section (d), p. 54). These constitute the earliest known coin production in the kingdom. The next identifiable phase of minting was the first in which the king’s name appeared on the coins: the silver pennies of Aldfrith (685–704) (**628–30**: see Chapter 4, section (f), p. 96). These set an important precedent for explicit royal involvement, though one which was not picked up until two generations later in the middle of the eighth century. In the intervening period, essentially corresponding to the ‘Secondary phase’ of the early pennies, it is likely that Series J (Types 37 and 85) was produced in Northumbria (**340–4**, **351–8**) (see Chapter 4, section (g), pp. 105–6). The distinct pair of heads on Type 37 has been identified as a representation of a king and a bishop, though the ‘special relationship’ between these two authorities, made manifest in later coin issues (especially of Eadberht and Ecgbert), may not yet have developed: other interpretations of the two busts, such as two kings or two saints, should therefore be entertained (Naismith 2012b, 302–4).

(e) THE REIGN OF EADBERHT (737–58)

Eadberht’s coinage maintained the small and thick module of the early pennies (**631–46**). The central features of the design were the king’s name in Latin (written using a blend of capital and uncial or half-uncial letter forms) on one face, and a four-legged quadruped on the reverse. This basic format mirrored the arrangement of Aldfrith’s coinage, and like the earlier coinage it is possible that the creature on the coins was intended to represent a lion, executed in sinuous classical tradition (Henderson 1999, 50; Gannon 2003, 125–7). The balance of royal and ‘lion’ dies suggests that in fact the latter are more likely to have occupied the obverse position in technical terms (Booth 1984, 74). A second major coinage at this time was struck jointly in the names of Eadberht and his brother Ecgbert, bishop and (after 735) archbishop of York (d. 766) (**866–9**) (Naismith 2012b, 303). Ecgbert’s coins carry his name and an abbreviated form of his archiepiscopal title, together with a figure holding two crosses or a cross and a crozier – presumably a representation of Ecgbert himself, or possibly of a saint, with connections to other standing figures on early silver pennies and other media (Gannon 2003, 91–2).

These were very probably the first of several explicitly royal coinages to be instituted in England and Francia in the mid-eighth century (Williams 2013b, 43–4; Naismith 2012b). Eadberht’s action may have been prompted by shortage of bullion, manifested as inchoate debasement and contraction in the volume of the early silver pennies, which Northumbria, on the fringe of the silver coin-using area of Europe, may have felt first (Booth 1984, 72–3; Naismith 2012b, 304). The resultant, highly uniform royal coinage (also known as Series Y of the early pennies) was evidently a major enterprise. Finds at several ‘productive sites’ in Yorkshire commenced during a phase in which coins of Eadberht (and Archbishop Ecgbert) were apparently the only ones available (e.g. Booth 2000). Eadberht thus in essence instituted the first *renovatio monetae* in medieval Europe:

previous coinages were called in and reminted, and thereafter only the local coinage seems to have been acceptable (Naismith 2012b, 304–5, 307). This achievement speaks volumes regarding the ambition and capabilities of Northumbrian kingship in the eighth century.

Close study of Eadberht's coinage has identified seven principal sub-groups, distinguished by variations in the obverse inscription and the device it surrounds, and by the configuration of the lion and the ornaments around it on the reverse (Booth 1984, 74–8; 2011, 195–7). Two groups are also apparent in the coinage of Ecgbert (Booth 1984, 76; *T&S* III, 587–9). No hoards containing specimens of this coinage have been recorded, unfortunately, and the significance of the sub-groups remains unclear (Bude 2014). A relatively high fineness (*c.* 70 per cent) is apparent in specimens of sub-groups A and B, whereas other coins generally cluster around 50 per cent fine (*T&S* III, 676–9; Booth 1984, 78–80; Archibald and Cowell 1988). Arguments have been made for placing the finer coins both later and earlier in the reign, and further work on the classification and chronology of the coinage is needed to interpret the metallurgical data (*T&S* III, 623–9). The find-spots of the sub-groups show no clear trends, and undamaged specimens are not numerous enough to show what patterns, if any, there might be to the weight of different groups (*T&S* III, 582–7; Naismith 2012b, 306). Taken as a whole, Eadberht's coins cluster between about 0.85 and 1.15g, with peaks at the top of this bracket and at 0.95g. This range of weight is comparable with that of Series J, suggesting that the metrology of the new coinage was inspired by that of the most familiar local pennies (Booth 1984, 78; Naismith 2012b, 305–6). Mint attribution also remains open: some or all of Ecgbert's coinage was presumably produced at York, but there may have been another source (or sources) for the royal coinage.

The chronology of Eadberht's coinage is entirely relative, based on subjective judgements of how long its various components took to come to fruition. There are many coins but relatively few die-links, which could be consistent with lengthy and/or intermittent production, as would the relative diversity in details of design, weight and fineness. Another hint that Eadberht's coinages were being produced by the late 730s is the absence from Northumbria of the very latest early pennies from elsewhere in England, though since these are rare in general their absence is not necessarily significant. On present evidence it is more likely that Eadberht's coinage covered a prolonged period, and hence began early in his reign (Booth 1984, 80).

(f) THE LATER EIGHTH CENTURY (758–810)

The fifty years or so after Eadberht's death are poorly represented in the numismatic record. Some rulers are known from only a tiny number of specimens, or none at all, suggesting that minting was sporadic and of relatively limited scale. Eadberht's immediate successor, Oswulf (758–9), is not known from any surviving coins; neither is Osred II (788–90) or Osbald (796), or Archbishop Æthelberht (766/7–779/80). Æthelwald 'Moll' (759–65) is still represented by only two known coins (one lost since the nineteenth century), both issued with Archbishop Ecgbert (Stewart 1991a; *pace* Lyon 1955–7, 228, later revised in Lyon 1967, 216). The first coin of Eardwulf (796–806?, 808–10?) only came to light in 1994 (Pirie 1995). The few metallurgical analyses of these later eighth-century coins lend support to a view of on-off production. Specimens from several successive reigns show fluctuation between about 45 and 60 per cent silver, much the same as most coins of Eadberht, suggesting that multiple rulers initially asserted a slightly higher standard and followed this with a gradual return to one of approximately half fine (Booth 1987, 71–2).

The first kings of this period issued small, thick silver coins with the royal name and (occasionally) title on one face, and the lion or quadruped associated with earlier Northumbrian coinage on the other. Such coins are known for Alhred (765–74) in quite substantial numbers (**647–8**), with an apparent division into two groups: the first bold and assured, and a second of more uncertain work, which is also found on coins of Alhred in conjunction with Archbishop Ecgbert (**870**) (Booth 1984, 81–2). It is difficult to assess the subsequent reign, the first of Æthelred I (774–8/9), because it is known from approximately a dozen coins as of March 2014 (**649–50**) (EMC; Booth 2011, 197; cf. Booth 1984, 84, at which point only one such coin was known). A more complex pattern can be detected in the quadruped coins of Ælfwald I (778/9–88; **651–3**). In spite of their rarity, these show subtle variations in the reverse design comparable with those on Eadberht's coinage (Booth 1984, 84–5). These five different groups have been associated with the six moneyers known in the immediately succeeding coinage (Booth 1984, 85–7; 1987, 65–6), though other interpretations remain viable, and the sample is still small.

An important change came in the late 780s, when the name of the moneyer began to be placed on the reverse, on the model of southern English pennies. Probably the first moneyer-signed Northumbrian issues belong to the later years of Ælfwald I, and carry the name of the moneyer Cuthgils on the reverse. Only two specimens are known (one is in the Lyon collection; another was sold by A. G. Gillis). A more substantial coinage of similar form comes from the second reign of Æthelred I (790–6; **654–8**). Specimens from this reign are relatively common: seventy were recorded already in 1987 (Booth 1987). Six moneyers are known, from very uneven numbers of coins, and with slight variation in their obverse and reverse designs, probably pointing to differences in die-cutting arrangements (Booth 1987, esp. 69–71; *T&S* III, 597–9). One of them, Ælfwald I's moneyer Cuthgils, placed on his dies a cross-on-steps design, unusually elaborate for the Northumbrian coinage. This has been interpreted in various ways, but should probably be seen first and foremost in light of the general pervasiveness of religious iconography (including in secular society) and the importance of differentiating moneyers' coins from one another (Grantley 1911; Lyon 1955–7, 229; 1967, 216–17; Pagan 1969, 12–13; Booth 1987, 69; *T&S* III, 599). An anomalous coin found in 1998 probably represents a slightly blundered or unofficial obverse of Æthelred I combined with a much more corrupt reverse, perhaps modelled on the obverse legend of Ælfwald I (Williams 2001b; Pirie 2003). The years after Æthelred I's murder in 796 saw the coinage contract almost to nothing. Until 1994, no coins were known at all of Eardwulf (796–806?, 808–10?) (Pirie 1995), prompting discussion of whether Viking attack (Booth 1987, 72–6), trade disruption (Booth 1987, 84) or political turmoil (Blackburn and Gillis 1997, 99) could be to blame for a total collapse in the currency. Now, it is apparent that there was a tenuous strand of continuity across these years. At least seven coins of Eardwulf were known as of March 2014. A single moneyer (Cuthheard) seems to have dominated the coinage, spanning the period from the 790s to the early years of Eanred after (probably) 810 (Pirie 1987, 110–12; Blackburn and Gillis 1997).

The mounting total of coins of Eardwulf has strengthened the case for attributing a contested series of moneyer-signed coins (all of Cuthheard) to Ælfwald II (806–8?) (**659**) rather than Ælfwald I. Some earlier scholars assigned them to the earlier king (Lyon 1955–7, 232; Booth 1984, 85–6; *T&S* III, 594–7), partly because of their absence from the great Hexham hoard (*Checklist* 38). However, others assigned the coins in question to Ælfwald II, even before the appearance of pennies of Eardwulf in the 1990s (Pirie 1987, 110; 1996, 34–5; Booth 1987, 65–6; 1997, 19–20). It is now clear that Eardwulf's coins circulated in early ninth-century Northumbria but were not included in the

Hexham hoard, weakening the argument based on the absence of Ælfwald's coins from the same find. Furthermore, comparison of the letter forms found on the coins of Ælfwald with those on coins of Eardwulf points to a relatively late date within the period 790–810 (Blackburn and Gillis 1997, 98–9).

The earliest coins in the Hexham hoard are moneyer-signed pennies in the name of a King Æthelred, traditionally identified as belonging to the second reign of Æthelred I (790–6). One of the six individuals named on these coins, Eanbald, was probably one of the two archbishops of that name (871) (779/80–96 and 796–808 or after); uncertainty arises from the custom of not putting any form of royal or archiepiscopal title on the coins at this time (Booth 1987, 69–70). Another of the five remaining moneyers was the same Cuthheard who struck coins under Eardwulf and Ælfwald II, and also continued into the reign of Eanred. None of the other moneyers named on coins of the Hexham Æthelred is known in any other reign. This long-seeming career for Cuthheard, together with the presence in the Hexham hoard of coins of Æthelred but no other kings of the period before Eanred, has led to the tentative suggestion that the coins of Æthelred might belong to two kings (Pagan 1974, 188; Lyon 1987, 31). If so, an issue of distinct and cruder style by the moneyer Cuthgils would belong to the second reign of Æthelred I in the 790s, whereas the rest of the coinage would be the product of another Æthelred who intervened between Eardwulf's second reign and Eanred's. The coins are compatible with both this and the traditional attribution. Advantages of the assignment of most of Æthelred's output to a later ruler would be the elimination of puzzling absences of other kings of the 790s and 800s from the large Hexham hoard, and also that Eanred's rare, better-quality early coins would no longer have to span such a long period (see below). On the other hand, there is no evidence whatsoever in the historical record for a King Æthelred at this point, and neither is there any indication that the succession from Eardwulf to his son Eanred was troubled. The shortcomings of the received account of Northumbrian history at this time are severe, but all other rulers named on coins of the ninth century (including the short-lived usurper Rædwulf) are recorded in one of the several relevant sources, whatever the uncertainties surrounding the date and duration of their reign (see below): a completely forgotten king would be surprising.

(g) THE NINTH CENTURY

The decades between the accession of Eanred and the end of the native Northumbrian kingdom in the 860s offer a paradox to the historian and the numismatist. Massive numbers of coins survive thanks to several large hoards, supplemented in recent times by a mounting quantity of single-finds. These coins include large numbers of die-links between moneyers and, occasionally, rulers. Moreover, the metal content of the coins has been closely studied. Its rapid decline brought about the appearance of one of the first independent base-metal coinages to evolve in post-Roman Europe. But the historical framework which underpins this coinage is deeply problematic: the sources are late and contradictory, and sparse in detail. Hence it is generally agreed that the coinage has a major role to play in understanding the development of ninth-century Northumbria, yet relating the implications of the coinage to larger historical questions remains a challenge.

The ninth-century Northumbrian coinage included dual royal and archiepiscopal series, each of them signed by a range of moneyers. Four kings are named, one of whom ruled twice according to the historical sources: Eanred (660–723), Æthelred II (724–807), Rædwulf (808–20),

Æthelred II again (821–32), and Osberht (833–41). These are all the kings named in the principal texts except for Ælle, Osberht's rival for the throne in the 860s; no coins in his name survive. Archbishops named on the coins include Eanbald II (872–9), Wigmund (880–920) and Wulfhere (921–6); Wulfsige, who came between Eanbald (probably II) and Wigmund, is not known from any surviving coins. Between them, the royal coins name about thirty-four moneyers, the archiepiscopal coins seven. There is also a large and complex rash of unofficial or imitative coins (842–63). Some of these were produced as early as the time of Eanred and Æthelred II, for they were present in the Hexham hoard deposited early in the latter's second reign (Lyon 1955–7, 231–2; Pagan 1969, 10–11), but the bulk belong to the final years of the kingdom, when several hoards were deposited, and they continued to circulate into the 870s, some being lost at Torksey and other sites associated with the Viking 'Great Army' (Williams 2011c, 354). In the past some of the irregular coins were wrongly identified as the pennies of earlier, long-dead Northumbrian rulers. All such claims have now been safely dismissed, although a few enjoyed a very long life: in particular, some specimens with the enigmatic obverse inscription HOAVD (e.g. 858) gave rise to a supposed king of that name, but should probably be accepted as a corrupt variant of a moneyer's name (Stewart 1956; Axe 1987). That said, many of these irregular coins did name earlier kings (especially Æthelred II), in some cases even combining old but official obverse dies with numerous reverses of variable literacy and naming several different moneyers (the 'descendants' in the terminology of Elizabeth Pirie: Pirie 1996, 32). There was also a large group of less literate imitations, the dies of which all link together into one very large chain (which Pirie termed the 'reflectives': Pirie 1987, 123–6). Coins of these and related forms could have gone on being made and used for some years after the conquest of the Northumbrian kingdom in 867: imitations (and a few earlier coins) were still circulating in some number in the early 870s, for they feature heavily in the finds from the 'Great Army' camp-site at Torksey in Lincolnshire (Blackburn 2002, 91–2; 2011a, 225). The possibility that minting of imitations persisted after 867, following defeat by the Vikings, should not be ruled out (Pagan 1969, 10; Williams 2014a, 22).

1. Numismatic chronology

Arriving at a satisfactory chronology, and relating this to absolute dates, has been the driving aim of research on the ninth-century Northumbrian coinage. The main criteria have been close scrutiny of the moneyers and designs on coins of various kings and archbishops, the die-links between them, their representation in hoards and (latterly) metallurgical analysis. In a pioneering article, Stewart Lyon observed that the Hexham hoard (*Checklist* 38) was of critical importance, for it was the only major hoard not to contain any specimens of Osberht or Wulfhere and so must date from a somewhat earlier period – probably very early in the second reign of Æthelred II (Lyon 1955–7, 230–1; cf. Pagan 1974). Its balance of coins from earlier in the ninth century was therefore also of importance. Later hoards, conversely, fill in the details for subsequent issues.

Three key periods (Pagan 1973, 4) can be identified:

1. Based on their metal content, Eanred's coins divide into two groups (Lyon 1955–7, 233–4; *MEC* 1, 298–9), which have been upheld by detailed metallurgical work (Gilmore 1987, 171–2). Those of the earlier phase, represented by seven moneyers, are of relatively good silver (up to about 40 per cent) (Metcalf and Northover 1987, 92–3), and follow on from coins of the

period before Eanred's accession (660–97). New discoveries of coins by Eardwulf show that the same moneyer (Cuthheard) worked for both him and Eanred (and potentially an intervening King Æthelred), implying that pennies were being issued for Eanred from the early stages of his reign (Blackburn and Gillis 1997). Pennies of Archbishop Eanbald II also seem to be associated with this phase of minting.

2. Later in Eanred's reign, the metallic quality of the coinage declined significantly, lending it a more coppery appearance (698–723). A largely new cohort of ten moneyers was responsible for the coins of this issue, with only one individual continuing from the earlier period, and two other early moneyers perhaps crossing over with two of their later counterparts in a Transitional issue (Pagan 1973, 5–6; *MEC* 1, 299). By this stage the coins contained 10 per cent or less silver, with copper making up most of the rest. However, the appearance of the coins would have been improved by an increase in the volume of tin and especially zinc (Gilmore and Metcalf 1992, 32–3). These additions perhaps also preserved some intrinsic value, brass and bronze being far from negligible in worth (if still much less precious than silver) (Gilmore 1987, 169; cf. Smith 2002). Æthelred II (in his first reign) and Rædwulf kept the coins at broadly the same standard as Eanred's later issues for several years, albeit with some gradual decline in silver content. The pennies of Archbishop Wigmund are for the most part associated with this phase of minting, though some of the very earliest coins (with more elevated silver content) could belong to the latter part of period (1) (Gilmore and Metcalf 1992, esp. 27–8). Wigmund's coins were probably still being produced in the time of Rædwulf (Lyon 1987, 31), but not later.
3. An important discovery made by Michael Metcalf and Peter Northover was that the coinage traditionally associated with Æthelred II's second reign on the basis of its representation in Hexham and other hoards marked another important metallic change, in which the silver content was removed altogether (Metcalf and Northover 1987, 212). These later coins of Æthelred were predominantly issued by the moneyer Eardwulf, who was not represented in the reign of Rædwulf and was barely present in the Hexham hoard, but whose coins are die-linked with those of Osberht (Lyon 1967, 217); a few additional moneyers issued coins on a small scale alongside Eardwulf, and late in Æthelred II's reign two other moneyers emerged who would carry over into the time of Osberht (Pagan 1973, 9–10). Osberht's coins contain no silver, and the quantity of tin is higher, making the coinage effectively one of bronze (Metcalf and Northover 1987, 190). Stylistically Osberht's coinage is diverse, and shades into the irregular coinage (Pagan 1973, 10–12). The last archbishop of York to issue coins, Wulfhere, is difficult to place. There is no continuity of moneyers between Wigmund's and his issues (Lyon 1987, 31), and on the basis of style and die-links Wulfhere is as close or closer to the second-reign issues of Æthelred II as to those of Osberht (Lyon 1955–7, 235; Pagan 1969, 7–8).

In each of these phases, rulers are represented by a number of moneyers (Table 7). It is likely that the normal complement of royal moneyers (at least between Eanred and Rædwulf) was about ten, with two for the archbishop (*MEC* 1, 299–300); numbers declined in Æthelred II's second reign and after. Difficulties of orthography and die-linking leave some doubt over whether certain moneyers are correctly named or identified; Table 7 presents a maximal view. There is also overlap of moneyers between reigns and periods of the coinage, as well as significant imbalances in their levels of activity: Hunlaf, for example, is primarily known as an archiepiscopal moneyer of Wigmund,

Table 7. *Phases, rulers and numbers of known moneyers in the ninth-century Northumbrian coinage.*

Phase	King	Archbishop	No. of moneyers
A	Eanred		10
		Eanbald II	3
		(?) Wigmund	1
B	Eanred		11
	Æthelred II (first reign)		16
	Rædwulf		12
		Wigmund	4
C	Æthelred II (second reign)		5
	Osberht		5
		Wulfhere	1

but is represented by a very small number of coins for Æthelred II's first reign, so may have worked briefly as a royal moneyer (Pagan 1973, 7). It is interesting that the king's name on obverse dies of Eanred varied in spelling and other minor details between moneyers. These differences are unlikely to have arisen from individual moneyers actually manufacturing their own dies, being more likely the result of arrangements masterminded by a single co-ordinating authority (Pagan 1973, 6). This implies that production was at times carefully configured. This practice was maintained to a limited degree under Æthelred II, with the moneyer Leofthehn (active in the first reign only) representing a special case (Pagan 1973, 7–8; **761–81**). Some of Leofthehn's coins conform stylistically and typologically to the bulk of contemporary output; however, he also produced an array of more elaborate and ornamental designs than were otherwise to be found on Northumbrian coinage, including one attractive figural representation of a hound (Lyon 1955–7, 237–8). In contrast, the great majority of ninth-century Northumbrian coins present a fairly uniform appearance, derived from the circumscription legends placed on both the obverse and reverse in the late 780s. Variation came primarily in the selection of central motif on both faces. A wide range of these can be found, including crosses of diverse forms, annulets, pellets and occasionally letters. Elizabeth Pirie advanced an alternative chronological system, marked by complex divisions into phases and groups, which placed great weight on orthographic variation and on the development of central motifs (Pirie 1987; 1996), although analysis of the metallic contents of mid-ninth-century coins has cast grave doubts on her conclusions (Lyon 1996; Pagan 1997; cf. Abramson 2012, 4–6).

2. Coinage and historical chronology

Thus far absolute dates have deliberately been avoided, for the chronology of the ninth-century Northumbrian coinage remains a central point of debate. Different interpretations of

Table 8. *Dates assigned to events in ninth-century Northumbrian history by various authorities.*

	Roger of Wendover	<i>Annales Lind. et Dun.</i>	Pagan 1969	Lyon 1987 (C)	Kirby 1987
Accession of Ælfwald II	808	808	—	—	806
Accession of Eanred	810	809	c. 821	818	811/12
Death of Wulfsgie	831	—	849 or earlier	838	—
Accession of Æthelred II	840	841	854	850	844
Usurpation of Rædwulf	844	—	858	853	c. 848
Accession of Wulfhere	854	852	858×862?	854	—
Accession of Osberht	848	850	862	858	853
Accession of Ælle	—	863	c. 865	866	866
Conquest of Northumbria	867	868	867	867	867

the ninth-century chronology are laid out in Table 8. The traditionally accepted dating scheme derives largely from the *Flores historiarum* by Roger of Wendover (d. 1236) (Coxe 1841–4). Writing in St Albans in the early thirteenth century, he clearly had access to an important lost source for early Northumbrian history, including (for example) the only written reference to the usurpation of Rædwulf, otherwise known solely from his coins. Unfortunately, the reliability of Roger's chronology has been called into question, as there are inconsistencies between some of his dates and reign lengths. Roger's text was related to at least one other source used at Durham during the twelfth century when a series of annalistic and historical sources were compiled, several of them associated with Simeon of Durham (d. after 1129) (Pagan 1969, 6). The dates given in one of these Durham antiquarian texts, the *Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses* (Levison 1961), appear in Table 8; they are similar to the dates in several other Durham sources, while others (including regnal and archiepiscopal lists) give only the duration of each reign (Lyon 1987; Dumville 1987).

Obscurity still cloaks the value and interrelationships of all these materials. Even the appearance of the same date in multiple texts need not carry any great weight if all derive from a single, faulty source, and it is not possible simply to pick and choose dates from various sources without weighing their historical merits. It is clear, however, that the received historical chronology is not authoritative. Much critical (and, in some cases, editorial) work is needed before the annals and histories from later times can be used with assurance to construct a regnal and archiepiscopal chronology, and careful note needs to be taken of all available sources, be they early or late, Northumbrian, southern English or from elsewhere in Europe (a beginning to this process is Dumville 1987).

These difficulties have been evident for some time, and have led numismatists to be flexible in their views of the chronology of ninth-century coinage. In particular, Stewart Lyon and Hugh

Pagan pointed out several discrepancies between the coins and the historically adduced chronology (Lyon 1955–7; 1967, 217–18; 1987; Pagan 1969; 1973). Their central point is that the balance of surviving coins and dies in various hoards (Pagan 1987) suggests a much smaller coin issue for Osberht than would be expected from the thirteen or eighteen years his reign is assigned in other sources. By comparison with the issues of Eanred, Æthelred II and Rædwulf (assuming the lengths assigned to their reigns are accurate), Osberht's coins would represent about two or three years of production (or slightly longer: Pagan 1987, 156). The argument was therefore advanced that Osberht's reign may have been significantly shorter than the textual sources indicate: if, as some of these claim, he succeeded Æthelred II around 848, his coinage could have ended already in the early 850s and the entire coin series (including late and irregular issues) by about 855 (Lyon 1955–7, 233–5); alternatively, Osberht's reign may have ended in 867 but started significantly later than has generally been assumed, implying that earlier reigns going back to the time of Eardwulf have been misdated by a margin up to fourteen years (Lyon 1967, 218; Pagan 1969, esp. 7–10). Lyon later refined his scheme, seeking to integrate more fully the numismatic and historical chronology (Lyon 1987, 35–6), and David Kirby proposed a compromise chronology based on review of the key historical sources, adjusted for the reign of Ælfwald II and the second reign of Eardwulf (Kirby 1987, 16–18). All of these alternative chronologies are included in Table 8.

It should be noted that several of these alternative chronologies depend on analysis of 'numismatic time' (Dumville 1987, 53; cf. Gilmore and Metcalf 1992, 28; Rollason 2003, 195–6): assigning an absolute length to a coinage in the absence of a reliable historical chronology, and in some cases adjusting the historical chronology on the basis of numismatic extrapolations. In the Northumbrian case this starts with the assumption that some of the historical chronology, particularly for the reign of Æthelred II and the usurpation of Rædwulf, is essentially accurate (at least in duration if not necessarily exact dates), and that its proportional relationship with the coinage can thus be used to quantify the much smaller output of Osberht in chronological terms. Yet there is a danger of circularity in accepting one part of the historical chronology in order to evaluate the numismatic record, and then using the result to critique other parts of the same received historical chronology. Another problematic assumption – one which has always been acknowledged by numismatists (e.g. Pagan 1969, 7), though it should perhaps be given more prominence – is that the rate of production was constant and spread relatively evenly over a king's reign. Other, better contextualised coinages demonstrate that this was often not the case: bursts of activity could be followed by long fallow periods of little or no minting. Even within the Northumbrian context it is very clear that rates of production could vary significantly. Only a handful of coins survive in the name of King Eardwulf, spanning two reigns amounting to more than a decade; and no coins at all are known of Archbishop Wulfsige, whose pontificate is of uncertain length and may have lasted longer than is customarily supposed (acc. 808 or after; d. c. 830×837); neither are there any coins in the name of the very last Northumbrian ruler, Ælle: an indication that minting by the mid-860s either had ended or consisted entirely of 'irregular' coins which no longer carried the name of the current king. Even Eanred's reign comes across as a period of relatively mediocre productivity if his coins are weighed against its entire length; the bulk of his surviving issues must be comparatively late.

If the coinages of the mid-ninth century were produced at an uneven rate, the difficulties of reconciling the coinage with the historical chronology become less severe. Osberht's relatively small coinage might represent a short and/or troubled period of minting rather than a brief

reign. The massive quantity of coin issued between Eanred's later, debased issue and the death of Æthelred II could be the result of an extraordinary period when need for coin surged (though the reasons for this are elusive: see below). The mounting total of single-finds now reinforces that the mid-ninth-century currency was voluminous, and supports the balance of various kings seen in the hoards (Naylor 2007; Naismith 2012c, 246–9; *pace* Metcalf 1987e, 365). Further research on the patterns shown by the coins of different issues and rulers within the single-finds has the potential to add significantly to the debate on the chronology.

3. Social and political context

The conditions behind the ninth-century Northumbrian coinage remain tantalisingly difficult to grasp, again primarily owing to the thinness of background information. Key features include progressive debasement, which became severe late in the reign of Eanred, and expansion in minting and coin-use. There is also a cluster of coin hoards of similar date which could have been precipitated by a single set of events, possibly those associated with the final spate of civil war and Viking conquest in the 860s (Pagan 1969, 11). Prior to this, the political history of Northumbria was (despite its obscurity) on the face of it no more unsettled than that of contemporary Mercia or Wessex. All three kingdoms suffered from occasional coups, internal strife, famines and Viking raids. The period of most intense debasement and growth in production actually occurred late in Eanred's reign and during the first reign of Æthelred II: a time when one king had been on the throne for two or three decades and was, as far as the sources indicate, succeeded peacefully by his son. On the (admittedly slender) evidence available, this was hardly a time of political turmoil and confusion. Other cultural and archaeological criteria reinforce that ninth-century Northumbria still hosted a rich and sophisticated society (Kirby 1987, 14–16).

One of the most surprising numismatic survivals vividly reinforces this: a gold *solidus* in the name of Archbishop Wigmund, with an obverse based on the facing bust design of Canterbury's archiepiscopal pennies (or possibly those of the popes in Rome), and a reverse modelled closely on the *solidi* of Louis the Pious which bore the words *MVNVS DIVINVM*, 'divine gift', probably referring to the liturgical host (Blackburn 2007c, 64 and no. B5, with references to further literature) (Fig. 6a). It shows the archbishop and his moneyers responding to prestigious high-value coinage from the Carolingian Empire with an issue that was most likely intended for correspondingly high-profile transactions such as gifts to powerful figures or institutions. It also highlights that precious metals were indeed available in ninth-century Northumbria. Silver too was obtainable, at least by some members of society, for there was a strong tradition of ninth-century ornamental silver objects which developed alongside the increasingly debased coinage (Thomas 2005, 43).

The presence of silver but its declining part in the currency points to a deliberate and conscious exclusion of the metal from coins, in the same way as the metallurgical evidence indicates careful management of the brass and tin contents of coins. One factor in debasement could have been a shift in the balance of silver uses: stronger emphasis on elite display involving precious metal could have drawn supplies away from the currency (Naismith 2014g, 14). But manipulation of metallic content was in no way unique to Northumbria. Across western Europe, the middle third of the ninth century saw gradual debasement (Metcalf 1987b, 2; Naismith 2012c, 163–8), with significant local variations in the pace and degree of the process. What happened



Figure 6. (a) *The Wigund solidus and (b) the Eanred penny* (both from the British Museum; photographs from BMC and SCBI).

in mid-ninth-century Northumbria hence fits into a larger contemporary trend: its extreme degree of debasement may have resulted from the northern kingdom's peripheral location relative to other coin-using territories (which would have made it especially vulnerable to fluctuations in supply, assuming the principal sources were southern England and continental Europe), from the already relatively poor fineness of coins in the early ninth century and, paradoxically, from a high level of central control over the monetary system. The concentration of most or all moneymen in a single location has been remarked on above; so too has the general absence of finds of foreign coin. But it is also worth adding that the stages of debasement that began late in the reign of Eanred did not lead to all earlier coins with relatively high silver content being systematically removed from circulation: those from the earlier phase of Eanred's reign, and still more of those of Æthelred II's first reign and that of Rædwulf, remained in circulation down to the 860s (Metcalf and Northover 1987, 190–2). Pennies of significantly different metallic content were apparently all being accepted at face value (though the absence of any written references to prices or exchange leaves open the possibility of inflation and different tariffs for various issues). Control of circulation in this way indicates firm authority and direction behind the ninth-century coinage in Northumbria. The final, confused stages of Northumbrian coinage, and the complexity of sources for the kingdom's history, should not obscure the importance of the currency as evidence for Northumbria's administrative, economic and social conditions – a subject ripe for further research (cf. Yorke 1990, 97).

4. *The Eanred penny*

One further anomalous coin merits discussion in this context, for although its original background is uncertain it has traditionally been considered alongside the Northumbrian series. A broad silver penny found in the Trewhiddle hoard of 1774 (*Checklist* 59) carries the obverse inscription EANRED REX and on the reverse the more enigmatic ÐES MONETA followed by a symbol resembling an omega (Fig. 6b). The hoard dates to the late 860s but some of its southern coins are several decades older. The coin's design has affinities with the Inscribed Cross issue of Wessex and Kent in the 850s and early 860s, and stylistically it approximates issues of Canterbury and Rochester (Lyon 1987, 36–41; Wilson and Blunt 1961, 113–16). No Anglo-Saxon king by the name Eanred is known other than the one in ninth-century Northumbria. Identifying him with the king on the coin raises two problems: Northumbria did not at this time issue broad silver pennies, making this specimen a dramatic departure from the usual model; and, according to the received chronology, Eanred died at least ten years before the associated southern coin types began.

Overcoming this last difficulty was one of the aims in rearranging the numismatic chronology, several attempts at which sought to place Eanred's death after about 850 (Pagan 1969, 11–12). Other approaches are also possible. An earlier date would accommodate Eanred into the received historical chronology (e.g. Pirie 1997), but flies in the face of the numismatic chronology. Alternatively, the king named on the coin may not be the Northumbrian Eanred at all, but rather an otherwise unknown ruler from southern England, possibly Kent in the aftermath of a Viking raid in 851 (Dumville 1987, 53–5). This is by no means impossible, for knowledge of mid-ninth-century southern England is limited, and coins provide some of the most important insights into events behind the scenes of the patchy written record. Nonetheless, invoking an otherwise completely lost king must be a solution of last resort.

It is worth also considering the reverse of the coin, which is similarly exceptional. Its inscription *ÐES MONETA* cannot refer to a moneyer, but if *ÐES* is taken as the genitive singular masculine or neuter form of the demonstrative *se/þæt*, it would signify 'the coin/money of him'. Since no moneyer is named, the inference is that 'he' is King Eanred (V. Smart in Lyon 1987, 39–40). The final character of the legend, resembling an omega, should probably be understood with reference to the character immediately preceding it (the A in *MONETA*) as part of the standard Christian alpha–omega pairing. This unusual reference to the king on the reverse, combined with the religious note of the alpha and omega, lends weight to the proposal that the coin could have been made in the name of the Northumbrian Eanred but as a special, posthumous issue, possibly from the south (Lyon 1987, 34). As demonstrated by the Wigmund *solidus*, Northumbria's moneyers were capable of imitating the appearance of other numismatic traditions very effectively when the need arose, so a northern origin for the Eanred penny should not be ruled out. It could have been made for purposes such as donation to churches in the south or overseas, a possibility reinforced by the ecclesiastical character of some of the other contents of the Trewhiddle hoard (Naismith 2011a, 46–7).

THE ‘MERCIAN SUPREMACY’ IN THE AGE OF OFFA AND COENWULF

(a) HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

In 1918, the great historian Sir Frank Stenton was the first to designate the period from the time of Penda (d. 655) to Coenwulf as the ‘Mercian supremacy’ (Stenton 1918; cf. Keynes 2005, 1–7): a century and a half during which the kingdom of the Mercians, with its heartland in the region around Tamworth and Lichfield, exercised hegemony over England south of the Humber. The long reigns of Æthelbald (716–57), Offa (757–96) and Coenwulf (796–821) saw the high-water mark of Mercian power. Charlemagne negotiated with Offa as a peer, and the Mercian king’s influence was thought to stretch all the way to Rome (Wallace-Hadrill 1971, 98–123; Story 2003). In England, the dyke marking the western frontier of the Mercian kingdom was completed and augmented (Hill and Worthington 2003). Military campaigns subdued resistance in Sussex in 771 and pacified the king of the West Saxons in 779. Mercian kings also mounted several expeditions against the Welsh (Charles-Edwards 2001).

Despite its formidable achievements in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries, the kingdom of the Mercians has not been fortunate in its historical legacy. It was not the focus of any major narrative historical text, and fared poorly in those composed by outsiders. Bede in his *Historia ecclesiastica* showed relatively little interest in contemporary events (and especially those outside Northumbria), while the later ninth-century *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was written from an essentially West Saxon point of view; it had little to say about Mercia, and still less that was complimentary. Letters from the circles of two Englishmen working on the continent – the West Saxon Boniface (d. 754) and the Northumbrian Alcuin (d. 804) – shed some light on conditions within the Mercian Church and the royal house, but charters, manuscripts and archaeological remains are essential in piecing together the history of Mercia during its heyday.

Stenton, like others before him, recognised that the Mercian supremacy did not involve the total suppression of subordinate territorial and political identities. As far back as the time when Bede was completing his *Historia ecclesiastica* in 731, Mercian power was seen as a matter of being overlord of a patchwork of subordinate territories (Bede, *HE* v.23). Its supremacy was the product of complex conditions, exemplified by the document known as the *Tribal Hidage* which lists more than thirty obscure groups settled in the midlands, all presumed to have been under Mercian authority

(Dumville 1989a; 1989c; Keynes 1995, 21–5), and perhaps corresponding loosely to the thirty *duces regii* ('royal leaders') who accompanied the Mercian king Penda into battle in 655 (Bede, *HE* III.24). Mercia's strength thus grew out of the vicious competition between early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (Bassett 1989a; Yorke 1990; Kirby 2000). Its success in this political tournament stemmed from several important advantages. Mercia's central location facilitated communication with (and attacks against) north, south, east and west. From an early date, Mercian kings had used marriages and sub-kingships as well as conquest to bind together a cohesive heartland stretching from the Thames to the Humber. That said, Æthelbald, Offa and Coenwulf were only distantly related to each other. These kings also benefited from a highly competitive internal politics, combined with a series of long reigns. Future rulers can sometimes be identified in their predecessors' charters, attesting among the ealdormen (Keynes 2001c, 314–23). Thus, power within Mercia was flexible, and members of any one of several prominent families with real or imagined ties to earlier kings could rise to the top. The throne was only as secure as the man who held it. The strongest kings took advantage of these fractious conditions; kings who were found wanting in some way could be deposed by their subordinate ealdormen, as happened to Coenwulf's brother and successor, Ceolwulf I, in 823. This background surely contributed to the military prowess of Mercia, and made for acutely status-conscious rulers. Another result was a series of quite rapid and distinct changes in the character of Mercian rule, which was closely connected with the position of each individual ruler. Successive Mercian kings had to reconstruct their power-base anew in the wake of their predecessor's death.

The two Mercian rulers to dominate this period were Offa and Coenwulf. Offa's reign began with the defeat and replacement of the short-lived King Beorn (Archibald 2005). He ruled as king for thirty-nine years until his death on 29 July 796. Although Offa inherited what must have been a difficult situation from Beorn and the recently murdered Æthelbald, he succeeded in re-establishing the traditional overlordship of Mercia over southern England. Indeed, over time Offa moved to replace the relatively nebulous dominance of Æthelbald with more concrete forms of subordination. Charters from Kent, Sussex and Worcestershire provide the key evidence for this process (Brooks 1984, 111–23; Kelly 1998, lxxx–iv; Sims-Williams 1990, 36–9). They show Offa's personal power gradually encroaching into the localities. In Kent, this was at first exercised in collaboration with two local kings, Heaberht and Ecgbert II. These two came to power in the troubled aftermath of Æthelberht II's death in 762, when kings came and went in quick succession (Kelly 1995, 201). Already in 764 Offa issued a charter for lands in Kent without reference to any local ruler (S 105), and he confirmed a charter of Ecgbert II at some point between 765 and 772 (S 34). The *ASC*, however, reports a battle between the men of Kent and Mercia at Otford in 776. Although the cause and outcome of the fight are not stated, Stenton deduced that this was probably a Kentish victory for Ecgbert II, leading to Offa's temporary exclusion from Kent, for in the years after 776 Ecgbert issued charters without any acknowledgement of Offa (Stenton 1971, 207). Events in the later 770s and early 780s remain unclear, but when the series of charters from Kent resumed in 785 (S 123) Offa was apparently unchallenged ruler (cf. Naismith 2011a). In Sussex, Offa's extension of Mercian power worked through representatives of the old local dynasty, who remained in position as sub-kings and ealdormen rather than independent kings. A similar policy was followed with the Hwicce, the people occupying the territory around Worcester. Again, the native royal dynasty was not immediately supplanted, but its members came to be referred to as sub-kings (*subreguli*) in charters,

and by the end of Offa's reign they had been replaced by an ealdorman of more obscure background. Clearly different techniques were called for in different areas, but there are also striking points of comparison between the experiences of the widely separated regions of Kent, Sussex and Worcestershire, enough to suggest a broader pattern to Mercian rule under Offa. This was, however, not merely a matter of suborning or strongarming the locals. Offa harboured ambitions to establish a dynasty, and his charters emphasised the dynastic trio of himself, his wife and his son Ecgrith, who was consecrated as king in 787 by the newly created archbishop of Lichfield (Noble 2014). Offa was also a patron of learning, and ecclesiastical institutions within Mercia show signs of rich patronage and high culture. Elegant sculptures from Lichfield cathedral and the minster at Breedon on the Hill in Leicestershire are the outstanding representatives of this side of Mercian rule (Jewell 2001; Rodwell 2008).

The elaborate plans Offa made for his succession were dashed by the early death of his son Ecgrith, just a few months after his father, in 796. Coenwulf, the new king, drawn from a distant branch of the royal kin, faced revolts in Kent and East Anglia, led respectively by the renegade priest Eadberht 'Præn' and Eadwald (known solely from his coins). Eadberht was defeated and sent off, mutilated and in chains, to Coenwulf's dynastic minster of Winchcombe in 798; East Anglia was probably reconquered by the early 800s (see below). There seems to have been a sense that Kent and East Anglia now formed natural parts of the Mercian hegemony: once these territories were secure, Coenwulf apparently was content to leave his West Saxon and Northumbrian neighbours largely in peace, although there is reference to a Northumbrian invasion in 801, prompted by Coenwulf's harbouring of Eardwulf's enemies (Story 2003, 202). Like Offa, Coenwulf sought to consolidate his family's power. Several kinsmen appear in his charters, and his son Coenhelm (St Kenelm) may have been groomed for succession before his early death (Love 1996, lxxxix–xc, cx–xiii). One brother, Cuthred (d. 807), served as sub-king of Kent, ensuring a representative of the royal house was close at hand in a rich and important part of the kingdom; another brother, Ceolwulf I, eventually followed Coenwulf on the throne, albeit with little success in his time as king. Although the general sense of Coenwulf's reign is that the Mercian supremacy was being held together rather than expanded, this was no small achievement given the scale and nature of the kingdom, and the internal rivalries which simmered beneath its surface. A charter from the mid-820s records the 'many disputes and countless arguments' (*multae discordie et innumerabiles dissonantie*) which arose after the death of Coenwulf (S 1435; ed. Kelly 1998, no. 15). By 823 Beornwulf, who had been one of several prominent ealdormen earlier in the ninth century, had forced Ceolwulf I from power.

Probably the best-known events of Coenwulf's reign are those which concerned the archbishopric of Canterbury, at this time held by the ambitious Wulfred (805–32). Relations between king and archbishop were already frosty by 809, and during the 810s a serious dispute arose between the two (Brooks 1984, 132–42, 175–206; Blair 2005, 123–4). At the heart of this was the question of patronage over minsters. Traditionally the king had held rights over the appointment of abbots and abbesses for these wealthy institutions, but Coenwulf's prerogative over certain Kentish minsters was challenged by Wulfred in his capacity as archbishop of the local diocese. Both parties called on all the resources at their disposal. The scribes of Canterbury produced forged documents to support their case (Cubitt 1999); Coenwulf deprived Wulfred of his power for six years. This eventually forced Wulfred to come (temporarily) to terms. He met with the king in London, where Coenwulf threatened Wulfred with further sanctions unless he handed over a large payment in

gold and a valuable estate: Wulfred acceded to these demands, and may in return have gained rights over the disputed minsters.

The troubled years after Coenwulf's death saw swift and lasting changes to the political map of southern England. Ceolwulf I was deposed after just two years. The fascinating coinage of Canterbury at this time suggests that Ceolwulf's position had been tenuous already. In many respects his successor, Beornwulf, perpetuated what was now a well-established pattern of rule. He appears to have appointed a kinsman, Baldred, as sub-king of Kent (Naismith 2012c, 125), and died in 825 (or possibly 826) fighting to uphold Mercian claims in East Anglia (Brooks 1984, 136–7). But Beornwulf is best remembered for his defeat in the pivotal battle of *Ellendun* (Wroughton) in 825, at the hands of Ecgberht, king of the West Saxons (802–39). In the aftermath of this defeat, Ecgberht was able to seize all of south-east England (Essex, Kent, Surrey and Sussex), and change the balance of power significantly within Southumbrian England (Keynes 1998b, 2–4).

Ecgberht's success in 825 and the years that followed did not spring *ex nihilo*. Despite the looming presence of Mercia, Wessex had maintained an (at times tenuous) independence throughout the eighth and early ninth century. The closest it came to Mercian subordination was during the reign of Beorhtric (786–802), who married one of Offa's daughters and collaborated with the Mercian ruler in sending the future king Ecgberht into exile overseas. Northumbria too remained free of Mercian control throughout the period. The age of the Mercian supremacy was thus not solely that of Mercia, and indeed Mercia's relations with these other large kingdoms are a signal reminder of the complex context in which Mercian power grew up, and the character of Mercian ambitions (Keynes 1995, 31–8; 2005, 10–12): the aim was to expand and strengthen Mercia, not create a 'kingdom of England' *avant la lettre*.

(b) LITERATURE

Study of the coinage of this period has been dominated by the beautiful pennies of Offa, and many of the earliest specific discussions approached them from an art-historical point of view (e.g. Keary 1875; Pownall 1875). Keary and Pownall both focused on the question of possible Italian craftsmanship (as first proposed in Hawkins 1841, 23), and dismissed it with reference to both Italian and Anglo-Saxon art of the period. Their views on dating depended heavily on aesthetic judgements of iconography. More serious discussion of the structure and chronology of Offa's coinage came in the twentieth century, with crucial studies by Cyril Lockett (Lockett 1920) and especially Christopher Blunt (Blunt 1961). Blunt's paper is the principal point of departure for modern understanding of Offa's coinage, and established key points concerning the chronology and minting structure which are still generally accepted. Around the same time, Blunt – in association with Stewart Lyon and Lord Stewartby – completed a major survey of the coinage issued in England during the thirty years after Offa's death (Blunt *et al.* 1963): again, this constitutes the foundation for modern understanding of the coinages it covers, which had for the most part attracted much less prior interest than those of Offa. Both Blunt *et al.* (1963) and Blunt (1961) provided a classification and catalogue, and retain great value as foundational surveys that continue to underpin relevant scholarship. Subsequent work has built upon these advances. Lord Stewartby, in particular, used the attribution of certain early ninth-century moneyers to London to deduce mint identifications during the reign of Offa (Stewart 1986). In the early 1960s, Michael Metcalf and Philip Grierson engaged in a heated debate on the likely scale of Offa's coinage, using what were

at that stage pioneering techniques for estimating output (Grierson 1963a; 1963b; 1967; Metcalf 1963a; 1963b; 1964; 1965); subsequent research based on a larger corpus and more refined statistical techniques suggests a coinage which was more substantial than Grierson's estimate, but smaller than Metcalf's (Chick 2010, 182–4).

Major recent advances in research on the coinage of this period have been prompted by the late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century surge in single-finds brought to light by metal detectorists (cf. Chick 2010, 185–6; Naismith and Naylor 2012). Michael Metcalf has made characteristically incisive use of this material to address matters of coin circulation (Metcalf 1998b; 2009); and Derek Chick's important work on the chronology of Offa's coinage was facilitated by the discovery of new specimens dating to the very earliest years of the issues (Chick 1997; 2005). Chick's subsequent catalogue assembled more than twice as many coins as Blunt's some fifty years earlier (Chick 2010), and, supplemented with additional discussion of chronology and mint attributions in Naismith (2010a), remains the authoritative treatment of the coinage of Offa and his contemporaries. For the period 796–825, a similar role is performed by Naismith (2011b), which contains a complete catalogue of relevant coins.

(c) THE AGE OF OFFA (c. 750–96)

1. *Mints and moneyers*

As noted in Chapter 4 (section (h), pp. 108–10) there is no clear evidence for direct royal involvement with the coinage under Æthelbald. Offa, on the other hand, oversaw a transformation in the currency of southern England. Small, thick and largely anonymous early pennies were replaced with broad, thin pennies which universally named the king and moneyer responsible for production. Coenwulf essentially maintained and consolidated the system developed under Offa. The latter part of the Mercian supremacy was therefore pivotal: it saw the establishment of the basic form of coinage, and the royal relationship with the moneyers, which would characterise Anglo-Saxon currency until its end in 1066. However, mint names were not used as standard on the broad pennies of southern England at this time. Nor was the design or style of coins standardised for much of the period, and until Offa's last years even moneyers thought to have been based within the same town produced coins of differing types. For these reasons the exact structure of the coinage during this transitional period remains a matter of debate. About forty moneyers are now known for Offa's reign, from a total of more than eight hundred extant coins. Remarkably, the majority of these coins are known from stray and single-finds, and have mostly come to light since the 1980s (Chick 2010, 186). The suggestion has been made that a large but unrecorded hoard from the time of Offa was found in the eighteenth century or earlier (Blunt 1961, 52), but only one small hoard of pennies of Offa has come to light in England in recent times, at Aiskew in Yorkshire (Barclay 1997; Chick 2010, 221), while a few coins have occurred in early ninth-century finds.

Offa's reign lies between the era of the early pennies, when numerous mints were probably active, and that of a few large, urban mints which seems to have prevailed in the earlier ninth century. There is good evidence that the key southern mint-towns of the ninth century, Canterbury and London, were already active under Offa, partly from tracing back the careers of moneyers of Offa who persisted into the better-known coinage of the early ninth century (an important point developed in Stewart 1986), and partly on the basis of issues in the names of the archbishops of

Canterbury and – uniquely in the Middle Ages – a bishop of London. Other attributions are based on stylistic comparison with the moneyers of more likely origin. London and Canterbury's shares of surviving coins (accepting current moneyer attributions) seem to have been about equal in the earlier part of the reign, although Canterbury is represented by appreciably more coins in the later Heavy period (Chick 2010, 182–4). Fifteen of Offa's moneyers can probably be assigned to London and twelve to Canterbury; two others probably belong to one of these two but cannot be assigned with confidence (Naismith 2010a, 82). There was also at least one substantial mint active in East Anglia (first recognised in Blunt 1961, 49–50), which accounted for about 10 per cent of all Offa's coinage, and nine or ten moneyers. It is never named on coins, and neither are there any issues in the names of local bishops which might help pin down an attribution. Yet the prominence of Ipswich as an urban centre and major producer of pottery makes it a likely candidate for the location of the principal East Anglian mint-town (Naismith 2012c, 129; 2011a, 1, 35).

It is entirely possible that Canterbury, Ipswich and London were already the only mint-towns active by Offa's time (Naismith 2010a, 78–80). There had been a dramatic reduction of coinage in England south of the Humber in the middle of the eighth century, probably accompanied by contraction of minting to the leading centres located in or near focal points of trade: under these conditions, the input of Offa and other kings helped revive the currency (Naismith 2012c, 324–30). Parallels from the early ninth century (see section (d), pp. 138–9) suggest a general tendency towards fewer mint-places, each with a large complement of moneyers. Yet Offa's coinage is diverse enough to allow for the possibility of additional mints, especially in the period down to 792/3. Moneyers conventionally attributed to the same mint-place could utilise dies of very different appearance and quality; conversely, receipt of dies of 'London', 'Ipswich' or 'Canterbury' style does not automatically confirm that moneyers were active at those locations (cf. Williams and Williams 2013, 344). The complex organisation of the south-east in particular leaves many attributions uncertain (Naismith 2010a, 82; for one recent reattribution see Naismith and Naylor 2012, 212). As in the tenth and eleventh centuries, there may already have been smaller satellite mints, represented by so few moneyers and finds that their location is unlikely to become apparent in the foreseeable future (Metcalf 2009, 3–4). Overall, Offa's currency appears to have been a complex and evolving system, founded on the relationship between individual die-cutters/workshops and moneyers rather than formal arrangements for each mint-town as a whole. There is room for minor mints within this scheme, but it is likely that most production took place within Canterbury, Ipswich and London, and these three may have become more prominent over the course of the reign. Even if there were minor mints, few if any of them are likely to have been situated in the Mercian heartland of the west midlands. Coins of this period are rarely found so far west, and the monetary economy as a whole seems to have been a feature of the east and south; indeed, it may have been one of several economic enticements which first led to Mercian involvement in this part of England (Keynes 2005, 7–10).

2. *Chronology of Offa's coinage*

The chronology of Offa's coinage has been considered a number of times (Blunt 1961; Metcalf 2009, 8–14; Chick 2010, 1–29; Naismith 2010a, 88–95), and is clear in outline. The coinage can be divided into three broad phases: the Early coinage (c. 760–84/5?), the Light coinage (c. 784/5–92/3) and the Heavy coinage (792/3–6) (Table 9). The first broad pennies probably belong to the period

Table 9. *The chronology of Offa's coinage.*

London		Canterbury		Ipswich	
<i>c.</i> 760–70	Earliest coinage of Offa (Mang)	? <i>c.</i> 765/70 <i>c.</i> 770–6	? Coinage of Heaberht Earliest coinage of Offa (Eoba)	<i>c.</i> 760 <i>c.</i> 765 ?	Coinage of Beonna Earliest coinage of Offa (Wilred)
?	?				?
<i>c.</i> 780–5	Early coins of Bishop Eadberht and Ealhmund	776– <i>c.</i> 784	Coinage of Ecgberht	<i>c.</i> 780 ?	Early coinage of Offa (Wihtréd)
<i>c.</i> 784/5–92/3	Substantive Light coinage	<i>c.</i> 784/5–92/3	Substantive Light coinage	<i>c.</i> 785/90–92/3?	Substantive Light coinage (and Æthelberht II)
792/3–6	Heavy coinage	792/3–6	Heavy coinage	792/3?–6	Heavy coinage

Source: After Naismith 2010a, 95.

c. 760–75. They constitute a small, distinct and homogeneous group within Offa's coinage as a whole. All utilise the same abbreviated form of royal style (O[f] / F[a] / R[ex] / M[er]ciorum) on the obverse, always laid out in the same fashion, while the reverse carries the moneyer's name. Some specimens are in the name of moneyers associated with native kings of Kent, suggesting a Canterbury attribution; others by the moneyer Wilræd (929), who had earlier worked for Beonna, can be tied to East Anglia. There are also several known examples by moneyers of less certain attribution, such as Mang (1001–2). Given the disjunction between the moneyers of this early group and those of the later, main phase of Offa's coinage, it is entirely possible that the latter coins belong to London, an attribution possibly supported by the Tilbury provenance of several of the relevant coins (Chick 2010, 13–15).

It seems that the first broad pennies from London(?) and East Anglia pre-date those from Canterbury, in part because there is more continuity between the earliest Canterbury moneyers and those of Offa's principal coinage. The earliest coins struck in Offa's name at Canterbury can probably be dated to the period *c.* 770–6, before the likely Mercian defeat at the battle of Otford temporarily deprived Offa of control over Kent. These coins are scarce, and at London and in East Anglia there seems to have been a break following the early coinage: only a few coins can tentatively be attributed to the succeeding period. Offa's coinage at these two mints revived quite swiftly, probably in the 780s. Derek Chick (Chick 2010, 9–10) dated the beginning of the expansion of Offa's coinage to the early years of that decade, seeing it as initially a London phenomenon fuelled by the work of two particularly talented die-cutters (exemplified by 1009 and 1017). However, some of the finest, and arguably earliest, examples of the 'London' die-cutters' work can be found in the hands of moneyers associated with Canterbury; hence it is probable that the revival of the coinage came only once Kent had returned to Mercian rule, which may have been as late as 784/5 (Naismith 2010a, 93–5). This largest segment of Offa's coinage is known,

following the terminology of Christopher Blunt (1961, 48–53), as the ‘Light’ coinage (though the weight standard of *c.* 1.30g had been current since the inception of Offa’s coinage two decades or so earlier). It is particularly celebrated for its delicate and attractive portraiture. Busts appeared around the beginning of the Light coinage; the earliest instances are, oddly, found on the same face of the coin as the moneyer’s name, and presumably reflect a sense that the royal title (still initially in abbreviated form) should be accorded one whole face to itself (Chick 2010, nos. 8, 35, 51–3, 92, 94, 112, 138–47).

The busts which adorned Offa’s coins are among the most artistically accomplished in the whole Anglo-Saxon series. They do not respond to any widespread precedent in earlier Anglo-Saxon or Frankish coinage, and portraits would not be used on Carolingian silver pennies until well after Offa’s death; rather, the die-cutters responsible for Offa’s busts looked back to Roman coins, and also to contemporary sculpture and manuscript art (Gannon 2003, 31–3, 40–1; Naismith 2012c, 53–64). Some groups of coins may be seen as attempts to convey quite specific allusions or parallels. Those busts which portray Offa with luxuriant, curled hair (**1013**) appear to draw on a rich and venerable tradition of applying this hairstyle to powerful or divine individuals. By the eighth century it was particularly associated with the biblical King David: a favourite model for early medieval rulers (Gannon 2003, 31–3). Other coins appear to liken Offa to Constantine the Great. These include some on which Offa gazes upwards, a feature characteristic of certain coins of Constantine, which was interpreted already in the fourth century as an allusion to his vision of the cross at the battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312. Another group of coins (**1011**) seems to allude to the same event by showing Offa in Roman military garb with a very large Latin cross immediately before his face, a feature which is not otherwise seen in the coinage of Offa (Naismith 2012c, 58–62). It should be stressed, however, that busts always co-existed with an equal or larger number of coins with purely epigraphic and geometric decoration. Variation in design within all these issues was considerable. Offa’s name and title, for example, ranged from the abbreviation of the early coinage (with the intriguing variation (o[f] / f[a] / r[ex] / A[n]glorum)) (Naismith 2006; cf. Keynes 2005, 10) to OFFA, OFFA R, OFFA REX, OFFA REX M, OFFA REX MERCIORVM and others. Elements of the design were equally flexible, indicating that although there was unity in recognition of the king and moneyer, and in weight standard and metallic quality, other features were apparently left largely to the discretion of die-cutters and moneyers. Chick distinguished two principal phases within the Light coinage, the earliest marked by the presence of the very finest dies, the other by divergence in style. Certain small groups of associated types issued by several moneyers can be picked out, providing a glimpse of organisation based on mint-towns and/or the work of the same craftsman (Chick 1997, 50–5; Naismith 2010a, 84–8).

The last segment of Offa’s coinage is the Heavy coinage. With this, the heterogeneity of the Light coinage came to a sudden end. All pennies now bore essentially the same design: OFFA REX M[erciorum] in three lines on the obverse (using a distinct uncial form of M), and the moneyer’s name on the reverse, usually in two lines. This last coinage of Offa illustrates that uniformity and verbal pronouncements could be just as important a statement as attractive portraiture. As the name applied by Christopher Blunt suggests, this coinage was struck to a noticeably higher weight standard of *c.* 1.40–1.45g. Such evidence as there is indicates that this may have been a full recoinage, replacing the earlier and lighter coins. It probably took place around the time of Archbishop Jænberht’s death (12 August 792) (**968–9**) and replacement by Æthelheard (consecrated

21 July 793) (970–2), for all coins naming the former (in conjunction with Offa) are Light, but all those of the latter are Heavy (Blunt 1961, 47–9, 53). East Anglia may have taken slightly longer to implement the new design, as coins of the local ruler, Æthelberht II, are on the Light pattern and seem not to be the latest Light pennies of the region (see below): if these issues ran right up to his death in 794 (which is by no means clear), the switch to ‘Heavy’ coinage must have come in that year or after.

There was very probably some connection between this coinage reform in England and the similar measures taken around the same time by Charlemagne, recorded in the decrees of the Council of Frankfurt in June 794 (Naismith 2012c, 175–8; Garipzanov 2016). Prior to the 790s, England and Francia seem to have followed approximately the same weight standard of c. 1.30g. Moves away from this could have been intended to prevent intermingling of the two coinages at a time when both kings were seeking to bring greater uniformity to the currency (cf. Coupland 2005). There may also have been an intention to fix a stable exchange rate between the two coinages (twelve pennies of Offa for ten *denarii* of Charlemagne, or similar), but internal needs (such as Charlemagne’s aim to standardise weights and measures more widely) are likely to have been more prominent. Which reform came first is a vexed question, to which no definitive answer is possible – but it is unlikely that they came about in isolation from each other (Naismith 2012c, 175–6; Story 2003, 188–95; Garipzanov 2016, esp. 59–61).

Offa’s reign also saw the production of several gold coinages, revived for special, high-profile purposes (Blackburn 2007c, 56–67; Naismith 2012c, 112–17, 272–3). At this stage, these were inspired by a wide range of types and bore little relation to the iconography or metrology of the silver coinage. The most celebrated gold coin from the time of Offa is a close imitation of an ‘Abbasid dinar issued in AH 157 (AD 773–4), to which is added OFFA REX (upside down relative to the Arabic) (Chick 1a; Blackburn 2007c, B1). Original dinars of this type circulated widely in eighth-century Europe, including England, where cruder imitations were also probably made (Naismith 2010b, 223–5). Two other gold pieces from Offa’s reign (or possibly early in Coenwulf’s) carry only a moneyer’s name: one was modelled on an *aureus* of Augustus (Chick 2a; Blackburn 2007c, B2), the other on the obverse of a late Roman *solidus* and the reverse of a Byzantine or Beneventan *solidus* (Chick 3a; Blackburn 2007c, B3). These two coins were probably made in London.

3. Coinages of other rulers

Other authorities besides Offa issued silver coins in southern England in the formative period of the mid- and late eighth century. Several of these were to prove unique ventures, and they provide some flavour of the dynamic part coined money played at this time in the expression of power, which may have carried over to some extent from the greater diversity of the early pennies (Naismith 2012c, 117–27).

East Anglia boasts what was probably the first royal silver coinage issued south of the Humber. It belongs to the reign of Beonna, an obscure king who came to the throne in 749 in association with two other rulers (named Hun and Alberht according to Symeon of Durham), and who was still on the throne in 758/60, apparently alone (Naismith 2012b, 307; cf. Archibald 2005). One of Beonna’s early co-rulers, Alberht (probably for the OE Æthelberht), is known from a single surviving coin, similar in type to those of Beonna (though issued by an otherwise unknown moneyer) (Archibald 1995, 7–11). Beonna’s own coinage is well represented thanks to a hoard of

more than fifty specimens (Middle Harling, Norfolk: *Checklist* 30) and a collection of finds from excavations at Ipswich and Burrow Hill, Suffolk (Archibald 1995). The coins vary in physical form, some approximating the early pennies in diameter and thickness, others resembling the first broad pennies. Three moneyers are named under Beonna, with the coins of one (Efe: **928**) noticeably more common than those of the others, while a small number of coins replace the moneyer's name on the reverse with an interlace design (Pagan 1968: **927**). Use of the moneyer's name was inherited from the last East Anglian early pennies of Series R, while the obverse design and the general principle of naming the king seem to have been borrowed from Eadberht's Northumbrian coinage, possibly along with the weight standard (Naismith 2012b, 308–11). Numerous metallurgical analyses have shown that fineness varied between about 70 and 50 per cent in the course of the coinage (*T&S* 111, 617–20); it may have declined over time, for the most debased coins belong to a moneyer (Wilræd: **929**) who survived into the reign of Offa (Naismith 2012b, 310). Much remains unclear about Beonna's coinage, which spans a crucial period extending from the end of the early pennies to the reign of Offa. It probably began relatively early in his reign, around 750 (Naismith 2012b, 308), though a case has also been made for some time later in the following decade (Archibald 1985, 31–4); the date one assigns to the inception of the series is important, as it affects whether Beonna's coins could have influenced Frankish developments under Pippin III in the 750s, or vice versa (Williams 2013b, 44). The mint-place(s) are also obscure. Multiple locations may well have been involved (Archibald 1985, 27–31; 1995, 4–7), although it is likely that one mint-place (possibly Ipswich) was dominant; in any case, single-finds are too few to permit a confident attribution (Naismith 2012b, 310).

A lacuna follows the coinage of Beonna and Alberht (i.e. Æthelberht I), occupied by the early pennies of Offa. However, at some point in the course of the 'Light' coinage, a small issue was struck for Æthelberht II, king of the East Angles (who was executed under Offa's orders in 794). This was the work of just one moneyer, Lul, at a time when several other moneyers were probably also at work elsewhere in East Anglia. Four pennies of Æthelberht survive, three with a symbolically charged design placing a portrait on one face and a wolf and twins on the other. This invocation of Roman heritage may be a play on the name of the local royal dynasty (the Wuffingas), or a visual assertion of royal authority (Gannon 2003, 145–7; Naismith 2012c, 118–20). The fourth penny (**930**, discovered only in 2014) uses a different, non-portrait design (Naismith 2014d). Although this new find indicates that Æthelberht's coinage was not necessarily as minute and politically driven as had formerly been believed, it was still apparently the work of a minor mint-place consisting of only one moneyer, or (if Lul was one moneyer out of several in Ipswich, but the only one assigned to the production of pennies of Æthelberht II) a product of a peaceful agreement with Offa. Either way, it is entirely possible that this coinage reflects in some way the events leading up to Æthelberht's death, presumably as a result of conflict with the more powerful Mercian king.

In the early decades of Offa's reign, the native kings of Kent issued a small group of broad pennies. These name two obscure rulers, Heaberht and Ecgberht II, who are otherwise known only from charters which date them to *c.* 765 and *c.* 764–779 (or after) respectively (Kelly 1995, 201–2) (see above, section (a), p. 129). Put together, the coins and charters suggest a complex relationship between the two Kentish kings and Offa, grounded in the prior history of multiple kingship and power-sharing within Kent (Yorke 1983): all three rulers may have held power over the moneyers of Canterbury in quick succession, or even simultaneously.

Uniquely for the Anglo-Saxon period, Offa's queen, Cynethryth, is also named on coins (Naismith 2012c, 62–4, 124). All were made by a single moneyer (Eoba), though the quantity of surviving specimens is sufficient to indicate that this was a substantial issue. It was apparently restricted to the period of the substantive Light coinage (c. 784/5–92/3), with Eoba reverting to striking Offa's coins thereafter, which suggests that Cynethryth's coin issue was in a sense simply a branch of the royal currency. Nevertheless, it is a forceful statement of the role she played within the Mercian royal establishment of the late eighth century (Stafford 2001, 37–40), and draws on representations of Roman empresses. The Fitzwilliam possesses two specimens, both of relatively coarse style (II71–2). One was formerly queried as a possible forgery, until the discovery of another fragment of similar style, subsequently donated to the museum.

In Canterbury and London bishops placed their names on coins for the first time. At Canterbury episcopal minting began with Archbishop Jænberht (765–92) (968–9). His earliest issue probably belongs to the decade of Kentish independence from Offa following the battle of Otford (776), for it begins without any reference to Offa (Chick 1992). His later coins all make reference to Offa, as do those of his successor, Æthelheard (970–2) (though this was to change after 796: see below). Eadberht is the sole bishop of London apparently named on coins (II73; Chick 2010, types 78–83). His pennies might reflect a personal concession by Offa to the bishop which did not pass to the see as such (Naismith 2012c, 123).

(d) THE AGE OF COENWULF (796–825)

Coenwulf inherited a troubled political situation, as a result of which both Canterbury and East Anglia had passed out of the control of their former Mercian overlords. At the outset of Coenwulf's reign, the only known mint-place under his authority was London. By c. 800, however, Canterbury and Ipswich had both been regained. For the remainder of Coenwulf's reign, and the short reigns of his immediate successors, Ceolwulf I (821–3) and Beornwulf (823–5/6), all mints south of the Humber save those producing the small West Saxon coinage remained under firm Mercian dominance.

Although there were common features in design and metrology, the different histories of the various regions and mint-towns of Coenwulf's reign lend themselves to consideration one by one (a principle followed in *MEC* 1 and Naismith 2011a; a different approach is taken in Blunt *et al.* 1963). These mint-towns comprise Canterbury, Ipswich (?), London and Rochester, with the West Saxon (and Northumbrian) mint or mints outside the Mercian monetary sphere. Numbers of moneyers, surviving coins and estimated output varied dramatically, as recently indicated by a complete corpus and die-study of relevant material (Naismith 2011a). In total, they were staffed by almost forty moneyers and are represented by more than eight hundred surviving coins. As in the reign of Offa, it is possible that additional minor mints were active alongside the larger, more prominent ones which supplied most dies, although if so it is doubtful that these mints were substantial or long-lived (Naismith 2012c, 131–2). Occasional mint-signed issues (such as the Anonymous Coinage of Canterbury in the early 820s, produced by eight moneyers) indicate concentration of output at the major mint-places, and include pennies by moneyers associated stylistically with these mints in other coin issues. An additional mint-town (Rochester) was opened c. 810, and it can be readily distinguished stylistically from the time of its inception, even though mint-signed coins only emerged some years later. Moreover, recognition of Kentish rulers by 'Canterbury' and 'Rochester' moneyers

between the 790s and 820s suggests all were based within Kent. Wessex and East Anglia presented somewhat more stylistic diversity in this period, which could reflect multiple mint-places, though greater regularity emerged in the latter early in the ninth century (see also Chapter 7, section (g), pp. 163–4). In sum, minor mints probably operated alongside and in co-operation with the major centres, especially outside the south-east, but are rarely identifiable and unlikely to have been the driving force behind the coinage.

Despite the existence of multiple mints with long histories going back to the days of separate kingdoms, the currency of Coenwulf's time was relatively homogeneous. Coins from Kent, Mercian London, East Anglia and Wessex were all mutually acceptable, as suggested by the distribution of single-finds and the composition of hoards (Naismith 2012c, 203–9). Moneyers also generally adhered to the weight standard set up by Offa after 792/3 (c. 1.40–1.45g), and to a high level of fineness. That said, Ipswich and Wessex played a different role to Canterbury, London and Rochester (Metcalf 1998b; Naismith 2012c, 211–39). Coins from the former tended to be used and lost closer to home, implying a stronger link with the local economy, while coins from the Thames estuary mint-towns were not particularly concentrated in the home territory, but spread evenly over a much wider area stretching up into the east midlands. Minting in these towns was seemingly driven more by middle- and long-distance exchange within eastern England.

Like the pennies of Offa, those of Coenwulf and his contemporaries have become much more numerous as a result of the activities of metal-detectorists in recent decades. Their new finds now account for approximately half of the known corpus of some nine hundred coins. The others stem from several well-known hoards, particularly Delgany (108 relevant coins), Middle Temple (67 relevant coins) and Sevington (6 relevant coins) (for details, see Naismith 2011a, I, 59–65). Most of these and other finds, however, were deposited in the late 820s or after, and so provide limited evidence for chronological or other matters in the period 796–825.

1. Canterbury

This Kentish mint-town was, in terms of moneyers and output, by far the most important mint-place of southern England, and possibly one of the most significant in Europe. During this period, four to six royal moneyers tended to work at any one time, supplemented by one or (after c. 805) two moneyers for the archbishop (Naismith 2012c, 136–7).

Canterbury in 796–8 lay under the rule of Eadberht 'Præn', and consequently produced coins in his name (955–7). These were initially modelled on the Heavy pennies of Offa. Three of Eadberht's seven moneyers had previously worked for Offa; one even used the same reverse die under both kings (Dolley 1955–7e). However, late in Eadberht's reign, it appears that his moneyers switched over to imitate the new coin type that had been instituted at London: the Tribrach coinage, so-called for the device occupying the central part of the reverse (957) (Blunt *et al.* 1963, 5–8). Surprisingly, the very few surviving specimens of this type (all issued by one moneyer) retain the central uncial *m* of the Mercian Tribrach obverse design, seemingly implying that Eadberht was king of the Mercians (Naismith 2008b). It is much more likely that these coins instead bear witness to the continuing influence London and the Mercian kingdom exerted over coin production in the rest of southern England, following the example of Offa's reign.

After his restoration to Canterbury in 798, Coenwulf instituted the same coin type that was by now being made in London (and which had begun to be imitated in Canterbury even before

Eadberht's defeat): the Tribrach coinage (**1043–50**). A variant of this also appeared on the archiepiscopal coins, which once again combined the prelate's name and title on one face with those of the Mercian king on the other (**974–5**). Because all Æthelheard's coins with Coenwulf are of the Tribrach type, and all those of his successor, Wulfred, carry a portrait, the new royal portrait coinage (**976**) is also likely to have been introduced at Canterbury at approximately the time of the transition between these two archbishops (805). The resultant royal issue carries an elegant, late Roman-inspired bust on the obverse, and is known as the Cross and Wedges coinage after the reverse design. Its most interesting feature is that coins exist for both Coenwulf (**1051–3**) and his brother Cuthred (**960–3**), who had been made sub-ruler of Kent in 798 and died in 807. Cuthred had already been named on the Tribrach pennies, and there is some uncertainty over how his and Coenwulf's coinages in both periods fit together: whether they issued pennies in Canterbury simultaneously or in succession (*MEC* 1, 288; Blunt *et al.* 1963, 40; Lyon 1968, 217; cf. Keynes 1993, 113–15). Stylistic evidence is inconclusive: Cuthred's early death matches a higher proportion of Cross and Wedges pennies of 'fine' (and presumably early) style in his name, but there were also some Cuthred coins of coarser appearance, and 'fine' coins of Coenwulf. In all likelihood, recognition of the two kings varied by moneyer across the period down to 807. Based on the surviving coins, no single moneyer struck solely for one king in both the Tribrach and Cross and Wedges coinages, as might have been expected given sequential production, and several in fact issued coins for both kings in both coinages (Naismith 2011a, 1, 16–17). Also, no Tribrach pennies of Archbishop Æthelheard survive in conjunction with Cuthred: whatever happened with the royal coinage, there was one segment of Canterbury's output which apparently always remained tied to Coenwulf.

The final phase of Coenwulf's Canterbury coinage was by far the largest and most diverse. It was the work of nine moneyers, and spans the last decade or so of the reign (**1054–61**). The end of the Cross and Wedges coinage (around 810) was marked by the appearance of more diverse reverse designs and, later, by a noticeable increase in flan size (Blunt *et al.* 1963, 11–14). The resultant coinage shows a gradual change in bust style, becoming simpler and made up of thicker lines over the course of the coinage. Greater variation can be found on the reverses. Seven different designs are found, all variants on a cross or (in one case) the letter A (**1058**). Some of these designs are unique to one moneyer, while others (especially the so-called 'Pincer Cross' and 'Crescent Cross': **1060–1**) are shared by up to four moneyers, who presumably worked simultaneously. These variations are probably in large part chronological: 'Pincer Cross' was struck in the early to middle part of the 810s, while the 'Crescent Cross' (close in style to the coins of Ceolwulf I) dates to the end of the decade. Minor types might possibly denote moneyers who were distinct in some respect, perhaps for working on behalf of the abbot of St Augustine's (Naismith 2011a, 1, 18–19).

The last coinages of Canterbury under Mercian rule possess particular historical interest. First among them are the very rare coins of Ceolwulf I, Coenwulf's heir. Some of these coins maintain the designs of Coenwulf's reign; others carry intriguing new designs essayed at multiple mints, including some which dispensed with a royal portrait. A three-line reverse design is found at Rochester and Ipswich (**1075–7**) as well as Canterbury, while an attractive design with the full-length royal title disposed around a Latin cross is also known from both Canterbury (**1074**) and London. Closer communication between the mint-towns under Ceolwulf's authority seems to have been a hallmark of his reign (Naismith 2012c, 104–6), although there are signs that his authority was wavering from an early stage. Fewer than twenty specimens of coins in the name of Ceolwulf I from Canterbury are known, struck by only some of the complement of moneyers. Exceptionally,

the moneyers of Canterbury took the step of removing any verbal reference to the king from their coinage, introducing the Anonymous type (995–8). This combined a bust on the obverse, surrounded by the moneyer's name, with (on the reverse) the mint-signature arranged in several lines. Even the archiepiscopal moneyers followed suit, at a time when (as far as one can tell) there was no threat to Archbishop Wulfred's position within the city. Reference to the ruling authorities was not completely abandoned. Royal moneyers retained a royal-type bust on their coins; archiepiscopal moneyers likewise kept a facing bust familiar from earlier times. Yet this temporary move away from recognition of a specific king or archbishop indicates how close moneyers and their coins were to political developments, as well as the level of coherence that now characterised the minting establishment of Canterbury (Naismith 2012c, 153–4). The issue of the Anonymous coinage may, by the transition in the form of bust used on the coins, be dated to between the Canterbury moneyers' renunciation of Ceolwulf I and the accession of Baldred (presumably soon after Ceolwulf's deposition); that is to say, to the period 821–3, though the Anonymous coinage probably occupied only one or two years within this (Blunt *et al.* 1963, 13–15, 21; Naismith 2011a, 1, 20–1). It should be stressed that this coinage seems in no way to have been tainted by the absence of a direct reference to the king or archbishop. It was used and hoarded as plentifully as other issues of the period, and dies made during its currency were carried over into the beginning of Wulfred's next coinage (Blunt *et al.* 1963, 21). Baldred's coins continued on the model of Coenwulf's and Ceolwulf I's issues. Both non-portrait and portrait coins were made, the latter generally with a mint name on the reverse. The chronology of these types is not clear: all moneyers but one are known from both portrait and non-portrait types, and they may have been issued simultaneously, reflecting the work of different die-cutters or, arguably, different purposes for the coins (Blunt *et al.* 1963, 16–18; Naismith 2011a, 1, 21).

Archiepiscopal coinage continued alongside that of the king throughout this period, even in the difficult years of Eadberht 'Præn's' rule. The rare pennies of Æthelheard issued during this time resumed the tradition, familiar from the beginning of Jænberht's coinage, of avoiding reference to any king: instead, an archiepiscopal moneyer (Eadgar) is specified for the first time (973) (Chick 1992). Æthelheard fled Canterbury in 797 (Dümmler 1895, ep. 128, pp. 189–91), which may explain the extreme rarity of his coins from this period. Restoration of Mercian authority in 798 brought a resumption of minting in the joint names of Æthelheard and the Mercian king; all of Æthelheard's coins were struck with Coenwulf rather than Cuthred (974–5) (Naismith 2011a, 1, 17). It may be that the naming of a king by the archiepiscopal moneyers was a prerogative or the result of a compact solely with the current Mercian overlord, which would also explain the issues of Jænberht and Æthelheard alone from the 770s and 796–8 when Kentish rulers held power in Canterbury.

The archiepiscopal coinage of the rest of this period was dominated by the forceful personality of Archbishop Wulfred (976–81) (Blunt *et al.* 1963, 19–22). Wulfred's earliest coins (dated 805–c. 810 by analogy with the royal issues) marked a major turn in the archiepiscopal series, showing for the first time a portrait of the archbishop and also abandoning any direct reference to the king. Pennies of Coenwulf and Cuthred also began to carry portraits at the same time, however: the separation between the two segments of Canterbury's coinage was certainly not total, but it did imply a stronger, more independent role for the new archbishop (Blunt *et al.* 1963, 40–1). Inspiration for the elegant facing, tonsured bust on Wulfred's coinage was provided by the coinage of Pope Hadrian I (772–95) and Pope Leo III (795–816) (MEC 1.1031–3), which in turn was based

on the facing busts of Byzantine coinage (Naismith 2012c, 67–8). Papal portrait coins were probably no longer being issued at the time of Wulfred's accession (*MEC* 1, 264): he and his moneyers therefore must have been familiar with older specimens which were thought to provide a particularly appropriate model. Wulfred's first coins carry the mint name (*DOROVERNIAE CIVITATIS*) around a cross or alpha/omega monogram on the reverse (976), but after *c.* 810 switch to the moneyer's name around a monogram of the mint name. Later specimens from this phase of Wulfred's coinage are distinguished by a slightly larger flan and by a bust which breaks the inner circle rather than falling within it. The conflict between Coenwulf and Wulfred, which allegedly resulted in the archbishop being deprived of power for six years, has left no obvious mark on the coinage. There was, however, a hiatus in pennies naming Wulfred during the Anonymous coinage, and the archbishop's name only reappears on coins in the reign of Baldred (981). At this time, the reverse design of the archiepiscopal issue again became identical with that of the royal coinage, but the abbreviated mint name in the centre of the reverse looked more to archiepiscopal than royal precedent: again, this is not a matter of the king simply imposing his will on the archbishop's coinage (Blunt *et al.* 1963, 21). Two archiepiscopal moneyers seems to have been the norm for most of this period, at some times possibly rising to three.

2. Rochester

The cadet mint in Kent first appeared in the middle of the reign of Coenwulf (1073). Its earliest products imitate the Cross and Wedges coins issued at Canterbury *c.* 805–10, and so have tentatively been dated to around 810 or after (Blunt *et al.* 1963, 22–3). Some of Rochester's first dies may have been supplied from Canterbury, and also London (Naismith 2011a, 1, 26), but during the latter part of Coenwulf's reign it established a distinct local style of die-cutting, somewhat cruder and more scratchy than that of contemporary Canterbury. All coins carry a portrait on the obverse and a cross of some form on the reverse.

Rochester continued to operate under Ceolwulf I (1079–83). Indeed, its coins are comparatively numerous for this reign, with twenty-seven specimens recorded from four moneyers (as opposed to just fifteen from Canterbury). This might be a result of enhanced output, perhaps related to the evident political difficulties at Canterbury (Blunt *et al.* 1963, 41), where the Anonymous type accounts for most minting under Ceolwulf. Rochester's coins at this time largely follow the pattern established under Coenwulf, although some use a three-line reverse design also current at Canterbury and Ipswich, suggesting an effort at broader integration of the southern English currency. The first of several intriguing groups of coins from Rochester without a moneyer's name also occurs in this reign (1079–80). The coins in question replace the moneyer's name on the reverse with the Latin mint name (*DOROBREBIA*) surrounding either an alpha, a monogram or an arrangement of letters completing the outer legend (cf. Blunt 1955–7b). There are grounds for attributing these coins to the bishop of Rochester (see Chapter 7, section (d), p. 156).

Baldred's coinage at Rochester follows Ceolwulf I's, with no intervening Anonymous issue as at contemporary Canterbury. With one exception, Baldred's coins of Rochester carry a bust and, on the reverse, a cross (usually either moline or with wedges in the angles, creating the effect of an eight-pointed star). Some of these accord Baldred the otherwise unknown title *REX H*, which has been interpreted as *rex Hrofesceaster* ('king of Rochester') (Blunt *et al.* 1963, 24, 41–2) – a possible survival from early in Baldred's reign of the east/west split in Kent, seen in the division of the

kingdom between the dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester (Yorke 1983). Only one non-portrait coin of Rochester survives in Baldred's name; it is also the sole coin from Rochester to entitle him REX CANT[*iae*], as was common at Canterbury (Naismith 2011a, R9.4a). It may belong later in the reign, or show the limited implementation of a policy similar to Canterbury's of issuing portrait and non-portrait coins simultaneously.

3. London

In the period between Offa's Light coinage and the 820s, London gradually went from being as important as Canterbury to being a relatively minor centre. This process may be related to fires in 798 and 801 and other economic difficulties in the city, and also to the emergence of the new mint-town at Rochester, which could have tapped some of the demand formerly accruing to London (Naismith 2012c, 191, 196–7). Nonetheless, London remained prominent in the 790s, and in the year or two after Offa's death was the sole mint to remain under Mercian control. The city's moneyers issued a coinage closely modelled on Offa's Heavy pennies, with Coenwulf's name arranged in three lines (1041–2). At some time before Coenwulf retook Canterbury in 798, London moved over to the new Tribrach design (1049–50). The obverse design of this coinage (which circumscribed the king's name around an inner circle containing an uncial *m*) looked back to the issues of Offa's queen, Cynethryth, while the reverse design, centred on the eponymous Tribrach, was new, although it had some precedents in earlier Anglo-Saxon coins and metalwork (Naismith 2008b, 217–18). This coinage immediately influenced the issues of Canterbury and Ipswich, even though they lay outside formal Mercian control; as may have been the case in Offa's reign, the coinage of London and of the dominant Mercian ruler exerted a powerful effect (Naismith 2008b, 219–22).

The Tribrach coinage of London is tentatively presumed to have lasted until approximately the same time as its Canterbury counterpart, around 805. Estimates of output suggest that it was during this coinage that London's productivity fell most significantly (Naismith 2012c, 189, 191). The Coenwulf 'mancus' (Naismith 2011a, G2a; Blackburn 2007c, B4), the only coin of this period to bear a London mint-signature, was clearly struck from Canterbury dies at some point in the period *c.* 805–10, suggesting that local craftsmen were either unavailable or unwanted (Blackburn 2007c, 62–4). Its unusual mint name (DE VICO LVNDONIAE) could refer to the trading settlement of *Lundenwic* or to a royal estate in or near London (Naismith 2012c, 114–16); a case has been made for a connection with Carolingian gold issues which name Dorestad as a *vicus* (VICO DVRISTAT) (Williams 2010c, 108–9), though the context of the Carolingian coins is debatable and the term *vicus* was sufficiently general in usage and broad in meaning that the two occurrences need not be directly linked (cf. *MEC* 1, 198, 328). Specimens of the silver coinage produced at London during the latter part of Coenwulf's reign and that of Ceolwulf I are rare and stylistically diverse (1078). Almost all bear a royal bust, with a cross-crosslet on the reverse; under Ceolwulf I, all three known moneyers also issued an important non-portrait type with a longer royal title (CIOLVVLF REX MERCIORVM), comparable with some struck at contemporary Canterbury. Approximately nine different styles can be distinguished among the coins produced by five moneyers in the mainstream portrait/cross-crosslet coinage of *c.* 805–23; some can be dated to the later part of Coenwulf's reign because they persisted into that of Ceolwulf I, but for most no confident dating is possible. The general impression is that production remained restricted and intermittent

(Naismith 2011a, 1, 11–12; Blunt *et al.* 1963, 30–5). Minting may even have petered out altogether in the time of Beornwulf and Ludica. A unique fragmentary coin survives (a non-portrait penny, in the name of an otherwise unknown moneyer), which may possibly belong to the time of Beornwulf (**1086**) (Naismith 2011a, 1, 12 (L26a); Blunt *et al.* 1963, 35–6).

4. Ipswich (?)

As in Offa's reign, a cohort of moneyers can be assigned on stylistic grounds to a mint (or mints) somewhere in East Anglia, their careers spanning the whole period from the 760s to the 870s. Ipswich is assumed to be the principal centre of production (Naismith 2011a, 1, 35), and the increasing coherence of the East Anglian coinage in the early ninth century suggests that it may largely have been the product of a single centre (Blunt *et al.* 1963, 25–30; *MEC* 1, 293–4).

The historical obscurity of East Anglia in the late eighth and the ninth century means that the coins play an especially important role in determining the kingdom's political history. A ruler who apparently seized control over the area after Offa's death, Eadwald, is known solely from his coins, which are modelled on the Heavy pennies of Offa (with the king's name and title in three lines) and produced by the same moneyers (**931**). Coenwulf later re-established Mercian authority in East Anglia; the date when he did so is not recorded, and depends on assessment of the coins. A possible *terminus post quem* is provided by pennies of Eadwald that appear to be modelled on the Tribrach type, introduced in late 797 or 798 (Naismith 2008b; 2011b, E6a). All surviving East Anglian pennies of Coenwulf carry a portrait with (normally) some form of cross on the reverse, which would on the face of it suggest that they began to be made after the introduction of similar types at Canterbury and London around 805 (**1062–8**). This might imply a relatively long reign for Eadwald, or a hiatus in minting after his deposition (*MEC* 1, 293). On the other hand, there is marked continuity in moneyers and reverse designs between Eadwald's and Coenwulf's issues, and the recent discovery of East Anglian types (Naismith 2011a, E10.1c) closely modelled on coins of Canterbury indicates that Coenwulf's portrait issue may have been underway for quite some time by c. 805–10 (Naismith 2011a, 1, 36–7). Mercian power may therefore have been restored in East Anglia as early as c. 800, with the implication that a portrait coinage was instituted at Ipswich before the mints in the south-east. Despite the relatively crude appearance of East Anglian coinage at this time, it was clearly the product of a dynamic and innovative regime.

The East Anglian mint provides the richest numismatic evidence for the short-lived Mercian rulers of the early and mid-820s who came after Coenwulf: Ceolwulf I, Beornwulf and Ludica (**1084–5**, **1087**). The two last are known virtually only from East Anglian pennies. Given the brevity of their reigns, coins for Ceolwulf and Beornwulf are comparatively common, in part thanks to an obscure early nineteenth-century hoard found in Suffolk, immediately across the county border near Yarmouth, Norfolk, deposited around the late 830s (*Checklist* 49) (Naismith 2011a, 1, 61–3). Output of coinage seems to have remained buoyant despite the difficulties facing the Mercian kingdom. All three kings were named on pennies produced in the same style as those of Coenwulf, with a portrait on the obverse and normally a cross on the reverse. Most of the East Anglian moneyers issued a three-line reverse type for Ceolwulf I, as some of their counterparts did at Canterbury and Rochester. Pennies of Ludica remain excessively rare – just six specimens survive – and must belong to the very last, brief period of Mercian rule, in the aftermath of Beornwulf's death fighting the East Angles.

The East Anglian mint became a significantly larger operation under Eadwald, Coenwulf and into the 820s (Naismith 2012c, 190–1). The five moneyers active under Eadwald included four who had earlier worked for Offa, which may well have been the standard complement: three to five moneyers tended to survive the changes of reign or type across much of the late eighth and early ninth century, although all six of Coenwulf's moneyers survived into Ceolwulf I's reign, perhaps reflecting the increased activity of the mint (or mints) by that time. It probably reverted to three to five moneyers in the 820s, and remained at that level under the subsequent independent East Anglian rulers (see Chapter 7, section (g), pp. 163–4).

5. *West Saxon mint(s)*

Southampton had, in the early and mid-eighth century, probably been the source of early pennies of Series H. There followed a long hiatus in West Saxon minting, only broken under Beorhtric. The coinage which emerged in his reign constitutes the beginning of a small but steady trickle of distinctly West Saxon moneyers, types and styles which extends across much of the ninth century, down to the reign of Æthelred I (Blackburn 2003a, 208–12) (see Chapter 7, section (d), p. 155). Southampton has the best case for being the principal mint-place, given its prior history of coin production and status as a coastal trading settlement, albeit one which was probably in decline by the middle of the ninth century (exactly the time when the West Saxon coinage becomes most exiguous). Winchester, an important ecclesiastical centre and favoured haunt for the West Saxon kings, should also be considered, and the relative diversity of style seen especially in the reign of Ecgberht might be a result of multiple small mint-places instead of sporadic production (Naismith 2011a, I, 43–4; Dolley 1970; attribution first suggested in Brooke 1950, 43).

Only three specimens are known of Beorhtric's coinage, in the names of two moneyers. Their non-portrait design is influenced by that of the Tribach type, placing their production in 797/8 or after and at a time when Beorhtric had emerged from the shadow of his father-in-law, Offa (M. Archibald in Webster and Backhouse 1991, 251; Naismith 2008b, 221; 2012c, 70–1, 120). One of these moneyers, Weohthun, survived into the reign of Ecgberht (**II76**) – an important point, as it suggests that production of Ecgberht's West Saxon coinage took place across the whole reign (Naismith 2008a). Earlier interpretations saw the West Saxon coinage beginning only in its latter part, as one other moneyer of Ecgberht survived into the reign of Æthelwulf (Blunt 1955–7a, 474–5; *MEC* I, 294–5). This long duration might explain the relatively large size and varied style of Ecgberht's West Saxon coinage compared with those of earlier and later rulers. All specimens of Ecgberht's West Saxon coinage conform to one of two non-portrait types, with either a monogram for *Saxon* on the obverse (**II76–7**), or (more rarely) *Saxoniorum* in three lines (**II74–5**); both types have a cross pattée on the reverse. They include approximately five stylistic groups, some characterised by quite crude epigraphy and a tendency to transpose letters in the legend (Naismith 2011a, I, 44–6).

The West Saxon mint was by far the smallest of the late eighth- and ninth-century mint-places. Only about forty coins survive from it in total, mostly belonging to the reign of Ecgberht, struck by a surprisingly large number of moneyers: twelve in total, with nine solely in the reign of Ecgberht (Naismith 2013d). The West Saxon coinage was therefore comparatively diverse, probably as a result of its limited scale and intermittent minting.

THE RISE OF WESSEX IN SOUTHERN ENGLAND

(a) HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The half-century between the battle of *Ellendun*/Wroughton in 825 and the chaos brought about by the Viking ‘Great Army’ in the 860s and 870s saw the last flowering of separate Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (Wormald 1982b). The kingdoms of Wessex, Mercia, Northumbria and East Anglia each still possessed their own dynasty; smaller kingdoms remained important as internal components of these larger polities, but no longer had the capacity for independent political action (for the case of Essex at this time, see Yorke 1985, 24, 36).

The status quo between the four main kingdoms was relatively stable during this period following a brief but tumultuous phase of warfare between Wessex and Mercia in the 820s. It was these military successes that established Wessex as a serious challenger to Mercian hegemony in southern England (Keynes 1995, 39–41). Ecgberht’s victory in 825 brought the south-east of England (Essex, Surrey, Sussex and Kent) under West Saxon control, and these territories were to remain important components of the West Saxon kingdom, more integrated into the workings of royal government than they had been under Mercian overlordship (Keynes 1993). Another campaign against Mercia in 829 made Ecgberht king of the Mercians (as well as the West Saxons) for a year, and he traversed the kingdom to meet with the ruler of the Northumbrians at Dore, South Yorkshire, as well. This action later prompted the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to acclaim Ecgberht as the eighth in a line of kings with dominion over all England south of the Humber, temporary though his supremacy was: Wiglaf, former king of the Mercians, regained the throne the following year (827–9, 830–40). After 830 there is no further evidence of direct conflict between the English kingdoms. That said, there are significant gaps in the record concerning Mercia and Wessex, while precious little information survives about Northumbria in the fifty or so years before its conquest by Vikings in 867 (see Chapter 5, section (g), pp. 119–25) and virtually nothing about East Anglia during the same period. This last kingdom had thrown off Mercian suzerainty in 825 and accepted Ecgberht as overlord of the East Angles, though its subsequent status is murky: two kings of the Mercians in succession – Beornwulf (in 825 or 826) and Ludica (in 827) – died fighting the East Angles. Coins indicate the existence of a separate native line of kings, whose alliterating names probably mean they were members of the same dynasty. The first two (Æthelstan and Æthelweard) are completely unknown from historical sources; only the third, St Edmund, re-emerges on to

the historical stage in hagiographical sources, having been martyred by the Vikings in 869. Two subsequent East Anglian rulers, Æthelred and Oswald, have left no trace besides their coins, and may well have been Viking appointees, similar to Ceolwulf II in Mercia (see Chapter 11, section (f), p. 287).

The developing rapport between Mercia and Wessex in the face of escalating Viking pressure is the central feature of southern England in this period, or at least the main one which can be traced in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Yorke 1990, 123; Keynes 1995, 41; 1998b, 2–11; Kirby 2000, 161). Rapprochement began in the time of Wiglaf's successor, Berhtwulf (840–52). Land south of the Thames in Berkshire, long under Mercian control, passed into the hands of the West Saxons (apparently peacefully), and there was co-operation between the moneyers of West Saxon Rochester and Mercian London (see below, section (d), pp. 156–7). During the reign of Burgred (852–74) the alliance between the West Saxons and Mercians strengthened. In 853 Burgred sought the assistance of Æthelwulf and the West Saxons in a military campaign against the Welsh, and afterwards married Æthelwulf's daughter. In the mid-860s Æthelred I presided over the adoption of the Mercian coin type in Wessex (see below), while in 868 the heir apparent to the West Saxon throne, Alfred, married the daughter of a Mercian ealdorman, and Burgred asked for West Saxon military assistance against the Viking army ensconced at Nottingham. This alliance set the stage for still closer collaboration in the reign of Alfred, this time under West Saxon leadership.

Joining forces against the Vikings helped ensure the survival of Wessex and part of Mercia in the face of a dangerous foe, but there were important differences between the two kingdoms stemming from their earlier history. Knowledge of Mercian and West Saxon internal politics is informed particularly vividly by analysis of charters. Mercia in many ways perpetuated the pattern of power seen in the eighth century: families of territorial ealdormen from the heartland of Mercia dominated the scene, with the king being first among equals (Yorke 1990, 124–6; Keynes 2001c, 311–23) and apparently having to supplement his resources by exploitation of the major minsters (Wormald 1982b, 138–9). The kings from 796 onwards probably belonged to at least three different royal kindreds (distinguished by names beginning with the initials B, C and W) who vied for power over several decades – potentially much more aggressively than the scant sources would suggest (Yorke 1990, 118–20; Keynes 2001b, 315–17). The West Saxon kingdom saw greater integration between its different segments, east and west (including collaboration with the powerful archbishop of Canterbury), as well as in the production of documents (Keynes 1994b) and within the larger hierarchy of the elite: royal appointment and office-holding seem already to have been the key considerations (Keynes 2001b, 323–8). The West Saxon royal establishment derived much of its strength from a tight-knit and carefully managed ruling family, which kept the throne within the same dynasty for more than two hundred years from 802. Prospective ninth-century heirs starting with Ecgberht's son Æthelwulf cut their teeth as sub-kings of Kent before succeeding to the whole kingdom, and delicate arrangements were made between the four sons of Æthelwulf (Æthelbald, Æthelberht, Æthelred and Alfred) to guarantee a smooth succession from brother to brother after their father's death in 858 (Nelson 1986, 55–6). The brothers' concern regarding the succession doubtless stemmed from the rebellion of the eldest surviving brother, Æthelbald, against Æthelwulf on his return from pilgrimage to Rome in 856, which led to a temporary split between the south-east and old Wessex (see below, section (e), pp. 157–9 with Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, chap. 12, ed. Stevenson 1959, 9–10, trans. Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 70, with comment on 234–5; also Naismith 2012c, 109–12; Kirby 2000, 164–7).

The rise of Wessex is the outstanding development of the mid-ninth century. In 825 Wessex lay relatively quietly in the shadow if not quite the overlordship of Mercia. Ecgberht's conquests of the 820s expanded the kingdom's boundaries and subdued Mercia, creating a powerful new political entity which spanned and dominated southern England. This is not to say that Ecgberht, his son and heir Æthelwulf, or the kings of the 860s and 870s aimed at the creation of a unified pan-English state under West Saxon leadership, or that Mercia was a completely spent power by 830: as late as 836 Wiglaf presided (with the archbishop of Canterbury) over a council of the whole Southumbrian ecclesiastical province at Croft, Leicestershire (S 190: Brooks 1984, 145; Kirby 2000, 158). The Viking onslaught of the 860s and after transformed the political landscape of England (Pratt 2007a, 93–111), and in the process led the surviving English rulers – eventually just the kings of Wessex – to adopt a radically new form of kingship (see below).

(b) LITERATURE

Study of the coinage of this period was for a long time bedevilled by a tendency to separate individual 'heptarchic' kingdoms from one another (e.g. Ruding 1840, I, 115–23; Lindsay 1845; *BMC*, where Wessex is separated out in a second volume), even though it was occasionally conceded (e.g. Hawkins 1841, 58) that there were important links between them. It was therefore difficult to gain an overall view of the series and its historical context, and specific coinages presented still greater difficulties. Absence of detailed background in East Anglia meant that it was not until the pioneering work of Daniel Haigh (1845) that the coins of Eadwald and Æthelweard were correctly assigned to this series instead of to Mercia and Wessex respectively. The existence of two Mercian kings named Ceolwulf also posed a challenge. Ruding, on the analogy of the Lunettes coinage, assigned coins with a three-line reverse to Ceolwulf II and all others to Ceolwulf I (Ruding 1840, I, 119–20), while Hawkins separated the coins on an orthographic basis, assigning coins with CEOLVULF to the first king and CIOLVULF to the second (Hawkins 1831; 1841, 27–9). The arrangement still accepted by modern scholarship – that the Cross and Lozenge coins belong to Ceolwulf II, the rest to Ceolwulf I – was reached by John Lindsay on the basis of careful and intelligent analysis of moneyers and hoard provenances (Lindsay 1835; 1842, 32–6).

Current understanding of the coinage has followed two courses – analysis of individual kings, and of multiple kingdoms – the point in both cases being to move away from the 'heptarchic' arrangement of earlier times, with its implication of deeper distinctions between the coinages of separate kingdoms than was often the case. Christopher Blunt produced an important early paper on Ecgberht of Wessex in which he distinguished the products of different kingdoms and traditions as well as several chronological groupings (Blunt 1955–7a), and Michael Dolley and Kolbjørn Skaare (1961) looked in similar detail at Æthelwulf, arriving at a scheme of three mint-places and up to four or five phases of minting. Blunt *et al.* (1963) included a catalogue of the period 796–825 which was still arranged by kingdom, but preceded by extensive discussion of the interconnections between the Mercian, West Saxon and other issues of the period. This study in particular revealed how closely intertwined the numismatic history of Southumbrian England was in this period, when the few working mints changed hands between Mercian, West Saxon and other dynasties several times. Study of the complex Lunettes type also showcased the advantages of a holistic approach to the coinage of Wessex and Mercia, beginning with a

pioneering paper by Hugh Pagan (1965), and continuing in articles by Adrian Lyons and William MacKay (Lyons and MacKay 2007; 2008). Since the 1980s an integrated treatment of the ninth century has become prevalent, both in surveys (Pagan 1986) and in catalogues (*MEC* 1; Naismith 2011a).

(c) GENERAL FEATURES OF THE COINAGE

As in the time of Coenwulf, the coinage consisted solely of silver pennies, supplemented occasionally by gold pieces for high-value transactions; silver coins from overseas seem for the most part to have been melted down and reminted on arriving in the country. The organisation of the coinage also remained based on moneyers working in the name of the king. The archbishop of Canterbury is the only other authority named on pennies struck in southern England during this time. A few sporadic issues from Rochester may have been produced under the aegis of the local bishop, though he is never explicitly named.

The trend towards a small number of mint-places apparent under Offa and Coenwulf persisted and arguably even strengthened in the middle of the ninth century (Naismith 2012c, 128–32). Rochester faded away completely in the 850s, the West Saxon mint (or mints) virtually so from the 840s, though it apparently continued to produce coins on a minimal scale into the 860s (Blackburn 2003a, 208–12; Naismith 2008a). Otherwise, minting was largely associated with Canterbury, London and an East Anglian mint (Ipswich?), which all continued to work on a significant scale. All supported several moneyers at any one time: during the later stages of the Inscribed Cross and Lunettes coinages, Canterbury and latterly also London may have had more than a dozen moneyers working at the same time. Very few mint names appear on coins of this period, however, meaning that it is difficult to move with certainty from associating stylistic groups of dies to specific mint attributions of moneyers. Stylistically anomalous pieces could represent small mint-places away from the main centres of production: a small mint may have operated in the west midlands in the time of Burgred, for example (Pagan and Stewart 1989). These early steps towards minting away from the traditional south-eastern core would be developed later in the ninth century and after (see Chapter 8, section (c), p. 168 and Chapter 9, section (g), pp. 189–93). There may also have been minor mint-places supplied with dies from London or Canterbury. Yet any such mints must have been closely dependent on London, Canterbury or Ipswich, for the bulk of the coinage is stylistically indistinguishable, and the suspicion must be that any additional mint-places beyond the major ones named on coins or identifiable by other means were small, few and short-lived.

Metrology was generally quite conservative in this period, and most coinages seem to have been based, at least broadly, on the weight standard of about 1.40–1.45g established late in Offa's reign. There was a certain amount of variation below this weight, but not of sufficient consistency to reveal a lower alternative standard, and the distribution generally remains comparable with that of Offa's Heavy coinage (Naismith 2011a, 1, 129–36; 2012c, 178–80). Metallic content remained similarly close to the standards of the eighth century until approximately 840 (Metcalf and Northover 1989). After that, the coinages of different kingdoms became progressively more debased, reaching a nadir in the Lunettes coinage with just 10–20 per cent silver in some cases, though there were periodic efforts to improve the metal standard, outlined below.

Table 10. *Summary of phases of coinage at identifiable mint-places in southern England, c. 825–75. Probable breaks in production are shaded.*

LONDON	CANTERBURY		ROCHESTER	WESSEX	EAST ANGLIA
	Royal	Archiepiscopal			
827–9: Wiglaf	825–c. 828: Ecgberht (early coinage)		825–c. 830: Ecgberht (early coinage)	802–39: Ecgberht (sporadic?)	825–7: Ludica
829–30: Ecgberht	c. 828–39: Ecgberht (DORB–C)	c. 828–32: Wulfred (DORB–C)	c. 830–9: Ecgberht (later coinage)		c. 827–c. 830: Æthelstan (portrait)
830–40: Wiglaf (?)		832–9: Ceolnoth (DORB–C)			c. 830–7/8: Æthelstan (Early Non-portrait)
	839–c. 844: Æthelwulf (SAXONIORVM)	839–c. 844: Ceolnoth (monogram)	839–c. 844: Æthelwulf (SAXONIORVM)	839–58: Æthelwulf (sporadic?)	c. 837/8–45: Æthelstan (Late Non-portrait)
	c. 844–9: Æthelwulf (First Portrait)	c. 844–9: Ceolnoth (Chi-Rho and related)	c. 844–6/7: Æthelwulf (Non-portrait)		c. 845–55: Æthelweard
c. 846/7–52: Berhtwulf			c. 846/7–9: Æthelwulf (‘Berhtwulf’ portrait)		
	c. 849–54: Æthelwulf (DORB/CANT)	c. 849–54: Ceolnoth (Civitas type)	c. 849–54: Æthelwulf (DORB/CANT)		
852–74: Burgred	c. 854–8: Æthelwulf (Inscribed Cross)	c. 854–64: Ceolnoth (Inscribed Cross)	c. 854–8: Æthelwulf (Inscribed Cross)		855–c. 862: Edmund (Early)
	858–c. 864: Æthelberht (Inscribed Cross)		858–c. 865: Æthelberht (Inscribed Cross)		
	c. 864–5: Æthelberht (Floreate Cross)	c. 864–5: Ceolnoth (Floreate Cross)			c. 862–9: Edmund (Late)
	865–c. 866: Æthelred I (Four Line)	c. 865–70: Ceolnoth (Lunettes)		865–71: Æthelred I (sporadic?)	
	c. 866–71: Æthelred I (Lunettes)				c. 870: Æthelred and Oswald
	871–c. 875: Alfred (Lunettes)				

In terms of numismatic iconography, it must be admitted that the mid-ninth century is in many ways a low point. Coin design was often purely epigraphic and sometimes crudely executed. Busts, when used, were derived from the profile models first introduced under Coenwulf (Naismith 2012c, 64–6) and were simple and linear in character. The coins of this period nevertheless remain a critical historical resource. Ecgberht's conquest of London and Mercia is vividly reflected on a small but significant issue of pennies (see below), which demonstrates a keen awareness of the symbolic significance coinage could hold as a statement of authority. A coin of an otherwise unknown king, Eanred, presents a puzzle to historians and numismatists (see Chapter 5, section (g), pp. 126–7). The Inscribed Cross issue of Wessex in the 850s can probably be linked to the troubled events of Æthelwulf's later years, and the unification of the West Saxon with the Mercian coinage in the mid-860s marks the culmination of the close economic and political bonds which had tied the two kingdoms together for some years already.

Single-finds decline in quantity and relative importance for this period (Naismith 2012c, 209–10, 224–9), the bulk of material deriving instead from a number of important hoards (summarised for the period to 865 in Naismith 2011a, I, 59–82). The largest and most important among these are the Middle Temple hoard of 1893, deposited around 840 and containing some 241 coins of the preceding forty years (*Checklist* 50; Grueber 1894; Naismith 2011a, I, 64–5), and the Dorking hoard of 1817, deposited in the early 860s and containing around 700 coins (*Checklist* 58; Combe 1821; Naismith 2011a, I, 71–7). Dorking in particular has powerfully influenced impressions of the coinage of this period: its abundant Inscribed Cross pennies appear relatively common on the basis of their representation in modern collections, but are rare in other contexts. In contrast, the Floreate Cross coinage produced thereafter appears to be extraordinarily rare because no major hoard from its probably brief period of currency happens to have survived. The Lunettes period is extremely well known thanks to a glut of hoards in the 870s, presumably to be associated with escalating Viking attacks.

The complex history of the ninth-century coinage can usefully be approached through each individual mint, for their periods of rule by different kings do not coincide, and in some cases different mints under the same king had sharply divergent histories. The presentation below follows a combination of chronological and geographical divisions, summarised in Table 10.

(d) THE AGE OF ECGBERHT AND ÆTHELWULF (825–c. 854)

1. Canterbury

The long-established mint-town of Canterbury retained its prominence throughout the reign of Ecgberht, being by far the most productive and best represented among surviving coins. Normally it housed approximately six to eight moneyers at any one time (though it could accommodate considerably more when necessary), and it was the most stable and durable of the ninth-century mint-towns. Its inscriptions at this time reflect the West Saxon dynasty's general attitude towards rule in Kent (Keynes 1993): twice it drew explicit attention to the mint-town and once even to the area of production. Only once did its coins carry the name of the Saxons whose leaders were now the overlords of the region. In this period, the orthographic forms of both kings' names and moneyers' names tend to show evidence of Kentish dialectal influence (Bibire 1998; Naismith 2012c, 77–9), though this was to change in the later Inscribed Cross coinage.

Ecgbert's first coinage from Canterbury (**1178–80**) was very much in the mould of that of his predecessor, Baldred, with the important difference that the archbishop's coinage seems to have been temporarily suppressed, arguably in retaliation for Wulfred's support of the Mercian regime (Blunt *et al.* 1963, 22; Brooks 1984, 136–7; Naismith 2012c, 107). The pennies were made by the same complement of moneyers and carried busts identical to those of Baldred (though some were also without a portrait), combined with one of several ornamental reverse designs. Blunt (1955–7a, 468) suggested that the coins with portraits were produced somewhat earlier than those without, but it is now apparent that during the earlier 820s there was a tradition of contemporaneous portrait and non-portrait issues in Canterbury (Naismith 2011a, 1, 21). However, after only a few years this eclectic coinage was replaced with the more distinct DOROB-C type (**1183–6**). This substantial issue was the work of a somewhat enlarged complement of moneyers, although as they worked over a period of about a decade, the number active at any one time may have remained stable at approximately six (Naismith 2011a, 1, 22–3). All moneyers used an identical design of a bust and a reverse monogram reminiscent of that of Charlemagne, spelling out the Latin name of the mint (*Dorobernia*), and some measure of Carolingian influence cannot be ruled out in the design and standardisation of the issue. Even the archiepiscopal coinage, which was revived in the last years of Wulfred, followed the DOROB-C design – the first time the archiepiscopal moneyers had done so since the dawn of the ninth century (Naismith 2012c, 107). The DOROB-C issue marks a new trend in the royal coinage of Kent towards greater unity, at this stage still confined to Canterbury itself, but which would provide an important model in the reign of Ecgbert's son Æthelwulf (Naismith 2012c, 107).

Æthelwulf's reign was neatly and convincingly broken down in Dolley and Skaare (1961) into four clear phases, during each of which a more-or-less standardised design was used by all the moneyers at Canterbury. Each of these is known by a name derived from its design.

1. The SAXONIORVM type, so-called for the unusually lengthy royal title, specifying the people of whom Æthelwulf was king (**1192–8**). This design was borrowed from some rare (and probably late) coins of the West Saxon mint produced under Ecgbert, and may have been selected in Kent to stress the accession of a new West Saxon king (*MEC* 1, 289).
2. The First Portrait type (**1199–1201**), as the name suggests, placed a right-facing bust of the king on the obverse, while the reverse carried a variety of cruciform designs. Two stylistic groups can be distinguished within this coinage, which can be labelled 'refined' and 'crude' (Pagan 1986, 51); one and possibly both contain subdivisions, for instance a derivative and less accomplished variant on the 'refined' style (Naismith 2011a, 1, 24–5). This comparative diversity could be a signal that the First Portrait type lasted longer than Æthelwulf's other coin types, although there is no way to confirm this.
3. Æthelwulf's third coinage from Canterbury is known as the DOR(I)B(I)/CANT type for the letters which occupy the obverse and reverse fields, to the exclusion of a portrait or cross (**1208–9**). There is some variation in which inscription occupies the obverse (with the king's name and title) and the reverse (with the moneyer's name). The words chosen spell out the name of the territory, Kent (*Cantia*), and of the city; indeed, the abbreviated form of mint name was also appropriate to Rochester (*Dorobrebria*), which may explain the selection of these particular legends on the first West Saxon coin issue to be produced at multiple mints (Pagan 1986, 51–5).

4. The Inscribed or Open Cross type was the last coin type produced under Æthelwulf at Canterbury (1211–16), and continued into the reign of his son. It reverted to a right-facing bust on the obverse, with the letters of the moneyer's name and position distributed on and around a cross on the reverse. It is discussed in detail below in section (e), pp. 157–9.

Parallel archiepiscopal issues were produced alongside the four coinages of Æthelwulf, all with the facing bust which had become standard for archiepiscopal pennies since the 800s. The first combined this with a simplified form of *Dorovernia* monogram on the reverse (982–3); the second with a variety of cross motifs (984); and the third with a cross carrying the letters *civitas* arranged in its angles (985). The fourth adopted the Inscribed Cross reverse of the royal coinage, with the archiepiscopal title and bust on the obverse. It is assumed, albeit for no very compelling reason, that these coinages correspond chronologically to the four royal issues. But while the first two archiepiscopal types are quite substantial, the third is much scarcer, and it may not have lasted as long as the corresponding royal issue (DOR(I)B(I)/CANT), though this too is rarer than earlier royal issues (Naismith 2011a, 1, 25–6; Pagan 1986, 54, 57, 63).

Although the order of these royal and archiepiscopal issues is clear from the evidence of hoards, it is difficult to arrive at definitive dates for the duration of each type. Dolley and Skaare (1961, 70–3) proposed that the Viking descent on Kent in 851 coincided with an apparent watershed in the coinage at the end of DOR(I)B(I)/CANT when many moneyers of long standing disappeared abruptly. A slight modification by Pagan (1986, 57) was that perhaps a scaled-back version of the issue persisted, manifested at Canterbury in the work of the moneyer Hebeca. But there is no evidence that the raid of 851 affected Rochester, where there was similar discontinuity to Canterbury. There was also more stability among the archiepiscopal moneyers at Canterbury: in other words, the 851 raid may not have been the sole factor behind the fluctuations in the coinage around this time (Naismith 2011a, 1, 23–6). The Inscribed Cross coinage may have begun either immediately after the raid of 851 (Dolley and Skaare 1961, 73; Lyon 1968) or a few years later (Pagan 1986; Naismith 2011a, 1, 25–6, 29–30; see also below, section (e), pp. 157–9). A limited degree of metallic debasement has been detected in coins of Canterbury from the beginning of Æthelwulf's reign: initially to 80–90 per cent pure, but descending to 50–60 per cent pure between the mid-840s and 850s (Naismith 2011a, 1, 145–6).

2. Rochester

Under Ecgberht and Æthelwulf Rochester enjoyed a period of relative stability before entering a seemingly terminal decline in the mid-850s: it cannot be securely identified as a functioning mint-town again until the tenth century.

At the outset of Ecgberht's rule in the south-east, however, it was a substantial establishment supporting about three moneyers at any one time, rising to a peak of perhaps five or six in the 840s and early 850s, just a few years before its effective closure (Pagan 1986, 51–5). Rochester did not take its cues exclusively from the larger mint-town of Canterbury; it had ties of long standing with London and was an important player in its own right in the small world of the south-eastern monetary system. If it is true that Rochester owed its origins to the downturn of the London moneyers (beginning *c.* 800), its buoyancy in the mid-ninth century probably stemmed from the support it gave to London's recovery under Berhtwulf (see below), while

its closure *c.* 860 resulted from a more substantial and independent resumption of minting in London in the middle of Burgred's reign.

The coins issued at Rochester under Ecgberht consist of both portrait and non-portrait types (**1181–2**, **1189–91**). It is likely (*pace* Blunt 1955–7a) that both types were issued concurrently, as had been the custom in Canterbury and Rochester under earlier kings (Naismith 2011a, 1, 27). A few of the coins of Ecgberht's reign repeat another occasional feature of Rochester's in the early ninth-century issues: reference to the moneyer is replaced with the name of the mint-town or, in this case, the ecclesiastical element of the design is emphasised by naming St Andrew, patron saint of the cathedral (**1189**). The moneyer's name is sometimes also absent under Ceolwulf I and Æthelwulf (Blunt *et al.* 1963, 22–5). All three potentially ecclesiastical issues belong to the episcopacy of Beornmod (803×805–842×844), and recall the provision for one moneyer given to the bishop of Rochester in the Grately coinage decrees preserved in a law-code of Æthelstan (see Chapter 9, section (f), pp. 188–9). The Ecgberht coinage in particular strongly suggests episcopal involvement, if perhaps in a less direct and established way than that of the archbishop of Canterbury: the coins may reflect an *ad hominem* concession, or a privilege normally exercised without any effect on the design of coins (Naismith 2012c, 123).

Rochester's coinage in the first decade of Æthelwulf's reign is very complex. It demonstrates links with both Canterbury and London, and includes a range of types often known from relatively few surviving coins. These can most likely be broken down into four principal groups, beginning with a pair of quite different coinages: a non-portrait coinage closely related to the SAXONIORVM type of Canterbury but in this case with a still longer title (OCCIDENTALIVM SAXONIORVM) and no moneyer's name (**1194**); and a relatively crude portrait coinage (similar in style to the probably episcopal coinage of Ecgberht) produced by three moneyers (**1195–8**). It has been argued that the non-portrait coinage without moneyer's names belongs first, for it survives in a relatively large number of specimens and may represent the work of several moneyers all temporarily suppressing their names (Booth 1998, 69–70) – but it fits equally well into a tradition of coinages at Rochester which avoid naming the moneyer (Lyon 1968, 224; Naismith 2011a, 1, 27–8). Both coinages are strongly represented in the Middle Temple hoard hidden around 840.

At some point after the deposition of the Middle Temple hoard another pair of closely related coin types emerged at Rochester, one without (**1202–5**) and one with a portrait (**1206–8**), but sharing some common elements in geometric reverse design. On balance it is more likely that these coinages were produced consecutively (Dolley and Skaare 1961, 71; Booth 1998, 70–1), but the evidence is so scarce that alternative arrangements cannot be ruled out (Naismith 2011a, 1, 28–9). The later, non-portrait segment of this coinage is closely linked with London in the time of Berhtwulf, by style and the work of certain moneyers, when Rochester's minting establishment helped re-establish production at London (see below). After this coinage, Rochester again fell into line with Canterbury in producing the DORIBI/CANT type, with inscriptions that could be suited to the location and Latin names of both cities. There is no evidence for which of the two took the initiative with this coinage, and given the high production standards of DORIBI/CANT at Rochester (Pagan 1986, 54) and the mint-town's level of activity in the years immediately preceding, it cannot be assumed that the coinage originated at Canterbury.

As at Canterbury, the dates of the coin issues of Rochester under Ecgberht and Æthelwulf are very difficult to arrive at: the dates in Table 10 represent judgements based roughly on the apparent level of activity in each phase of coinage, and are necessarily tentative (*MEC* 1, 290). Some debasement

can be detected in pennies of Rochester from the mid-840s, when the alloy descended from more than 90 per cent pure to 70–75 per cent: higher than contemporary Canterbury, and similar to London under Berhtwulf (Naismith 2011a, I, 145–6).

3. *The West Saxon mint(s)*

Beginning with the reign of Beorhtric, at least one small mint-place began to produce silver pennies in Wessex. No mint name(s) ever appear on the relevant coins, with the result that no attribution to a specific location can be made, though Winchester and Southampton have both been suggested (see Chapter 6, section (d), p. 145).

Ecgerht's long reign provides by far the most coins from this small mint-place: about forty in total (II74–7). Some of these carry a monogram of *Saxon[um]* on the obverse (II76–7), others the word *SAXONIORVM* in three lines (the inspiration for the type of the same name produced at Canterbury and Rochester early in the reign of Æthelwulf) (II74–5) (Brooke 1950, 43; Blunt 1955–7a, 474–5). The *SAXONIORVM* type may have predominated later, but the monogram survived into the reign of Æthelwulf as well as appearing on what were probably some of the earliest issues of Ecgerht. A number of stylistic groupings can be identified within the coinage, each represented by several moneyers. However, most moneyers' coins include work of multiple styles, suggesting that these perhaps represent different craftsmen within the same centre rather than multiple small mint-places (Naismith 2011a, I, 43–6). Just two coins of Æthelwulf are known from the West Saxon mint, one by a moneyer known under Ecgerht, the other by a moneyer active under Æthelred I, suggesting much reduced activity (perhaps in the wake of a Viking attack on Southampton in 840) but a tangible level of continuity (Blackburn 2003a, 208–12).

Despite the scarcity of surviving specimens of West Saxon coins, they carry the names of at least twelve moneyers, several of them known from only one or two surviving coins (Naismith 2013e). In a coinage of such duration it is conceivable that this represents the natural turnover at a place where two or three moneyers worked at any one time (nine moneyers, for example, are represented in the period 807–21 at Canterbury). But it is also possible that the West Saxon mint operated on a smaller and more sporadic basis which lent itself to occasional work by a larger number of moneyers.

4. *London*

London's output had already fallen to a minute level by the mid-820s, and Wiglaf's reign (827–9, 830–40) is known from only a dozen coins struck by three moneyers. Of these moneyers, one is also known for Ecgerht's rare coinage as king of the Mercians, one from earlier in the 820s, and the last solely from this reign. The picture is one of small-scale and occasional activity. It is likely that Wiglaf's coins were issued sporadically both before and after Ecgerht's brief spell as king of the Mercians in 829–30; the portrait coins have generally been attributed to the earlier phase, the non-portrait ones to the later (Blunt *et al.* 1963, 34). All of the non-portrait coins are similar in design to those of 829–30, and were issued by the same moneyer as the Ecgerht coinage. However, the coins are so few that it is difficult to arrive at a firm conclusion, and it is entirely possible that, as at contemporary Canterbury and Rochester, moneyers produced portrait and non-portrait types side by side (Naismith 2011a, I, 13), or that the entire coinage of Wiglaf had run its course by the time Ecgerht took over London in 829–30 (*MEC* I, 292).



Figure 7. Penny issued in the name of Æthelwulf and Berhtwulf (from the British Museum; photographs from SCBI).

When Ecgberht briefly took over the kingdom of the Mercians in the year 829–30, his achievement was recognised by coins from London naming him king of the Mercians (REX M[erciorum]). About five examples survive, all issued by the same moneyer, who is also known from the coinage of Wiglaf (except for one coin, which is without a moneyer's name). Unusually, Ecgberht's London coinage can be identified with some confidence as a 'propaganda' issue, for all specimens prominently carry his title as king of the Mercians, and one replaces the moneyer's name on the reverse with the mint name: an extremely unusual move at this time, which is best explained with reference to the known symbolic importance of London (Naismith 2012c, 48). It should be noted that Ecgberht was apparently only styled 'king of the Mercians' (REX M[erciorum]) on these coins of London. As far as the issues of Kent and Wessex were concerned, he remained 'king of the Saxons'.

Even if Wiglaf's coinage did persist after 830, it cannot have done so on a large scale, and London is not represented by any surviving coins which can be reliably attributed to the later 830s or even the early 840s. When minting did resume (presumably at London) in the name of a Mercian ruler, Berhtwulf, it was of a wholly different character to that of Wiglaf. The new coins for the most part carried busts, combined with a variety of reverse designs including several forms of cross and an alpha/omega monogram. Detailed analysis has shown how the beginning of this new coinage was the product of collaboration between London and the nearby mint-town of Rochester (North 1961; Booth 1998). North's Group I includes an initial 'Bust A' which was apparently the product of Rochester die-cutters (or, less probably, minting at Rochester: Lyon 1968, 228–9) along with a number of other styles of bust which were made in imitation of the Rochester dies (with varying levels of success). Two of the seven moneyers recorded using dies of this style are also known from Rochester in the same period, and may have been based at London for the duration of the coinage. Moreover, this period of close collaboration between London and Rochester gave rise to a puzzling coin with the name of Berhtwulf on the obverse and that of Æthelwulf on the reverse (Naismith 2011a, L32a) (Fig. 7). This has sometimes been interpreted as a formal issue denoting an alliance between the two kings (Brooke 1950, 251; Lyon 1968, 229), but the reverse die is not of regular style (*MEC* 1, 292–3; Pagan 1986, 56). The coin could simply be an unofficial product, perhaps from London's first steps towards independence after its earlier support from Rochester (Booth 1998, 76); even were this so, it still reflects the deep connections between the two kingdoms at this point. Of these there can be no doubt, for the evidence of the coins fits very well with other signs of improving relations between Wessex and Mercia in the mid-ninth century, such as dynastic marriages and collaboration against Viking invaders (Naismith 2011a, 1, 14–15; Keynes 1998b, 4–6). The bond between the moneyers of London and those of Rochester was not necessarily an initiative taken directly by Berhtwulf and Æthelwulf, however. Although collaboration is clearly demonstrable it was at a very technical level, and did not result in any coins which openly indicate their unusual circumstances of production. It was probably the result of

efforts undertaken by those directly responsible for producing the coinage in a climate of openness and co-operation between the two kingdoms.

After the Rochester-related issue, a second major stylistic group subsequently emerged: North's Group II. Marked by a new form of bust of quite distinct style, this segment of the coinage shows a high degree of variation, especially in reverse designs: virtually every coin differs in some respect. Seven moneyers are known for this issue, four of them familiar from the earlier coinage, but not including either of those from Rochester. This distinct London coinage marks the maturity of the new minting establishment, which had moved towards a more independent organisation. There are even signals that fresh steps may have been taken in the last years of the coinage. Non-portrait types emerged, one with an uncial M obverse design reminiscent of coins from the age of Offa (Naismith 2011a, I, 14); another is reminiscent of issues from the 820s, but carries the name of the one moneyer of Berhtwulf to survive into the reign of Burgred, placing it towards the end of the reign (Naismith 2011a, I, 15; Blunt *et al.* 1963, 36). Innovation in the last years of Berhtwulf may have been based on recourse to known and respected coinages of the past (Booth 1998, 79; North 1961, 215).

London, like Canterbury, suffered at the hands of a Viking raid in 851: it may be the explanation for the sudden cessation of Berhtwulf's coinage, and for the very limited continuity of moneyers between his reign and that of Burgred. There are also difficulties in assigning dates to the earlier segment of the coinage. This essentially depends on when one dates the segment of Rochester's coinage that is associated with the resumption of minting at London. The current best estimate would place this in the mid-840s (see above; also *MEC* I, 292–3).

(e) THE INSCRIBED CROSS AND RELATED COINAGES OF WESSEX (c. 854–65)

After a possible caesura in the coinage of Kent in the early 850s, the last coinage issued by Æthelwulf was an attractive portrait issue known as the Inscribed Cross (or Open Cross) type. It continued in the reign of his son Æthelberht, first (presumably) in his capacity as king of Kent (858–60), and latterly as king of both Kent and Wessex (860–5). No genuine Inscribed Cross pennies of Æthelbald (king of Wessex 858–60) are known, although a number of modern forgeries were produced (Naismith 2011a, I, 34). There are also a substantial number of Inscribed Cross coins in the name of Archbishop Ceolnoth, probably introduced around the same time as Æthelwulf's.

The Inscribed Cross coinage is the first of several possible *renovatio* coinages issued by West Saxon and Mercian rulers between the 850s and about 880 (Blackburn 2003a, 202–5); that is to say, it may have started a trend of largely replacing the preceding type(s) in circulation with a new one, in order to guarantee against forgery, maintain uniformity and produce income for the minting authorities (Pagan 1986, 57–61; Lyon 1968, 227). This change in policy should probably be ascribed to the turbulent political circumstances of the West Saxon kingdom in the 850s (Naismith 2012c, 109–12). In 854 King Æthelwulf gave a tenth of all his property away and left England on pilgrimage to Rome. There is no specific evidence for when the Inscribed Cross coinage began, but these efforts, intended as a general affirmation of faith and good government, would present an appropriate context (Naismith 2011a, I, 33). During its first years, the Inscribed Cross coinage was relatively small in scale, and moneyers known from earlier coinages at Rochester and Canterbury produced coins of distinct styles at both mints (Naismith 2011a, I, 30–2). However, on his

way back to England in 856 Æthelwulf paused in the West Frankish kingdom, where he married King Charles the Bald's daughter Judith. This new marriage created the possibility of additional children, which challenged the position of his adult sons. Shortly thereafter, according to Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, Æthelwulf's eldest son, Æthelbald, led a rebellion against his father in Wessex. Æthelbald succeeded in preventing his father's re-entry into Wessex, and eventually the two of them reached an agreement that Æthelbald would retain the old heartland of Wessex, while Æthelwulf would rule the south-east (possibly in conjunction with Æthelberht).

It is likely that the sudden and dramatic expansion of the Inscribed Cross coinage later in its duration reflects the reduced circumstances of Æthelwulf's last years as king, for a substantial minting operation was one of the few resources which the south-east possessed but Wessex did not. The number of moneyers rose significantly: a dozen in total are known under Æthelwulf at Canterbury, just two of whom can be traced in earlier coinages. Under Æthelberht, the total number of moneyers rose as high as fifty. Archbishop Ceolnoth also shared in this coinage, and is known from eleven further moneyers. This expansion also brought centralisation in the structure of the coinage. A single distinct style began to be used by all the moneyers at both Canterbury and Rochester; it is similar to that used at Canterbury early in the reign, indicating that Canterbury may now have been supplying the Rochester moneyers with dies as well, and potentially also other unnamed mint-places. In the reign of Æthelberht, it becomes impossible to trace any moneyers at Rochester, and no more can be attributed there with any confidence until the time of Æthelstan.

This expansion in the number of moneyers may have been needed to accommodate the demands of a recoinage, or indeed to provide a source of income in its own right if moneyers were required to pay a fee to the king in order to operate (Blackburn 2003a, 204). Inscribed Cross was also the most debased West Saxon coinage produced up to that point, falling as low as 25–30 per cent silver (Naismith 2011a, I, 146–7), which was probably similar to contemporary Mercian coinage and would be consistent with a recoinage that users were required to convert to and accept. Evidence of Inscribed Cross's status from actual finds is less secure. About half of the Dorking hoard of 1817 (deposited in the early 860s) consisted of Inscribed Cross pennies – meaning that there were many older coins in the hoard. However, pennies of the most recent types from outside Wessex were significantly scarcer: only one penny of Burgred was included, along with three of Edmund of East Anglia (Naismith 2011a, I, 71–7). Inscribed Cross pennies seem to have been very dominant, therefore, among coins which may have been in most active circulation. Further hoards would do much to secure the picture of Inscribed Cross as a *renovatio* type, but as things stand a good case can be made that this coinage re-established a model of currency management which was to play a major role in the kingdoms of Wessex and, later, England.

Coins from the later years of Æthelberht suggest that the precedent of the Inscribed Cross coinage was already being pursued with another recoinage before 865. A possible experimental piece from the final years of Inscribed Cross, after the deposit of the Dorking hoard, carries an Inscribed Cross-style obverse and a cross pattée on the reverse; a similar specimen of Ceolnoth has a cross-crosslet reverse combined with an Inscribed Cross obverse (Naismith 2011a, I, 34–5, 173–4). These constitute a prelude to a poorly known but ambitious recoinage from the very last years of the reign. The attractive Floreate Cross issue is only known from about twenty specimens, including two of Archbishop Ceolnoth. It belongs to the years immediately before 865, with various commentators suggesting 'the early 860s' (MEC I, 310), 863 (Pagan 1986, 60) or 864 (Naismith 2011a, I, 34), the last by analogy with a major reform undertaken by Charles the Bald. Metallurgical analysis

of one specimen (up to 84 per cent pure) suggests an attempt to improve the alloy of the late Inscribed Cross pennies, which would be consistent with a recoinage, while there is also a small but significant hoard which apparently consisted entirely of coins of this type (Naismith 2011a, 1, 77–8). Restored purity may have been one factor in the undoing of the Floreate Cross type, if users found a significant discrepancy in intrinsic value between West Saxon and Mercian coins, to the advantage of the latter; this would also explain the adoption of the Mercian Lunettes type in the mid-860s.

Taken as a whole, these few coins provide important testimony to the monetary dynamism of Wessex in the 850s and 860s. Kings gradually asserted a more direct and influential role in the coinage: first with centralisation of production within a single large mint-town (DOROB-C); ten years later with a type which spanned traditionally separate minting establishments (DORIBI/CANT); and immediately thereafter with a programme of recoinages (Inscribed Cross and Floreate Cross). The last step came in the reign of Æthelred I when Wessex abandoned a separate coin type and instead adopted that of Mercia. Most of these steps can be paralleled among earlier issues, but their gradual and linear development in West Saxon Kent in the middle third of the ninth century is an important demonstration of the dynasty's policies and power.

(f) THE LUNETTES COINAGE OF MERCIA AND WESSEX (c. 854–75)

The coinage begun early in the reign of Burgred at London combined a royal bust on the obverse with the moneyer's name in three lines on the reverse, sometimes separated by lines or crescents, for which reason the coin type has been known to scholarship as Lunettes since the type-descriptions of *BMC* (I, 46–7) in the 1880s. The Lunettes coinage of Burgred continued throughout his reign, with complex variations in design and style; remarkably, it was also adopted by Æthelred I of Wessex and continued by his brother Alfred the Great from 871, and includes rare coins in the name of Archbishop Ceolnoth (though none of his successor, Archbishop Æthelred: *MEC* I, 311). This coin issue speaks volumes concerning the rapprochement between Wessex and Mercia in the 860s and 870s, when the two kingdoms' dynasties intermarried and joined forces in military action. In one sense it highlights the continued vigour of Mercia, for it was the coinage of Burgred which provided the model for Wessex (Williams 2013b, 49); in another, it showcases the adaptability of the West Saxon regime. This act of monetary union built on a longer tradition of mutually interchangeable coin issues from all kingdoms south of the Humber, going back to the 790s, and was not even the first occasion of one kingdom adopting another's coin type (see Chapter 6, section (e), pp. 139–40 for the Tribrach coinage of 797/8). But the Lunettes coinage fits into a broader pattern of co-operation and alliance, and constitutes the effective end of separate coinages in the two leading kingdoms of Southumbrian England.

While its political and economic significance is abundantly clear, the detailed interpretation of the Lunettes coinage remains notoriously challenging. It was clearly a large coinage which, at least in its developed form in the mid-860s and after, replaced most earlier issues still in circulation. Some fifty-five moneyers are named in the Lunettes coinage for Burgred, thirty-one for Æthelred I and sixty-eight for Alfred (with some overlap between the moneyers working for all three). Minor mints had probably come into operation by its later years (Lyons and MacKay 2008, 61–3); there were also some moneyers of Burgred who (if correctly identified) later used west Mercian-style dies under Alfred (Lyons and MacKay 2008, 62–3), and one moneyer of Alfred who later

Table 11. *Summary of the structure of the Lunettes coinage.*

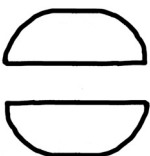
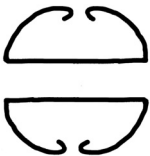
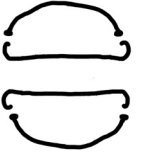
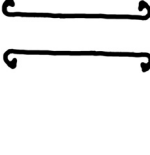
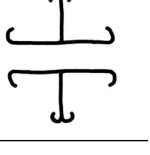
Period		Comments	
'Very early'	Burgred 854–c. 862	Obv. A	Very rare
		Rev. a	
'Early'	Burgred c. 863–5	Obv. F, B, G	Obv. legend split by bust and with initial cross
		Rev. a, c, d	
'Middle'	Burgred c. 865–8	Obv. (F), H, V	Obv. legend starts at shoulder
		Rev. c, d	
	Æthelred I 865–c. 866	Obv. C	
		Rev. four-line	
'Late'	Burgred c. 868–74	Obv. (F), H, V	Flan gets smaller over time; legend starts at shoulder with no initial cross
		Rev. a (with pellets), b (rare)	
	Æthelred I c. 867–71	Obv. C, (V, H)	Flan gets smaller over time
		Rev. a (one die d)	
	Alfred 871–c. 875	Obv. C, (V, H)	
		Rev. a, b (rare), c, d (both later)	

issued Winchester-style Cross and Lozenge pennies (Lyons and MacKay 2008, 61 n.). Nonetheless, it is likely that London and Canterbury between them accounted for the bulk of the Lunettes coinage. More than twenty hoards (many of them probably associated with Viking depredations: Brooks and Graham-Campbell 2000) allow the development of the coinage in circulation to be tracked in relative detail.

Early specimens of the coinage were of relatively good silver content (one is 93 per cent silver, others about 70 per cent), but the quality seems to have deteriorated quickly: coins from the middle and later parts of Burgred's reign run the gamut from about 70 per cent fine down to 15–20 per cent; those of Æthelred I begin at about 50 per cent in the mid-860s, which may indicate the general quality of contemporary Mercian issues (Metcalf and Northover 1985). It is possible that this sharp debasement was in itself a significant factor behind West Saxon adoption of the Lunettes type (Metcalf and Northover 1985, 160–1). Recent metallurgical analysis has shown that the Floreate Cross coinage was of comparatively high fineness, and also that there was perhaps an attempt to enforce acceptance of new West Saxon coinage in the early 860s. Plentiful and debased Mercian coins must have presented a strong challenge to what was surely still a fragile West Saxon monetary system, and adoption of the Mercian coin type and its lower metal standard may have served first and foremost to keep the West Saxon coins economically competitive, and perhaps also to increase the profits of debasement for the moneyers and rulers.

Classification of the Lunettes reverses is based on the scheme laid out in *BMC*, which identified four principal reverse variants, all based on different forms of Lunette enclosing the moneyer's

Table 12. Stylistic and typological divisions of the Lunettes coinage.

Obv. style		Rev. design	
[A]		a	
B		b	
G		c	
F		d	
V		e	
H			
C			

name. A fifth, very rare variant was later added (Blunt 1958–9, 10–11), and a find of several new specimens in 2003 allowed Gareth Williams (G. Williams 2008a) to emphasise the separate and distinct status of that type. However, modern understanding of the Lunettes coinage depends largely on a crucial article by Hugh Pagan (Pagan 1965), which combined focus on the reverse design with close attention to bust style on the obverse, flan size, hoard representation and other features (his conclusions were clarified further in Lyon 1968, 230–4). Four principal phases could be distinguished in the coinage, to which dates have been provisionally assigned based on extrapolation from the likely deposition dates of relevant hoards (see Tables 11 and 12). The first phase ('Very Early') is represented only poorly by surviving coins, and consists of pennies of Burgred produced in the 850s by a single moneyer, Tatel, who had also worked under Berhtwulf. In the early 860s there was a gradual increase in activity at London. Several styles of bust were used in this 'Early' phase: B, inspired by the form of busts used under Berhtwulf; G, or grotesque, for its ugly and idiosyncratic form of bust with triangular drapery; and, most importantly, F, so-called for its close affinities with the Floreate Cross coinage of Æthelberht. Aside from showing continued interchange between West Saxon and Mercian currency, this segment of the coinage can be dated to around the same period as the Floreate Cross pennies, that is, the years around 865. By this stage about six moneyers were producing coins for Burgred. A marked expansion took place in what has been labelled the 'Middle' phase, with probably up to as many as twenty moneyers (not necessarily all working simultaneously). At this point two characteristic obverse styles emerged in the coinage of Burgred, H ('Horizontal') and V ('Vertical'). Both evolved out of earlier styles (B and F respectively), and many of Burgred's moneyers used and muled reverse dies with obverses of both styles B and F, suggesting they stem from two workshops in the same location. H and V persisted into the last and largest phase of the Lunettes coinage ('Late'), when the number of moneyers reached a peak of more than fifty. Products of the late phase can be distinguished by their smaller flan size, by obverse legends which begin at the king's shoulder but omit the initial cross ('Middle' coins generally retain the initial cross) and by a general return to reverses of style a, whereas 'Middle' coins had favoured c and d.

Even before the death of Æthelberht, a West Saxon Lunettes type may have been considered. An anomalous Lunettes penny apparently in the name of Æthelberht has long been known (1225), and a second from the same obverse die but by a different moneyer has recently come to light in the Severn Stoke hoard (*Checklist* 71b; British Museum 1996 11–5–3), but these can probably be explained as aberrations of unofficial character (Blunt 1952–4; Lyons and MacKay 2007, 96–7; Naismith 2011a, 1, 34–5). The first regular West Saxon coins to move in the direction of the Lunettes type were the earliest pennies of Æthelred I, of the so-called Four-Line type (1226–7). As the name suggests, this placed the moneyer's name in four lines on the reverse, broadly but not exactly replicating the arrangement of the Lunettes coinage. Its busts resemble those of the preceding Inscribed Cross and especially Floreate Cross coinages (Lyons and MacKay 2007, 79–81). This rare coinage presumably lasted for only a year or two, although it includes the last known coin issue of the West Saxon mint, represented by two specimens struck by a moneyer also known for Æthelwulf (Blackburn 2003a, 209–12). Most of Æthelred's Lunettes coinage carries busts of a distinct bonneted form ('C'), combined with reverses of style a. Two principal sub-groups can be detected among the obverses, with different degrees of fineness or accomplishment among them (Lyons and MacKay 2007, 82–3). There is also an intriguing area of crossover between Æthelred I and Burgred, in the form of Lunettes pennies of H or V bust style, sometimes struck by moneyers

otherwise associated with Burgred, but other specimens of this style name moneyers who were traditionally 'West Saxon'. Some of these coins could have been irregular issues (Pagan 1965, 15), and indeed many have obverse legends of unusual and sometimes blundered orthography, but a few coins in the name of Æthelred I of H and V bust styles appear to have been struck from dies of 'London' workmanship (Lyon 1968, 233–4; Lyons and MacKay 2007, 111–14), and these, as well as a more substantial grouping of coins of similar bust styles in the name of Alfred, are best interpreted as the work of London moneyers (Lyons and MacKay 2007, 89–94). They suggest that at a time when coin production reached fever pitch at London, the norms and regulations of minting in the south-east may have begun to break down (Pagan 1986, 62–3); whether they denote a more formal power-sharing arrangement in London cannot be determined, though it should be noted that there are no corresponding examples of likely Canterbury issues in the name of Burgred.

The Lunettes coins of Alfred were issued when the coinage had reached a nadir in terms of fineness and general quality control. In many respects they follow the pattern of Æthelred I's coinage (Lyons and MacKay 2008). At Canterbury Alfred's Lunettes coinage commenced with the issue of coins of reverse variety 'a' on quite a substantial scale. The hoard evidence suggests these had given way by 873 or 874 to a smaller but still substantive issue of coins of reverse variety 'b'; a handful of coins of reverse varieties 'c' and 'd' also exist. London-style issues persisted too, with busts of both styles H and V (Lyons and MacKay 2008, 48–51). Alfred's coinage then seems to have witnessed a significant upturn in production, coinciding with that of Burgred's last years. Thirty-six new moneyers appear in Alfred's Lunettes coinage, sixteen of them exclusively using coins with 'London'-style busts H or V. Widespread recognition of Alfred by London moneyers seems difficult to deny, but the situation was still fluid, and it is possible that some of these coins were produced after Burgred's abdication in 874 (Keynes 1998b, 11–12; *MEC* 1, 311; Lyon 1968, 233–4).

(g) EAST ANGLIA (c. 827–80)

Ludica was the last Mercian king named on East Anglian coins; thereafter, the kingdom produced its own separate series of silver pennies naming three principal local rulers: Æthelstan, Æthelweard and (St) Edmund. Neither of the first two kings is recorded in any surviving documentation, and the third only in limited detail. For this reason some of their coins have in the past been attributed to Guthrum striking in his baptismal name of Æthelstan (Ruding 1840, I, 121), to the tenth-century Æthelstan (Ruding 1840, III, pl. 17, 5) or to Æthelheard of Wessex (Ruding 1840, I, 117); recognition of the distinct East Anglian series is in large part attributable to a perceptive essay by Daniel Haigh (1845, prefigured by Dymock 1842–3, 126), supplemented in recent times by a detailed and authoritative study by Hugh Pagan (1982). Dates for the two earlier kings rest largely on a numismatic basis, and those proposed by Pagan (1982, 41–9) on the basis of hoard evidence remain reliable.

The clutch of moneyers who began the coinage of Æthelstan had for the most part worked under his Mercian predecessors, and the relatively coherent stylistic features of this coinage suggest that at least the bulk of it came from a single mint-place. As under the Mercian kings, this primary mint-town is presumed to have been Ipswich. Æthelstan's earliest pennies also maintained the general visual character of Mercian coinage in the 820s: a crude bust on the obverse, combined with the moneyer's name either around a cross or in several lines across the reverse (932). A pair

of exceptional coins of this period carry a ship on the obverse, modelled apparently on the silver *denarii* of Dorestad produced under Louis the Pious (for a suggested earlier dating see Archibald 1982 and Williams 2010c, 109–11; though cf. Naismith 2011a, I, 39–40). The bulk of Æthelstan's coinage, however, was quite different in appearance and entirely non-portrait in design. It can be divided into two broad groups: one on which an alpha was generally placed on the obverse with either a cross or a legend in several lines on the reverse (933–5); and a later one on which a cruciform design (usually with wedges or pellets) was used on both obverse and reverse (936–9). A large and important group of the earlier non-portrait coins carries the name and title of the king together with the word *ANG[lorum]* on the reverse (for 'king of the Angles'), replacing the moneyer's name. Only vague dates can be assigned to these groups based on the approximate size of issues and presence in datable hoards. Hence Table 10 suggests the early coinage had come to an end by about 830, while the two segments of the non-portrait coinage occupied equal portions of the subsequent fifteen or so years.

Æthelweard's coinage maintained the general pattern of Æthelstan's for approximately a decade, with most moneyers using an alpha obverse and a cross on the reverse (940–2). The earlier part of Edmund's coinage (943–8) was distinguished by frequent use of the royal style *REX AN[glorum]* and broadly used cruciform designs on both obverse and reverse, although a few moneyers used individual designs: one, for example, placed three crosses on the obverse, possibly alluding to the crosses of Christ and of the two thieves at the crucifixion (Naismith 2011a, I, 53). Later issues (probably to be dated after the deposition of the Dorking hoard) gravitated towards an alpha obverse and cross reverse, with just *REX* for the royal title (Naismith 2011a, I, 39–43) (949–52). Edmund's reign saw the debasement characteristic of the rest of southern England begin to affect East Anglia, with the fineness of the coins descending to about 65 per cent fine (Naismith 2011a, I, 146) – still significantly higher, it should be noted, than most contemporaneous Inscribed Cross and Lunettes pennies from the south-east.

The final chapter in the coinage of East Anglia's independent dynasty again involves rulers known solely from a handful of coins. Six coins are known of a king named Æthelred (953) and two in the name of another, Oswald (Blackburn 2005, 23–7; *VCCBI*, 371–5). Both rulers are known from a mix of types: some, probably earlier in date, continue the alpha obverse design characteristic of Edmund's later issues; others carry a new Carolingian-inspired 'temple' design on the obverse and legends of poor legibility. This temple type was also used on some of the earliest coins of Guthrum, known by his baptismal name Æthelstan (see Chapter 11, section (g), pp. 288–9). However, three of the moneyers responsible for Æthelred and Oswald's temple and other coins can also be traced back into the reign of Edmund. Thus this exiguous coinage provides an important strand of continuity linking the moneyers and numismatic practices of Edmund (and possibly the same mint-place(s)) to the dawn of the Viking coinage. Æthelred and Oswald should probably be identified as East Anglian kings in the years after Edmund's death, possibly (though not necessarily) governing under Viking overlordship (Naismith 2013a, 149–50; McLeod 2014, 181).

THE REIGN OF ALFRED THE GREAT

(a) HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Alfred the Great is the most celebrated English ruler of the pre-Conquest period, remembered for staving off the Vikings, eventually bringing the surviving English territories under a single king and initiating an ambitious programme of intellectual revival (general studies include Abels 1998; Wormald 2004; Pratt 2007a; Discenza and Szarmach 2015; key sources are translated in Keynes and Lapidge 1983). He has entered into popular consciousness as a figurehead of English culture and nationhood: the ‘cult of Alfred’, which grew up around him in the sixteenth century and persists to the present day, is a historical phenomenon in and of itself (Keynes 1999a; Yorke 2003; Parker 2007; Stanley 1981).

Nonetheless, the early phase of Alfred’s reign was far from auspicious. When Alfred inherited the throne from his brother (the fourth son of Æthelwulf to do so in succession: see Table 13, p. 176) in 871, Wessex was in a precarious position, threatened by the frequent incursions of the Viking ‘Great Army’ (Brooks 1979; Pratt 2007a, 93–111). Mercia fared even more poorly around this time: Burgred, king of the Mercians (852–74) was driven out of his kingdom into exile in 874, and the Vikings replaced him with Ceolwulf II (and later took the eastern part of the kingdom for themselves to settle in 877). Alfred came perilously close to the same fate as Burgred when a sudden attack on Wessex by the Vikings in 878 caught him off guard while he was at the royal estate of Chippenham, and the kingdom was temporarily overrun. Later that year he emerged from exile to win a surprise victory over the invaders at Edington. Their leader, Guthrum, accepted baptism, with Alfred standing as his godfather, and then returned to East Anglia, where a portion of the Viking army had settled.

Other Viking forces threatened Alfred later in his reign, though never coming as close to conquest as they had in 878. A programme of fortification of strategic points, accompanied by careful organisation of available manpower, probably explains much of the later English military success when a major Viking army moved across the Channel from Francia in 892 (Hill and Rumble 1996; Abels 1998; 2003; Lavelle 2010; 2012). The survival of Wessex and its king’s triumph over the Vikings enabled a further strengthening of the well-established alliance with Mercia. After about 879, Ceolwulf II vanished from view, to be replaced soon after by an ealdorman (rather than a king) named Æthelred, who took Alfred’s daughter Æthelflæd as his wife and issued charters with

the sanction of the West Saxon king; Æthelred never issued coins in his own name (see below). The royal houses of East Anglia and Northumbria had disappeared or been subordinated to the Vikings, and with Mercia now as a more overt (albeit junior) partner, Alfred thus achieved recognition as king not only of Wessex but of all the Anglo-Saxons – at this stage meaning the Mercians and West Saxons, but leaving the way open for other peoples currently under Viking dominion (Keynes 1998b, 34–9).

If there is a sense of transition and new beginnings in Alfred's reign, it is in part because of the unique richness of its source material, and the subtle image management which this range of texts promulgated from the royal circle permitted. Alfred engaged exceptionally closely with the written word (Pratt 2007a). He is the first English king to be the subject of a contemporary biography, written in 893 by Asser, the Welsh monk and bishop of St David's, which was probably intended for consumption by Alfred's new allies in south Wales (Kirby 1971; Scharer 1996; Charles-Edwards 2013, 452–66, 479–96). Perhaps the most striking feature of the other Alfredian-period texts is their casting in the vernacular. Under Alfred the core text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was put together in Old English (Keynes 2012c), along with a law-code which drew on earlier Kentish, Mercian and West Saxon precedents (Wormald 1999, esp. 265–85, 416–29). Both established historical links between the West Saxons and other peoples. A string of literary texts was also translated, though their exact relationship with the king is difficult to divine and the subject of much debate (Godden 2003; 2007; 2009; Pratt 2007b; Bately 2009; Godden and Irvine 2009). Asser claimed that (under his tutelage) Alfred learned to read Latin only as an adult, and the difficulty of several of the works in question would be a challenge to a relative novice. At the same time, a measure of intellectual and linguistic unity is apparent in certain texts, and some circulated with prefaces which contain explicit claims to royal involvement (most famously in a prefatory letter accompanying the Old English *Cura pastoralis* of Gregory the Great which lays out Alfred's motives and plans for educational reform). Even if Alfred was not always a direct participant in the translation process, his patronage was integral to it, and the agenda promulgated by the Alfredian texts as a whole chimes with royal concerns apparent elsewhere. The inscribed Alfred Jewel and smaller socketed objects of similar style, for example, together with the Fuller Brooch, reflect in material form the interface of power, wealth and learning which Alfred cultivated (Pratt 2003; Webster 2003; Nelson 2009, 106–9).

There were many respects in which the reign of Alfred was less exceptional. Charters and other documents belong firmly to the established West Saxon tradition, and reveal a high level of continuity from earlier customs (Brooks 2003). Yet there are enough tangible and independent pieces of evidence to indicate a series of truly remarkable cultural, political and military achievements in the reign.

(b) LITERATURE

Alfred's coinage has attracted a volume of scholarship commensurate with his historical prominence, beginning at a very early date. However, scholars were often disappointed at the discrepancy between Alfred's reputation for learning and military success, and the uninspiring appearance of so much of his coinage (which was dominated by the Lunettes and Horizontal/Two-Line types). In the words of Ruding, 'it is much to be regretted that [Alfred's] necessities prevented him from bestowing a part of his attention on the state of his coinage' (1840, I, 125). Most early use of Alfred's coins was nevertheless for decorative purposes (Keynes 1999a, 251, 264). An attractive

London Monogram penny from the Cotton collection was used to illustrate John Speed's *History of Great Britaine* (Speed 1611, 384; cf. Harvey and Harvey 2003), and its design was first correctly interpreted by Samuel Pegge (1772, 92–106; cf. Doble 1885–1921, II, 189 for an earlier interpretation of the coinage as Northumbrian), while various collectors of the time collaborated to have seven plates of relevant coins engraved for the publication of John Spelman's edition of Asser's *Life of Alfred* (Spelman 1678). Considerable interest in Alfred's coinage was aroused by the discovery of the Cuerdale hoard in 1840 (Hawkins 1842–3), which included some rare and attractive new types, though the presence of a Danelaw imitation of the London Monogram type in the name of Halfdan created confusion for many years, as it was believed that this must have been a Viking coinage later revived by Alfred (Haigh 1843, 105–10; 1870, 27–30; *BMC* II, xxxiv, xxxvii; Brooke 1950, 33–4, 47). More thorough engagement with Alfred's coinage developed only gradually, beginning in the mid-twentieth century: critical papers include Blunt and Dolley (1958–9) and Dolley and Blunt (1961), which between them laid the basis for the currently accepted views of the coinage. Subsequent studies have improved upon understanding of specific aspects of the coinage. Mark Blackburn in particular advanced knowledge of the later Horizontal/Two-Line coinage (Blackburn 1989a, 342–4; 1989b, 16–18; *MEC* I, 313–14) and he co-edited a volume containing several important essays on aspects of ninth-century coinage, including Alfred's London issues and the complex coinages of the mid-870s (Blackburn and Dumville 1998; updated in Blackburn 2003a). Blackburn and Dumville (1998) exemplifies the latest stage in the assessment of Alfred's coinage, in which numismatists have joined forces with historians: paradoxically, the result has often been to stress the value of the numismatic sources as a corrective to the often patchy annalistic record of the period.

(c) GENERAL FEATURES OF THE COINAGE

Although relatively brief, Alfred's reign was a turning point in the monetary history of southern England. It saw the end of coinage in the name of Mercian rulers, the restoration of metallic quality, expansion of the minting system and the establishment of several new features of the coinage which set the scene for the numismatic history of the tenth century. The significance of the coinage to the broader interpretation of the reign's political and administrative dimensions is also considerable.

As in previous decades, the vast majority of the coinage consisted of silver pennies, albeit of rapidly changing weight and fineness. However, it was in the time of Alfred that the first round halfpennies appeared, and also the only known Anglo-Saxon examples of a silver denomination larger than the penny. The coins can broadly be divided into three phases. The first of these was the last part of the Lunettes coinage, dealt with elsewhere (see Chapter 7, section (f), p. 163). A second brief but important segment of the coinage came with the Cross and Lozenge and associated types of the later 870s. The last, longest phase was dominated by the Horizontal/Two-Line type, begun c. 880, but also embraced the London Monogram coinage in its early years, and at some point also the enigmatic mint-signed types struck at Winchester and Exeter. Single-finds of coins of Alfred are scarce, and even the hoard evidence tends to cluster either very early in the reign (Lunettes) or very late (often deposited after his reign and dominated by issues from c. 880 onwards); as a result, aspects of coin circulation in Alfred's reign are quite poorly known, especially for the critical period c. 875–80.

One of the principal legacies of Alfred's reign was expansion of the minting network (Blackburn 1996b, 161–4). It is possible that minor mints had been functioning already for much of the ninth century, and hints of mint-places in western Mercia and Wessex which continued to function under Alfred can already be detected in the coinage of Burgred and Æthelred I (see Chapter 7, section (f), pp. 159–63). From the mid-870s onwards stylistic evidence suggests sustained minting operations in these areas: Winchester may have become established as a die-cutting centre, with one or two more die-cutting agencies elsewhere in Wessex, and one in Mercia in the Cross and Wedges coinage alone. Five locations are actually named on coins as mint-places in Alfred's reign – Canterbury, Gloucester, London, Oxford and Winchester (with Bath named on extremely early coins of Edward the Elder) – but there were probably several more at work, especially in Mercia, since a number of minor Mercian styles are apparent in the later coinage of Alfred (Horizontal/Two-Line type).

(d) REFORM AND RECOINAGE: CROSS AND LOZENGE
AND RELATED ISSUES (c. 875–80)

At the outset of his reign in 871, Alfred's coinage consisted of debased Lunettes pennies, produced by a newly enlarged cohort of moneyers in south-east England (1234–49). Most coins in his name were produced at Canterbury (and, possibly, one or more minor mint-places elsewhere in Wessex), with a smaller but still significant proportion from London (or at least struck with London-style dies), arguably reflecting the growth of West Saxon influence in the city as well as the pressures of large-scale production (see Chapter 7, section (f), p. 162–3).

However, at some point around the beginning of Ceolwulf II's reign, probably c. 875 (for the suggestion of an alternative, slightly later date see Lyons and MacKay 2008, 64–5), there was a sudden transformation in the West Saxon and Mercian currency. Alfred, Ceolwulf II and indeed the moneyers themselves, especially at London, seem to have been actively experimenting with new forms of coinage as statements of authority and blueprints for improved monetary practice. The earliest stages of this change were the most arresting, and resulted in several extremely rare and historically portentous coinages (Blackburn and Keynes 1998). So few specimens are known that the exact chronology of these coinages must remain tentative (and some may have been concurrent rather than consecutive), but as they include pennies in the name of Ceolwulf II, they fit best in the mid-870s at the outset of the new phase of minting, and when relations between the two kings were probably most clement (Blackburn 1998a, 112–14; Keynes 1998b, 14–19). Two hoards discovered while this volume was in press (one from Watlington, Oxfordshire) include numerous new specimens of the 870s; after being fully studied, their contents promise to expand and transform understanding of this crucial period.

Arguably the earliest type of this phase was the so-called Geometric-Quatrefoil type, best known from a well-preserved specimen from the Cuerdale hoard and probably minted at London (Blackburn and Keynes 1998, no. 1). It is the only one of the experimental royal issues not to carry a portrait; it is also the only one to essay a significantly different weight standard (1.78g). Both this weight and the non-portrait design suggest the inspiration of Carolingian coinage (Blackburn 1998a, 106). This departure from previous Anglo-Saxon monetary traditions apparently did not endure, for a new and elegant portrait coinage with a quatrefoil reverse (once again following the older, established English weight standard of c. 1.35g) is represented by a small number of extant

specimens for Archbishop Æthelred and for Alfred (**988**) (Blackburn and Keynes 1998, nos. 2–4). Essentially the same obverse design is found on another small group of historically important coins: the Two Emperors type, which places a design of two enthroned emperors on the reverse, borrowed directly from late Roman gold issues. Specimens survive for Alfred and Ceolwulf II (Blackburn and Keynes 1998, nos. 5–6). That of Alfred found at Croydon Palace *c.* 1880 is of London style and by a probable London moneyer, and also boasts the exceptional royal style REX ANGLO[rum]; that of Ceolwulf from the Cuerdale hoard is of unusual style, possibly associated with Cross and Lozenge pennies from western Mercia. The iconography of this coinage has been read as having great resonance for perceptions of Alfred and Ceolwulf's relations in the mid-870s, at least from the perspective of London moneyers with connections in both kingdoms – although one must be wary of attaching such a politicised reading of Roman coin types to Anglo-Saxon observers, especially at a time of general interest in adopting Roman designs (Keynes 1998b, 16; Blackburn 1998b, 112–14). A small fragment of a coin of Ceolwulf may represent a final unusual type belonging to this period of innovation (Blackburn and Keynes 1998, no. 8). Enough survives for the obverse type to be relatively clear (bust right, with legend around); the reverse seemingly carries a moneyer's name arranged around the central type, a cross enclosed in an inner circle. The central cross has letters in the quarters: possibly a mint name, although only the letters CO are visible (Pagan 1972).

Cross and Lozenge is the best represented of the new types (**989, 1170, 1250–2**). It carries a new, classicising obverse bust design, along with an elegant cruciform reverse, hence the name 'Cross and Lozenge'. This is a more substantial coinage than any of its counterparts from the 870s, though it is still comparatively rare (and a mule may link it with the Two Emperors and Portrait/Quatrefoil types: Blackburn and Keynes 1998, no. 7). Only about seventy specimens of this important coinage were known at the time of going to press (catalogued in Blackburn and Keynes 1998; subsequent additions to the corpus include some ten coins recorded on EMC and in Blackburn 2003a). Cross and Lozenge pennies were produced in the name of Alfred, Ceolwulf II and Archbishop Æthelred, though about three-quarters of surviving specimens are of Alfred. Close analysis of style and the earlier and later careers of moneyers indicates styles associated with Canterbury (for Alfred and Æthelred), London (struck for Alfred and Ceolwulf; see Blackburn 2003a, 212–14 for coins of both kings made using London-style dies throughout the Cross and Lozenge phase, *pace* Blackburn 1998a, 117–19), and Winchester (for Alfred and, in one case, Ceolwulf); a few coins of both Alfred and Ceolwulf II do not fit comfortably into these groups and so may be the product of die-cutters based elsewhere in Mercia and Wessex, as the future careers of some of the moneyers indicate (Blackburn and Keynes 1998). Despite the broadening geographical scope of the coinage, the number of moneyers was reduced, twenty-three being known at the time of writing.

This issue carries a strong sense of new direction. As far as one can tell, the Lunettes coinage was swept away quickly and efficiently: no specimens are found in English hoards deposited after about 874, and the great Cuerdale hoard effectively commenced its English series with the Cross and Lozenge type (Blunt and Dolley 1958–9, 80). The first known round halfpenny belongs to this phase, implying the beginning of (admittedly small-scale) attempts to supply smaller denominations than the penny (EMC 2004.0009 – a coin of Ceolwulf II). Furthermore, the issue marked a definitive break with the policy of debasement characteristic of the Lunettes coinage. Each new Cross and Lozenge penny contained five or six times the silver of a later Lunettes penny

(Blackburn 2003a, 205–6), presumably resulting in a drastic change in the handling of money by Alfred's subjects (Blackburn 2003a, 205–6). All of this was accomplished in the face of what the *ASC* depicts as severe Viking attacks, leading up to the invasion and successful counter-attack of 877–8, and stands as testimony to the capacity of West Saxon governmental infrastructure.

(e) THE HORIZONTAL/TWO-LINE AND RELATED
COINAGES (c. 880–99)

1. *London Monogram and other exceptional issues*

Only five or so years after the Cross and Lozenge and associated coinages were introduced, Alfred undertook another major reform of the coinage in Wessex and Mercia. The most fundamental characteristic of coins of this later period is an increased weight standard: while Cross and Lozenge had maintained the long-established weight of c. 1.35g (which ultimately went back to the 'Heavy' coinage of Offa in the 790s), Alfred's later coinage was noticeably heavier, at about 1.60g. This change can be dated in part by the absence of any heavier coins in the name of Ceolwulf II (who probably ceased to rule in 879), and also by the continuity of moneyers between Cross and Lozenge and later types, which argues against a prolonged disjuncture between the two – hence, a commencement of c. 880 seems likely (Blackburn 1998a, 120–2; Archibald in Webster and Backhouse 1991, 286–7).

Around the time that this new weight standard was introduced, the famous London Monogram issue was produced at London (**1253–60**). With an attractive, Roman-style bust and a monogram for *Lundonia* on the reverse, it is a powerful statement of the significance London held in the ninth century (Naismith 2013c, 51–2). Most specimens carry no moneyer's name on the reverse, but some reduce the size of the monogram to accommodate the name Tilwine, and unique specimens preserve the names of four other moneyers. These last may be imitative, although they could be modelled on otherwise unknown genuine issues (Blackburn 1998a, 111). The discovery of a specimen in the Cuerdale hoard apparently in the name of Halfdan generated considerable debate, for it was believed that this must place the beginning of the issue at a time when London was still under Viking control, probably in the 870s (see above; also Keynes 1998b, 12–25; Williams 2011b, 48). This proposition was dispensed with in the 1950s (Grierson 1955–7, 489–90), but it was still widely held that the issue marked Alfred's so-called 'restoration' of London in 886 (*BMC* II, xxxvii; Dolley and Blunt 1961, 83). It is more likely, however, that the issue belongs at the inception of the new, heavier phase of the coinage (c. 880) (Blackburn 1998a, 110–11, 120–1; M. Archibald in Webster and Backhouse 1991, 286–7; cf. Lyon 1968, 237). Specimens of the London Monogram coinage are comparatively plentiful today, but there is heavy die-linking among them: seventeen obverse and twenty-seven reverse dies are represented among about seventy traceable examples, most of which derive from hoards found at Cuerdale, Stamford and Erith in Kent (Grierson 1955–7, 480–1) and from two poorly known finds from London (Blunt and Dolley 1958–9, 234–5; Naismith 2013c, 51–2; Pagan 1983). This suggests that, despite appearances, London Monogram was not an especially large coin issue, and might have been quite brief in duration.

Even if its issue was not associated with the events of 886, the London Monogram coinage can still be placed alongside Ecgberht's London issue and a small number of others as a rare instance

of numismatic ‘propaganda’. Three other rare coinages of approximately the same period (c. 880) indicate that London’s experience was not wholly unique. A handful of coins by a moneyer named Æthelwulf (including one in this collection: **1261**; another is in the Assheton collection) are clearly related to the London Monogram type, yet are of very different style and bear on the reverse a monogram which seems to be made up from a different selection of letters. No convincing attribution of these coins has yet emerged (see Appendix 1, p. 350). Traditionally they have been seen as Viking imitations (as in *MEC* 1), but their high weight and relatively good literacy suggest an Anglo-Saxon origin. A unique coin carries on its reverse the mint name of Gloucester, in the vernacular form *ÆT GLEAWA* (*BMC* 80). With a bust on the obverse and a cruciform reverse, its stylistic affinities lie with the Cross and Lozenge coinage, but it is struck on the higher weight standard characteristic of the post-c. 880 period (*MEC* 1, 314; the attribution was first made in Haigh 1870, 22–3). There is also a small number of coins which carry the mint name of Oxford (*OHSNAFORDA*), inserted above and below the name of Alfred, with the moneyer’s name in two lines on the reverse. This series and its Oxford origin have been known since at least the early nineteenth century (Hawkins 1842–3, 18; notwithstanding a challenge in Stainer 1904, xxiii–iv, rebutted in Carlyon-Britton 1905b), but the existence of numerous Danelaw imitations of low weight has complicated interpretation of the series: specimens of full weight by the moneyer Bernwald with the mint name *OHSNAFORDA* (as opposed to *ORSNAFORDA* on the imitations) belong at the head of the series, and were made under English authority (Lyon 1970, 196–7). One specimen was found in a London hoard with London Monogram pennies, suggesting the Oxford issue stems from approximately the same period (Blackburn 1998a, 120 n.). Indeed, there is a case to be made that the mint-signed coinages of Gloucester, London and Oxford – all significant economic and/or political centres of Mercia – reflect a loose but orchestrated scheme to emphasise Alfred’s new control over Ceolwulf II’s kingdom in the early 880s (Keynes 1998b, 30).

2. The Horizontal/Two-Line type

These exceptional, mint-signed issues are in many respects unrepresentative of Alfred’s later coinage, the bulk of which consists of the Horizontal/Two-Line type (**1262–80**). This was, in one form or another, to remain in production until the early 970s. As the name implies, the coinage carried the king’s name around an inner circle containing a cross on the obverse, with the moneyer’s name in two lines across the reverse. Retreat from the attractive busts of the Cross and Lozenge phase should not be interpreted as a failure of artistic ability or ambition in Alfred’s later coinage: a similar move took place late in Offa’s reign, for example, and could be interpreted as a shift of focus to verbal aspects of royal authority. This could be argued to parallel other developments in Alfred’s reign, such as the famous programme of translating and copying Latin texts into the vernacular, which emphasised the value of the written word to English society (Discenza and Szarmach 2015).

Much remains unclear about the Horizontal/Two-Line coinage. Perhaps because of its bulk and unprepossessing appearance it has never attracted the same degree of interest as the rest of Alfred’s coinage, and the presence of numerous imitations from the Danelaw caused considerable confusion (as well as its appellation as the ‘Guthrum type’ in some older literature: Dolley and Blunt 1961, 84–6), but research by Blunt and Dolley and partially published research by Mark Blackburn established important organisational principles for Alfred’s regular coinage of this type (Blackburn

1989a, 16–18; 1989b, 342–4; *MEC* I, 313–14). They identified four principal groups in the coinage. The largest (about nineteen moneyers) and easiest to attribute is one which sometimes carries the mint name for Canterbury (*DORO(vernica)*), inserted on the obverse immediately after the king's name and title; it also includes specimens in the name of Archbishop Æthelred and Archbishop Plegmund, although just one coin in the name of Æthelred has survived (Blackburn 1998a, 121). Canterbury coins without a mint name can be recognised from their distinctive lozenge-shaped O, with wedges at each angle. Another stylistic group embracing the work of nine moneyers probably belongs to Winchester. It is distinctive for breaking the obverse legend into three rather than four segments, as is the case with most other styles. A third group, also spanning nine moneyers, is associated with London, for it includes a moneyer, Tilwine, known to have placed his name on London Monogram pennies, as well as several using London-style dies in Cross and Lozenge. Early and late coins of Canterbury, London and Winchester style can be detected, the later ones of Winchester being especially plentiful. Finally, there is a heterogeneous group of five discernible styles probably attributable to Mercia, representing seven moneyers between them.

These associations are based on die-cutting style, and it may well be that additional mint-places were at work drawing their dies from one or other of these locations. London and Canterbury had apparently fallen inactive by the beginning of Edward the Elder's reign, raising the possibility that they had already started to decline later in Alfred's reign (*MEC* I, 315). Winchester was left to pick up the slack. A plague said by the *ASC* to have affected southern England in 896 and to have lasted three years has been advanced as an explanation (*CTCE*, 20–1), although the *Chronicle*'s list of notable casualties includes the town-reeve of Winchester as well as men in Kent, Essex and further west. Other factors, perhaps including the swifter recovery of Winchester or the importance ascribed to the newly redeveloped city, may have been at work.

(f) 'SPECIAL' COINAGES

A final rare group of coins of Alfred break with the normal appearance and practices of production in a number of respects. The royal title is displayed in four lines on the obverse, extending to +AELFRED REX SAXONVM, the longest title used by a West Saxon king save on early coins of Æthelwulf from Rochester. This group comprises two components: pennies with mint-signatures rather than a moneyer's name (from EXA, Exeter and WIN, Winchester) and large silver pieces weighing c. 10.50g each, with the word *ELIMO[sina]* on the reverse (Dolley 1954b). Also closely associated are pennies of very similar format from the beginning of Edward the Elder's reign, with the same arrangement of name and title on the obverse, and BA or BAA (for Bath) on the reverse (1281).

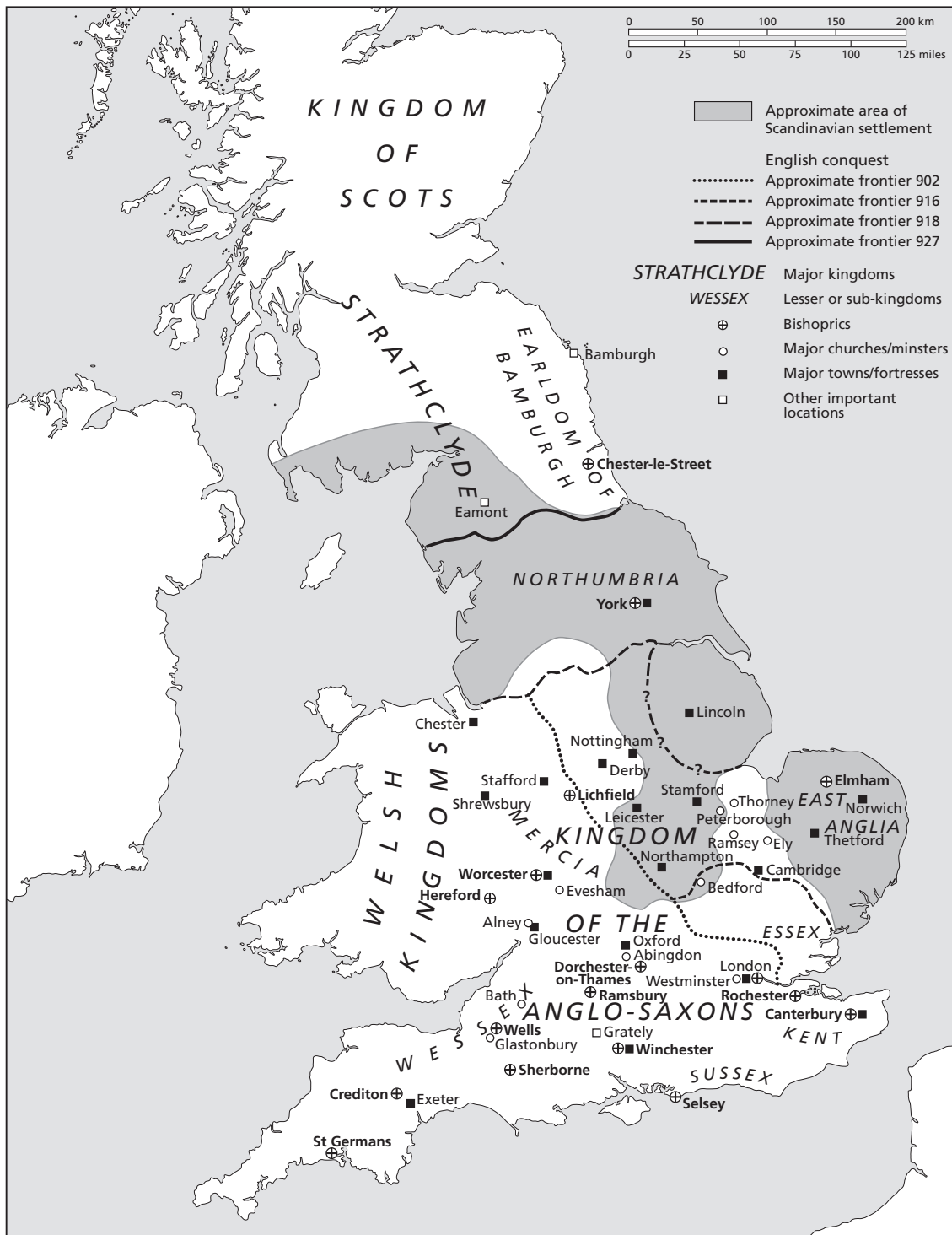
Only about ten specimens survive from this exceptional cluster of coinages. The pennies are based on the post-c. 880 weight of 1.60g, and stem from late hoards, suggesting they generally belong in the latter years of Alfred's reign. It is unlikely, however, that they represent a general attempt to establish a mint-signed coinage in Wessex (Dolley and Blunt 1961, 87). They were probably produced alongside the Horizontal/Two-Line coinage, and have sometimes been interpreted as celebratory issues connected with the development of a new *burh* (e.g. Maddicott 1989, 22). There may also have been specific associations or needs which prompted coin production at these places. Exeter, for example, was an important node in the tin trade of the south-west (Maddicott 1989, 19–27). However, the large silver pieces, maybe intended to represent six or seven pennies'

worth of silver each, perhaps provide a clue to the purpose of the whole issue in their inscription *elimosina* ('alms'). These large coins may relate to the payment of alms by Alfred and the English to Rome; it is even possible that the weight approximates six *denarii* on the Carolingian weight standard (Dolley and Blunt 1961, 77–8). All three locations named on the associated pennies were bishoprics or minsters in Wessex, although Bath may only recently have been taken over at the time its coins were produced (Whitlock 2012). Asser's *Life of King Alfred* records in precise detail the extent of royal charity within England. Almsgiving or other religious payments may therefore lie behind the entire 'special' issue (Naismith forthcoming).

ENGLAND FROM EDWARD THE ELDER TO EDGAR'S REFORM

(a) HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The political transformation of England which had begun in the time of Alfred continued during the reigns of his heirs across the tenth century, with the four separate and distinct kingdoms of 865 coalescing into a single new unit which approximated modern England in its extent (for narrative accounts of this process see Stenton 1971, 320–72; Stafford 1989; Keynes 1999b; Molyneux 2015, 25–38), although the status and extent of English authority beyond Yorkshire and Lancashire remained debatable (Molyneux 2015, 5–9) (Map 4). The royal succession stayed within the same immediate family throughout (see Table 13): Alfred's son Edward the Elder (899–924) passed the kingdom to his son Æthelstan (924–39) (for whom see Higham and Hill 2001 and Foot 2011 respectively). Æthelstan produced no children of his own, and instead passed power on to his two younger half-brothers, Edmund (939–46) (Dumville 1992, 173–84; cf. Williams 1979) and Eadred (946–55). The latter also never married or produced heirs (and indeed was incapacitated by illness towards the end of his life: Keynes 1994a), so the throne passed to Edmund's two sons, Eadwig (955–9) and Edgar (959–75) (for the latter see Scragg 2008). The geographical heart of the emergent kingdom of England continued to be the south, and above all 'old' Wessex in the south-west: it was there that the king still spent most of his time and held his greatest concentration of land (Hill 1981, 85–91, 101; Roach 2013a, 77–103). Western Mercia (the modern west midlands) was also an area of well-established aristocratic power, whose magnates remembered the region's former identity as a separate kingdom; they were capable of making their wishes felt at court and even of nominating rival candidates to the throne from the ruling dynasty (Williams 1982). The alliance and gradual unification of Wessex and Mercia in the late ninth and early tenth century was pivotal in the long-term success of the combined kingdom, for Wessex and Mercia were together responsible for wresting the east of England from Scandinavian control; this was a process spearheaded by Edward the Elder as king of Wessex, and his sister Æthelflæd (d. 918), wife of Æthelred, ealdorman of the Mercians (d. 911), best remembered as the widowed 'lady of the Mercians' who matched her brother in military accomplishments. Between 911 and 918 Edward and Æthelflæd brought East Anglia and the midlands under English control. York (and possibly some of Lincolnshire) came close to being conquered several times in 918 and 920, and finally in 927 Æthelstan succeeded in adding Northumbria to the kingdom. A contemporary poet celebrated the conquest by praising



Map 4. The kingdom of the English and its neighbours in the tenth century.

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graph TD
    ECGBERHT["ECGBERHT  
King of the West Saxons (802–39)  
and of the Mercians (829–30)"] --> AETHELWULF["ÆTHELWULF  
King of the West Saxons (839–58)"]
    AETHELWULF --> AETHELSTAN["ÆTHELSTAN  
Sub-king of Kent (d. 851)"]
    AETHELWULF --> AETHELBERHT["ÆTHELBERHT  
King of the West Saxons (860–5)"]
    AETHELWULF --> ALFRED["ALFRED THE GREAT  
King of the West Saxons and of  
the Anglo-Saxons (871–99)"]
    AETHELBERHT --> AETHELBALD["ÆTHELBALD  
King of the West Saxons (858–60)"]
    AETHELBERHT --> AETHELRED_I["ÆTHELRED I  
King of the West Saxons (865–71)"]
    AETHELRED_I --> AETHELWOLD["ÆTHELWOLD  
Claimant to the West Saxon kingdom (d. 902/3)"]
    AETHELWOLD --> EDWARD_THE_ELDER["EDWARD THE ELDER  
King of the Anglo-Saxons  
(899–924)"]
    AETHELWOLD --> AETHELFLAED["ÆTHELFLÆD  
'Lady of the Mercians'  
(d. 918)"]
    AETHELFLAED == AETHELRED["= ÆTHELRED  
Ealdorman of the Mercians  
(d. 911)"]
    EDWARD_THE_ELDER --> AELFWEARD["ÆLFWEARD  
King of the West Saxons (924)"]
    EDWARD_THE_ELDER --> AETHELSTAN_2["ÆTHELSTAN  
King of the Mercians (924) and of  
Anglo-Saxons and of the English  
(924/5–39)"]
    EDWARD_THE_ELDER --> EDMUND["EDMUND  
King of the English (939–46)"]
    EDWARD_THE_ELDER --> EADRED["EADRED  
King of the English (946–55)"]
    EDMUND --> EDGAR["EDGAR  
King of the Mercians and  
Northumbrians (957–9) and of the  
English (959–75)"]
    EDMUND --> EADWIG["EADWIG  
King of the English (955–9)"]
    EDGAR --> AETHELRED_II["ÆTHELRED II THE UNREADY  
King of the English  
(978–1013 and 1014–16)"]
    EDGAR --> EDWARD_THE_MARTYR["EDWARD THE MARTYR  
King of the English (975–8)"]
    EDWARD_THE_MARTYR --> SWEIN["SWEIN FORKBEARD  
King of the Danes (c. 987–1014)  
and of the English (1013–14)"]
    SWEIN --> CNUT["CNUT  
King of the English (1016–35),  
of the Danes (1018–35) and  
also of Norway and part of  
Sweden"]
    SWEIN --> AELFGIFU["ÆELFGIFU OF NORTHAMPTON  
Wife of Cnut and regent in Norw.  
with Harold I (1030–5)  
(d. after 1040)"]
    AETHELRED_II == EMMA["= EMMA OF NORMANDY  
Queen of Æthelred II and Cnut  
(d. 1052)"]
    CNUT == EMMA
    AELFGIFU == EMMA
    EMMA --> EDMUND_IRONSIDE["EDMUND IRONSIDE  
King of the English (1016), latterly  
only south of the Thames"]
    EMMA --> HARTHACNUT["HARTHACNUT  
King south of the Thames (1035– 7)  
and of the English (1040–2); king of  
the Danes (1035–42)"]
    EMMA --> HAROLD_I["HAROLD I HAREFOOT  
King north of the Thames (1035– 7)  
and of the English (1037–40)"]
    EDMUND_IRONSIDE --> EDWARD_THE_CONFESSOR["EDWARD THE CONFESSOR  
King of the English (1042–66)"]
    EDWARD_THE_CONFESSOR == EDITH["= EDITH  
Queen of Edward the  
Confessor (d. 1075)"]
    HAROLD_I --> HAROLD_II["HAROLD II  
King of the English (1066)"]

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ista perfecta Saxonia ('this England now made whole') (Lapidge 1993, 75–7). Although grounded in awareness that for the first time all the historically English kingdoms had been brought under a single king, the resultant political entity was a new creation. Its expansion was unapologetic conquest, not a reconquest, and its borders embraced Danes, Britons and others as well as Angles and Saxons (Keynes 2001b; Molyneux 2015).

Edward, Æthelstan and their successors faced numerous challenges, internal and external, to their enlarged domain. Indeed, although a single king for the whole kingdom gradually emerged as the ideal, fault-lines opened up several times during the tenth century. A unified kingdom was by no means always the intended or guaranteed outcome. After Alfred's death in 899 one of his nephews – Æthelwold, the son of King Æthelred I – attempted to seize the throne, and enlisted the support of the Vikings in a very serious threat to Edward's position. After Edward's death in 924, rival candidates were chosen in Wessex (Ælfweard) and Mercia (Æthelstan), and it was only because of the swift death of Ælfweard that the whole kingdom devolved upon one son (and even then Æthelstan faced a measure of resistance to his rule in Winchester) (Foot 2011, 39–41). In 957, Eadwig's promotion of a new faction based on his wife's family created enmity among a large portion of the elite, which led to the election of Edgar as king for the territory north of the Thames (though with Eadwig apparently retaining superiority: see below, section (m), pp. 206–7) (Keynes 1980, 48–70; Yorke 1988a; Jayakumar 2008). Maintenance of control over Northumbria was a persistent problem. The Vikings posed a recurring threat as successive kings of Dublin attempted to reinstate their dynasty's hold over Northumbria. An alliance of Dublin Vikings with Alba and the kingdom of Strathclyde was defeated at *Brunanburh* in 937, but Northumbria and part of the east midlands were seized by Olaf Guthfrithsson in the wake of Æthelstan's death in 939. York passed back and forth several times between English and Viking rule until 954, in which year Northumbria came definitively under English hegemony, though its integration into the kingdom as a whole was tenuous, especially north of York (Aird 2009).

The military success of the English kingdom in the tenth century found parallels in other aspects of its kingship and government. Æthelstan in particular cultivated marriage alliances and other links with dynasties all over Europe, from Norway to Brittany via East and West Francia (Keynes 1985b; Ortenberg 2010; Foot 2011, 44–56). Fortified *byrg* (sing. *burh*) continued to be centres of local government as well as defence, and in time became nuclei of urban life (Hill 2000; Holt 2010; Baker and Brookes 2013; Baker *et al.* 2013). Closely associated with the spread of *byrg* was the establishment of shires in the midlands, modelled on units of local government in Wessex (Loyn 1984, 133–40; Keynes 2014b). Law-codes appeared in unparalleled number: these include a diverse array of documents, some issued under the king's auspices at large assemblies, while others represent local responses to the provisions of such assemblies (Keynes 1990; Pratt 2010; Roach 2013b). Centralised production of charters emerged under Æthelstan, and certain groups of charters reflect alternative regional or institutional views of royal authority (Keynes 2013). Charters are especially important for tracing the representation of the dynasty. Æthelstan was entitled *rex totius Britanniae* ('king of all Britain') by an array of sources including charters, poems and coins in the years following his takeover of Northumbria. Beginning with a ceremony held at Eamont, Cumbria, in 927, a tradition emerged for kings from the northern and western parts of Britain to visit the English court. The flow of visitors continued on and off into the early 950s (Halloran 2010–11; Molyneux 2011, 65–6; Charles-Edwards 2013, 497–519, 536–52). Edgar not only re-instituted claims to authority over *Britannia*/Albion, but also (in 973) conducted an elaborate ritual

at Chester in which six or eight kings from elsewhere in Britain rowed him down the river Dee (Barrow 2001; Thornton 2001; Jayakumar 2001; Williams 2004; Crick 2008; Keynes 2008a, 48–51; Molyneaux 2011, 66–8). By these means the kings of the West Saxon dynasty demonstrated that they were supreme among the rulers of Britain, upholding their claim to an extended dimension of authority which went beyond (and indeed complemented) the kingdom of the English (John 1966, 46–63; Molyneaux 2011).

Towards the close of this period, a further new dimension of kingship emerged with royal patronage of the so-called Benedictine reform movement (Cubitt 1997; Barrow 2008; Winterbottom and Lapidge 2012, xlii–li). This was driven by three charismatic bishops: St Æthelwold, St Dunstan and St Oswald of Worcester. Associations between them were loose, and each had a distinct interpretation of monastic reform, as well as different political affiliations; all three, however, quickly found recognition among their followers as a saint (Ramsay *et al.* 1992; Yorke 1988b; Brooks and Cubitt 1996). Royal support for the reformers began on a limited scale under Eadred, but it was Edgar who promoted it most enthusiastically (Keynes 2008a), to the extent that after his death landowners across the country reacted against the new monasteries, either in pursuit of political quarrels with specific abbots or bishops, or through a feeling that they had been strong-armed into giving up their property (Keynes 2003, 26–7; Jayakumar 2009). Edgar's sanction undoubtedly had enabled rapid progress. Inspired by similar initiatives in continental Europe as well as by England's glorious pre-Viking history of monasticism (Wormald 1988; Gransden 1989), the reform in its most extreme form claimed to restore a purer form of Benedictine observance (Barrow 2009). In reality, the approaches of the reformers were quite varied. Æthelwold appears to have been the strictest and most vigorous in his advancement of Benedictinism, forcibly expelling the secular clerks from the Old Minster of Winchester and probably drawing up a unified monastic rule for the whole kingdom, the *Regularis concordia*, which gave prominence to the king and queen (Symons *et al.* 1984). Both Dunstan and Oswald, however, accommodated the practices of existing monks or clerics: their monasteries saw no stark break with earlier custom (Brooks 1984, 250–60; Yorke 1995, 210–25; Barrow 1996; Blair 2005, 349–54; Jones 2009a). The pace and impact of reform hence varied between individuals and specific communities, while unreformed houses remained numerous and were respected by contemporaries (including Edgar), but the large literary output of reformed communities in the generation after the initial enterprise has ensured that their voice resounds most strongly.

(b) LITERATURE

Early scholarship on coins of this period was largely limited to description of the different coin types used, and the range of moneyers named (e.g. Ruding 1840, I, 126–32; Hawkins 1887, 132–48). Most attention focused on the rare ornamental series of Edward the Elder and mint-signed specimens (e.g. Brooke 1950, 49–50); the rest of the coinage remained a relatively unexplored wilderness, illuminated only occasionally by mint names or diverse typology. George Brooke went so far as to declare that 'an attempt to form a chronological sequence of Edward [the Elder]'s types is doomed to failure' (Brooke 1950, 49). Research into the coinage was driven largely by specific hoards, beginning with Harkirke (Lancashire) in 1611 (*Checklist* 92); other major finds prompting discussion of relevant portions of the coinage included Cuerdale in 1840 (*Checklist* 87) and the Forum hoard from Rome in 1883 (Lanciani and De Rossi 1883; Keary 1884).

The generation of scholars who turned their attention to Anglo-Saxon coinage in the decades after the Second World War transformed understanding of this period. Michael Dolley (with Michael Metcalf) considered Edgar's pre-reform coinage in some detail, though primarily with the aim of establishing a contrast with the subsequent decades (Dolley and Metcalf 1961, esp. 140–4). Christopher Blunt was the major force behind the resurgence of interest in the mid-tenth century coinage. His serious research on the series began around the time he worked on the Chester hoard of 1950 (*Checklist* 144; Blunt and Dolley 1952–4), which contained specimens of issues all the way from Alfred's reign to that of Edgar. Blunt later published a monograph-length paper bringing a new level of clarity to the coinage of Æthelstan (Blunt 1974), including the first steps towards a more detailed system of classification and attribution for the non-mint-signed issues. The culmination of his research came in the 1980s: first with the *Sylloge* of British Museum material (*SCBI* 34, published with Marion Archibald) which explained the classification system for the whole period from Æthelstan to Edgar, and applied it to the national collection; and subsequently in a volume which Blunt had prepared over many years in collaboration with Lord Stewartby and Stewart Lyon (*CTCE*; the overall scheme is also surveyed in Stewart 1988a). *CTCE* in particular remains the essential foundation for understanding this period of coinage, and a masterpiece of numismatic scholarship. Detailed research into the core issues of chronology and attribution remains dominated by the findings of *CTCE*. But Blunt, Stewart and Lyon's work was uneven in depth, some segments of the coinage (e.g. the reign of Edward the Elder) being covered more thoroughly than others. Much work is still needed to bring understanding of the early coinage of Æthelstan and many issues of Edmund, Eadred, Eadwig and the first part of Edgar's reign up to the same standard. The mounting total of single-finds, though still small in this period, also offers a valuable new source for analysis of circulation, alongside the large but geographically unbalanced hoard record (Naismith 2014f, 56–68).

However, on the strength of this much-improved picture of the numismatic essentials, research into other aspects of the tenth-century coinage has blossomed. Philologists have addressed the interpretation of moneyers' names with renewed interest now that regional attributions are possible (Smart 2006; 2009), and the historical implications of this comparatively regionalised coinage have been discussed several times (Jonsson 1987b, 31–78; 2006; Metcalf 1987f; Naismith 2014f, 40–52). Æthelstan's coinage in particular has come to the attention of historians interested in its evidence for royal titulature and representation (e.g. Foot 2011; the first comparison between the titles on the coins and in the charters was drawn by a numismatist: Ruding 1840, I, 127 n. 1). However, earlier tenth-century coinage remains in many ways under-studied and under-exploited compared with that of the 970s and after. This is in part a result of the greater difficulties posed by the material. Yet it holds the promise of important new insights into institutions of the day, and effectively embodies the complex process by which the kingdom of England evolved between the reigns of Alfred and Edgar.

(c) GENERAL FEATURES OF THE COINAGE

The coinage issued in England between 899 and the early 970s is one of the more opaque series of the Anglo-Saxon period. The practice of frequent recoinage and universal type-change which had prevailed in the years c. 860–80 fell by the wayside, meaning that coins could remain in circulation for almost a century. Most of the pennies from this intervening period do not carry any

explicit indication of where they were produced, and there was not the same level of homogeneous conformity in design across the kingdom as in the late tenth and eleventh century. This comparison, however, involves judging the tenth-century coinage by a later yardstick. Taken on its own terms, especially in comparison with the situation in late Carolingian West Francia and Ottonian Germany, the tenth-century English coinage was still an impressive achievement. Recognition of the king was universal on coins struck within English territory, as was citation of the moneyer responsible for production. The complicated infrastructure of the coinage closely reflects both the strengths and weaknesses of the tenth-century English kingdom.

The tenth-century coinage may be analysed in many ways. Here, a balance is struck between a thematic approach, which highlights common features and continuities across the period (as is done in *CTCE*), and comment on features of specific reigns taken as a whole. Chronologically, there is much value in viewing the entire period as a single entity, yet a division into three broad periods illustrates how the character of the coinage changed in response to the shifting political and institutional situation.

1. 899–939 (**1281–505**): the reigns of Edward the Elder and Æthelstan were marked by swift growth in the extent of both the kingdom and its coinage. New mint-places were opened in significant numbers, probably resulting in more locations issuing coin than at any point since the early eighth century. This impetus was tied to expansion in the number of boroughs, which in turn were either inherited or created in newly won territories. Unity in design was comparatively strong in this period, the culmination of which was the institution across most of the kingdom of Æthelstan's new common types which for the first time named the mint-place as a matter of course, and acted as vehicles for ambitious new expressions of royal status.
2. 939–55 (**1506–618**): immediately after Æthelstan's death, Northumbria and the east midlands were overrun by Vikings. Edmund and Eadred had to devote much of their energies to recovering this territory; Eadred too was faced with an unknown and perhaps debilitating illness, especially in the latter part of his reign. Possibly as a reflection of this more strained situation, the coinage retreated from the ambitious symbolism and innovative organisation of Æthelstan. Gone were mint names and elaborate titulature. Across most of the kingdom, the coinage reverted to the simple design and royal style popular under Edward the Elder. One of the most striking features of the period is the back and forth of the coinage in Northumbria and (in 939–42) the east midlands between English and Scandinavian control, and efforts to support new minting initiatives in York from further south. Of course, in Mercia, Wessex and East Anglia there was rather more stability, in coinage as in other respects; but this period saw greater entrenchment of regional differences in the coinage everywhere. The monetary system built up by Alfred, Edward and Æthelstan was at serious risk of coming unstuck.
3. 955–early 970s (**1619–763**): the securing of Northumbria in 954 on what would prove to be a permanent basis, and the accession of Eadwig a year later, paved the way for restoration of much that Edward and especially Æthelstan had worked towards in the earlier part of the tenth century. Features of the latter's coinage – Circumscription and Bust Crowned types, mint names and greater unity across the kingdom – were consciously imitated. This process began on a modest scale in the reign of Eadwig, but intensified under Edgar. His restored

Circumscription type in particular would extend across the kingdom, including in traditional redoubts of localised coinage such as the east midlands. The climax of this development was of course Edgar's great reform towards the end of his reign, but it too was modelled on Æthelstan's coinage, and had been prefigured in many respects by the coinage of the preceding fifteen or so years.

(d) TYPOLOGY

Three principal types account for the overwhelming majority of the coinage:

1. The Horizontal/Two-Line type. Instituted under Alfred *c.* 880, this was the single most widespread and characteristic design of the tenth century. On the obverse, it placed the king's name in circumscription around (usually) a small cross within a circle; on the reverse, it placed the moneyer's name in two horizontal lines, with various ornaments above, below and in between. Given the standard types, most groups of Horizontal/Two-Line coins can only be attributed on the basis of these ornaments and other stylistic criteria (*CTCE*, 13–19). The most significant regional variants are the 'Rosettes' types: instead of crosses, these placed rosettes of pellets on the reverse and/or obverse dies from the time of Æthelstan onwards, and can be associated with the west midlands (*CTCE*, 17–18). In different forms, the Horizontal/Two-Line type was used continuously from the 880s to the 970s, though the extent of its popularity varied significantly during that time. In the reign of Edward the Elder it was by far the most dominant coin type in both Wessex and Mercia (1287–402). During the reign of Æthelstan the Horizontal/Two-Line type was temporarily supplanted in much (though not all) of the kingdom by the Circumscription and Bust types, but it regained its primacy thereafter. Only under Edgar did it again lose out to other types, and even then it continued to be issued for at least some of the reign in the midlands and Northumbria (1644–713).
2. The Circumscription type. As the name suggests, this design circumscribed both the king's name and the moneyer's name around a cross within a circle. Because this provided additional space for the legends (especially when, as often, the size of the lettering was reduced), the Circumscription type commonly carried extended royal styles on the obverse, and the mint name as well as the moneyer's name on the reverse. It was first used in the middle part of Æthelstan's reign (1451–81), when for a time it dominated the coinage everywhere except the east midlands and East Anglia. In some areas the Circumscription type was replaced with the Bust Crowned type in Æthelstan's later years, and there was no substantive issue of the type during the reign of either of his two successors. Under Eadwig, however, there was a limited revival of the Circumscription type in the south-west, with and without mint names (1643), followed by a much larger resurrection in the first decade or so of Edgar's reign, during which Circumscription (and, at some mint-places, Bust) issues replaced Horizontal/Two-Line as the preferred type (1714–51). As with Horizontal/Two-Line, variants of the type are distinguished by their central ornaments on obverse and reverse. Most carry simply a small cross on both faces, but specimens from the west midlands commonly feature a rosette of pellets on their obverse and/or reverse. A small number of other devices were added into the field of Circumscription coins.
3. The Bust type. Pennies of this type carry a bust of the king on the obverse. The accompanying reverse was generally similar to that of the Circumscription type, although the mint name is

given less frequently, often resulting in larger, more widely spaced lettering on this type. Many forms and styles of bust are represented on the obverse of tenth-century English pennies. Pennies with a draped and diademed bust were issued sporadically across Edward the Elder's reign, combined with a Horizontal/Two-Line reverse (**1282–6**). These became especially popular at London in the later part of the reign. Occasional specimens of Bust pennies from the early years of Æthelstan also carry a draped and diademed bust, on the model of those from his father's time (**1482**), but the large majority of Bust coins of Æthelstan belong to his later years when for the first time it became the standard type for a large part of England (**1483–90**). The new form of bust was crowned instead of diademed, and was used at mint-places across southern England and East Anglia. It was also used, briefly and on a small scale, in York (**1487–8**), while in the east midlands two local variants on the Bust Crowned type emerged, known as NE II and NE III (**1491–4**). These are distinguished by their unusual style, and by the general absence from them of mint names. After Æthelstan, the Bust type receded in popularity overall, though it persisted to some degree in its east midland adaptation, and more strongly in East Anglia. Coins of the east midland Bust variants were produced under Edmund and on a larger scale under Eadred (**1606–16**), while the East Anglian mint-places held to an increasingly stylised form of crowned Bust design right down to Edgar's reform (apparently with a pause in the reign of Eadwig) (**1758–61**). Like the Circumscription type, Bust was revived on a significant scale in the pre-reform coinage of Edgar (**1752–7**), though at this time it was more restricted in its production than Circumscription pennies, being largely confined to major southern and East Anglian mints.

These three principal types dominated English coinage in the period from 899 to Edgar's reform. Their regional prevalence is outlined in Table 14. All three include a range of sub-types and local variants, chiefly based on what ornaments are found around and within the legend on the obverse and reverse.

Other, smaller types also existed alongside these main designs. An attractive 'rose' reverse design was issued under Edward the Elder in Wessex and Kent (*CTCE*, 71–2) (**1403**). The most famous and visually impressive are the 'ornamental' types used on the reverse of coins from the west midlands in the central part of Edward's reign, which are likely to represent issues struck under the rule of his sister, Æthelflæd (**1404–7**). New 'ornamental' designs (some of them very similar to those of Edward's coinage) were used on a very limited scale later in the tenth century, under Æthelstan and his successors down to Edgar (e.g. **1617–18**). These issues come from several different parts of the kingdom, including Winchester and York as well as the west midlands (*CTCE*, 202–6).

Round halfpennies, which first appeared in the time of Alfred and Ceolwulf II (Chapter 8, section (d), pp. 168–70), were a small but important element of the coinage in the tenth century (**1295, 1406, 1448, 1617**). Six specimens are known for Edward the Elder (five of Horizontal/Two-Line type, one 'ornamental'), but only three for Æthelstan (Blunt 1962b, 44–8; Blackburn 1993, with CR 2003, no. 167 and CR 2013, no. 92). Two are also known for Edmund, four for Eadred (including PAS HAMP-422CF4), three for Eadwig and nine for Edgar. A significant proportion among these can be associated with the west midlands; others, especially those struck for Eadwig and Edgar, carry mint names showing that they were produced at Bath, Chichester, London, Wilton and Winchester. Several of these carry unusual types, borrowed from coins struck much earlier (*CTCE*, 203): London halfpennies of Edgar carry the London Monogram design of Alfred's

Table 14. *Summary of prevalent coin types in the regions of tenth-century England.*

Ruler	Southern England			West midlands		East Anglia	East midlands		Northumbria		
Edward the Elder	H/T-L	Bust (sporadic)		H/T-L		[Viking]					
				‘Ornamental’							
			Bust (London)	H/T-L		Bust (imitative)		H/T-L		[Viking]	
Æthelstan	H/T-L				Bust	H/T-L	Bust (NE II and III)	Church/Circ.			
	Circ.							Bust			
	Bust		H/T-L (R)					Bust			
Edmund	H/T-L			H/T-L (R)		Bust	[Viking]				
							H/T-L	Bust (NE II)	H/T-L		
Eadred	H/T-L			H/T-L (R)		Bust				H/T-L [and Viking]	
Eadwig	H/T-L		Circ. (south-west)	H/T-L (R)		Bust	H/T-L				
Edgar	Circ.	Bust		Circ.	H/T-L (R)	Bust	H/T-L	Circ.	H/T-L	Circ.	
	Reform										

Note: Abbreviations: Circ. = Circumscription; NE = north-east; H/T-L (R) = Horizontal/Two-Line (Rosette).

reign, for example, and several from the west midlands under Eadred, Eadwig and Edgar carry floral reverses reminiscent of Edward the Elder's coinage. By the time of Edgar there was a strong antiquarian note to the coinage system as a whole, but selection of old and unusual designs for halfpennies in particular may have helped distinguish them visually from pennies.

Most finds of tenth-century halfpennies have occurred comparatively recently thanks to the popularisation of metal-detecting, and major urban excavations at London and Winchester. The representation of halfpennies in hoards (which remain the primary source for tenth-century coins) is very poor. It is entirely possible that they represented a larger share of the original currency than is indicated by the number of surviving specimens, although it is likely that pennies were always much more numerous. They provide important evidence of some demand for lower-value currency, adding to the signals for socially and functionally diversified coin-use (Naismith 2014g).

(e) HOARDS AND SINGLE-FINDS

Even after several decades of active recording of metal-detector finds, coins of Edward the Elder and his heirs remain comparatively scarce among single-finds. About 270 single-finds of English coins from the whole period *c.* 880 to Edgar's reform were known as of 2012 (Naismith 2014f, 56–68). Conversely, more than 1,300 single-finds are recorded from the period of similar duration that extends from Edgar's reform to the Norman Conquest. Hoards therefore play an especially important part in creating the surviving impression of tenth-century coinage. Some thirty-four hoards deposited between *c.* 900 and Edgar's reform are known from within English territory. Their chronological and geographical distribution is very uneven. The majority of hoards have come to light in what was the northern part of the kingdom: from the east and west midlands and particularly from further north. The famous Cuerdale hoard (*Checklist* 87), which contained some 7,500 coins in total, is a key source for the late coinages of Alfred and the early ones of Edward the Elder. Large hoards also shape the surviving corpus in later times. The Chester (1950) hoard (*Checklist* 144) of some 550 coins serves as a major source for issues from Alfred down to Edgar, dominated by specimens from the west midlands, and the Tetney, Lincolnshire, hoard (*Checklist* 141) of more than four hundred coins consisted exclusively of issues from the east midlands and York. Another large find from Morley St Peter, Norfolk (*Checklist* 107) consists largely of portrait coins from East Anglia. Tenth-century hoards from the south of England exist, but tend to be comparatively small compared with their northern counterparts.

The extensive hoards of coins of this period found outside England serve primarily to reinforce the dominance of northern material. Finds from Scotland include a high proportion of York and east midlands pennies, while those from Ireland tend to have stronger representation of specimens from the west midlands (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 265–74). A partial corrective is provided by the extensive tenth-century hoards found in Rome and Italy (Blunt 1986; Naismith 2014e). The largest and best studied of these – the 'Vatican' hoard of *c.* 927 and the 'Forum' hoard assembled 944×946 – consisted largely of pennies from southern England (Naismith and Tinti forthcoming); another, the Rome hoard of *c.* 950 acquired for the British Museum in 1846, had a stronger east midlands flavour (Blunt 1986, 161–2).

The upshot of this imbalance in the hoard material is that coins from the east and west midlands and from York are preserved in significantly larger quantity than those from the southern part of the kingdom. To some extent this results from the high level of activity at northern mint-places

in the tenth century (Metcalf 1986a, 142–4): Chester in particular had a huge number of moneyers when mint-signatures were first used under Æthelstan, with probably more than a dozen at work (*SCBI* 64, 5–7). On this criterion it was by far the most active mint in the kingdom, outstripping London and Winchester, for example (Naismith 2014c). Much of Chester's productivity could have been fuelled by Irish Sea trade (Metcalf 1992b, esp. 96–102); indeed, Michael Dolley once proposed that a portion of its coinage under Edgar (designed HR3) was minted exclusively for foreign exchange, as it was common in Scottish and Irish finds but entirely absent from the English (Dolley 1961b, 16–18). New finds have since filled in the English blank (*CTCE*, 254), for which reason HR3 can no longer be interpreted as an issue specifically to facilitate foreign trade. Nonetheless, it remains the case that Chester and to some extent the other mint-places of the west midlands enjoyed a period of unprecedented activity in the tenth century, which was curtailed sharply in the century after Edgar's reform. It is likely that the unnamed mint-places of the east midlands hosted numerous, highly productive moneyers as well.

Given the nature of the hoard record, the single-finds are a critical resource in showing that southern England was also a significant player in the tenth-century monetary economy of the tenth century (Naismith 2014f). Despite the numerous moneyers of Chester and the strong representation of the west midlands in hoards, issues from this region are relatively poorly represented among single-finds. Very few single-finds have actually come to light in the west midlands, suggesting that domestic circulation may have been less vibrant than in the southern and eastern parts of the kingdom, with large-scale production being driven by the demands of overseas trade. Conversely, the east midlands, East Anglia and southern England (including London and the Thames valley) have produced a much higher share of single-finds, while coins from the south make up a significant proportion of single-finds from other parts of the kingdom. The tenth century provides a signal case of how different numismatic sources can highlight divergent aspects of the same period.

(f) REGIONALISATION AND ROYAL CONTROL

The tenth-century coinage was produced during a period of political consolidation: Wessex and Mercia grew closer together, and in time former Viking territories in eastern and northern England were conquered by the West Saxon dynasty. Minting and coin-use are among the best gauges for how West Saxon control expanded into new areas, and numismatics has played a prominent part in scholarship on the development of governmental institutions. This has led to careful scrutiny of the tenth-century English currency, and what it indicates about the level of integration within the kingdom.

Compared with the monetary system of the 970s and after, the tenth-century coinage appears somewhat ramshackle and disorganised. No systematic recoinage took place (though overstrikes show that some reminting occurred), meaning that hoards commonly include a long tail of coins going back through several reigns. There was also no standardisation of design or metrology for the kingdom as a whole, and a number of distinct regions can be discerned through the coinage. The five principal segments of tenth-century England from a monetary perspective were:

1. Southern England. In 911 London, Oxford and their attached territories were transferred from Mercian to West Saxon control. However, despite historically having been part of Mercia, in terms of coinage London and the Thames valley had already been closely associated with

Wessex for some time, and would continue to be for generations. All England from Devon to Kent and northward to the Thames, Hertfordshire and Essex effectively formed a single large unit as far as the coinage was concerned. It was in this area that new titulature and designs seem to have been most widely accepted. At times there were important local variations within this large territory. London die-cutters, for example, preferred to use Bust types late in Edward the Elder's reign, and several sources of die-cutting can be traced in the Bust Crowned coinage of Æthelstan, tentatively associated with Canterbury, London and Winchester.

2. West midlands. Essentially the western part of the former kingdom of Mercia, this region extended from Chester in the north to Hereford and Gloucester in the south. The southern portion of the area is more difficult to categorise, for its products are significantly rarer and at various times show affinities with both the southern part of England and mint-places to the north (Naismith 2014f, 49). It is likely that later in this period the territory characterised by 'west midland' types contracted, leaving Hereford, Gloucester and *Wearðburh* on the fringe of southern and west midland influences (Pagan 2008, 204–5). The west midlands were characterised by distinct styles of die-cutting throughout the period under consideration. Typologically, the most dramatic departure from the mainstream southern tradition was the temporary adoption of pictorial reverse designs under Edward the Elder; later, under Æthelstan, the use of rosettes as an element of the obverse and/or reverse design of Horizontal and Circumscription pennies became a hallmark of the west midlands. The core mints of this monetary region were Chester and its neighbours, extending from Shrewsbury east to Derby. It should be emphasised that by later reckonings Derby was firmly a part of the Danelaw, and culturally had much in common with the rest of the east midlands (Naismith 2014f, 79). Numismatically, however, Derby emerges as a significant centre, much more closely tied to the west midlands than the east (especially after its reconquest from the Scandinavians in 942), for instance in placing rosettes rather than crosses on Horizontal/Two-Line and Circumscription dies (Pagan 2008, 204–5).
3. East midlands. This region is referred to, somewhat confusingly, as the 'north-east' in much of the numismatic literature, for it originated as a reference to the north-eastern portion of Edward the Elder's kingdom before York was added under Æthelstan: i.e. the former Viking territories of the east midlands gradually secured by Edward and Æthelflæd in the later 910s. Numismatically, this area was very prolific from the time of Edward the Elder onwards. Although its products tend to be easily distinguishable by style (and are designated 'NE I–V') (1305–94, 1411–12, 1437–48, 1491–4, 1509, 1542–6, 1552–6, 1597–9, 1603, 1606–16, 1632–3, 1665–96, 1738), this region proved resistant in the face of new coin types, including those which instituted mint names; hence mint-signed coins from this area are virtually non-existent. A few coins (one of them now in this collection) are known with the mint-signature of Lincoln (1605), and it may be presumed that Lincoln, and perhaps Stamford, were the major producers of the coinages now assigned to the east midlands. In the early years of the post-reform coinage Lincolnshire seems to have possessed a relatively large number of small mint-places, which could hint at minor mints operating outside Lincoln and Stamford in the earlier period (see section (g), pp. 189–93).

How far the styles associated with the east midlands extended is unclear, but dies of this style were used by moneyers who can be associated with Northampton, Bedford and

occasionally even Hertford and Maldon (Blunt 1974, 82; *CTCE*, 112, 266). Northampton and Bedford, perhaps with Newport Pagnell, formed a distinct 'south-east midlands' group which had links both with the north and with the south, and sometimes (as in the later years of Edward the Elder) produced coins of an identifiable and distinct local style. Despite their geographical location in the heart of the present-day east midlands, Nottingham and Leicester may have played little or no part in the issue of 'east midlands'-style pennies. Although it should be noted that one Nottingham moneyer seems to have produced coins of NE III type, Circumscription dies used in Nottingham under Æthelstan were drawn from Derby, which belonged more to the west midland orbit (Pagan 1995, 153–4), while mint-signed coins of Æthelstan from Leicester are not of a clearly diagnostic style (Blunt 1974, 95–7). After 939 there is no certain evidence for coining operations at Nottingham or Leicester, but the probability is that any moneyers based there followed the example of their neighbours at Derby and struck coins of Horizontal/Two-Line type distinguished by the presence of rosettes.

4. East Anglia. Mint-places in East Anglia were responsible for an idiosyncratic run of coins, normally featuring a bust, which can first be identified in the time of Edward the Elder (**1552–5, 1606–16, 1758–61, 2452–3**). The earliest 'English' (as opposed to Viking) East Anglian coinage was an anomalous issue of imitations of London pennies of Edward, which probably continued into the early years of Æthelstan (**2452–3**). Later in this reign there appeared a more conventional coinage featuring a stylised royal bust, with meaningful legends and conforming to the English rather than Viking weight standard (**1484**). This issue may have begun at the time busts were being employed elsewhere in southern England, or conceivably earlier, for use of busts was to emerge as the defining feature of East Anglian coinage in the four decades or so until Edgar's reform. The only possible hiatus came under Eadwig, when the East Anglian moneyers may have drawn on non-portrait dies from the east midlands (Naismith 2014f, 54).
5. York. The one mint-place north of the Humber was extremely productive, and followed a distinct numismatic trajectory from the time of its conquest in 927 onwards – not least because at several points in the years 939–54 the city and its moneyers fell back under Scandinavian control. During its periods of activity for English rulers, York's coinage was a complex entity (**1466–9, 1487–8, 1494A–C, 1526, 1547, 1601–2, 1624–6, 1628, 1634, 1697–702, 1731, 1740–4**).

The very first coinage of York under Æthelstan was an unusual type featuring a figural design of a church (**1494A–C**), sometimes with a mint-signature. Not all specimens of this unusual type belong to York, however (cf. **1494D–1495**): some bear the names of moneyers associated with the east and west midlands, though it is likely that all were issued in the immediate aftermath of Æthelstan's conquest in 927 (Williams 2011a, 150, 154). Numerous specimens of this previously rare type found in the recent Vale of York (*Checklist* 111a) and Ryedale (PAS YORYM-BC3AB2) hoards may lead to an improved understanding of its significance. In the later part of Æthelstan's reign York adhered quite closely to the pattern seen in the rest of England. Its moneyers issued mint-signed Circumscription (**1466–9**) and even a few Bust Crowned coins (**1487–8**), unlike the east midlands or even (in the case of Bust) the west midlands. After 939, when it was under English control, York had closer connections with the areas to the immediate south: moneyers and die-cutters from the west and especially east midlands seem to have been called on to provide support for the newly regained mint-place in the north (*CTCE*, 130–3; see below).

The implications of the regional structure of the tenth-century English coinage have been explored by Kenneth Jonsson (Jonsson 1987b, 31–78; 2006), building on earlier work by Michael Dolley and Michael Metcalf (Dolley and Metcalf 1961, esp. 140–4). Jonsson stressed that the framework of the tenth-century coinage owes much to the processes by which the English kingdom came together. Thus the west midlands essentially represent ‘English’ Mercia, while East Anglia, the east midlands and York reflect the major segments of the reconquered Viking territory. Perpetuation of a regionalised currency has been argued to reflect ongoing political divisions within the kingdom, possibly ealdormanries, although there are difficulties defining the number and borders of these units, and no evidence exists to suggest that ealdormen wielded direct control over the coinage (Metcalf 1987f; Stafford 1978).

However, even these five principal regions were subject to some flexibility. Under exceptional circumstances dies of characteristic east midlands style could be found as far south as Hertfordshire or Essex, and Derby occasionally provided dies of west midlands style to York. Subdivisions within these major segments of the kingdom have also been highlighted. In terms of circulation it is difficult to maintain claims for a strongly localised coinage. Rather, single-finds indicate a certain level of permeability, varying between different parts of the kingdom. Coins from southern England were dominant everywhere under English control in the time of Edward the Elder; later, there was a close relationship between Lincolnshire and Northumbria, and the east midlands and East Anglia. Generally the south and east emerge as better represented in the quantity of single-finds, and with a more diverse currency. In southern England and East Anglia, only about half the known single-finds were of local origin, while in the east and west midlands and Northumbria, the proportion rises to some 60 or 70 per cent; most of the remainder is also provided by immediate neighbours. Hoards to a large extent support this picture of a variable currency, with different degrees of diversity depending on location and individual circumstances. The Chester (1950) hoard of some 550 pennies (*Checklist* 144), for example, was found in the heart of the west midland monetary region, but only about 40 per cent of its content stemmed from the local area: coins from the south made up about 27 per cent of the total, coins from the east midlands about 16 per cent. Moreover, this regional diversity was apparent in all the reigns represented in the hoard: it seems to have been assembled not from chronologically discrete parcels brought from different areas, but rather by an individual with sustained access to a mixed currency. Of course, this may be compared with the Tetney hoard from Lincolnshire (*Checklist* 141) of more than four hundred coins consisting entirely of pennies from the east midlands and York, or the Morley St Peter hoard from Norfolk (*Checklist* 107) which consisted overwhelmingly of imitative East Anglian issues. But the record of coin finds as a whole is now presenting a picture of a currency which enjoyed significant integration, albeit to varying degrees in different regions (Naismith 2014f, 56–68), but which remained more localised than its eleventh-century counterpart. Certainly it is true that interregional circulation of English coin was significantly stronger than circulation of foreign coin (including Viking issues: Naismith 2014f, 57–8), suggesting that there was scrutiny of the coinage and a conscious decision to accept English pennies on the basis of common features recognisable by coin-users of the time.

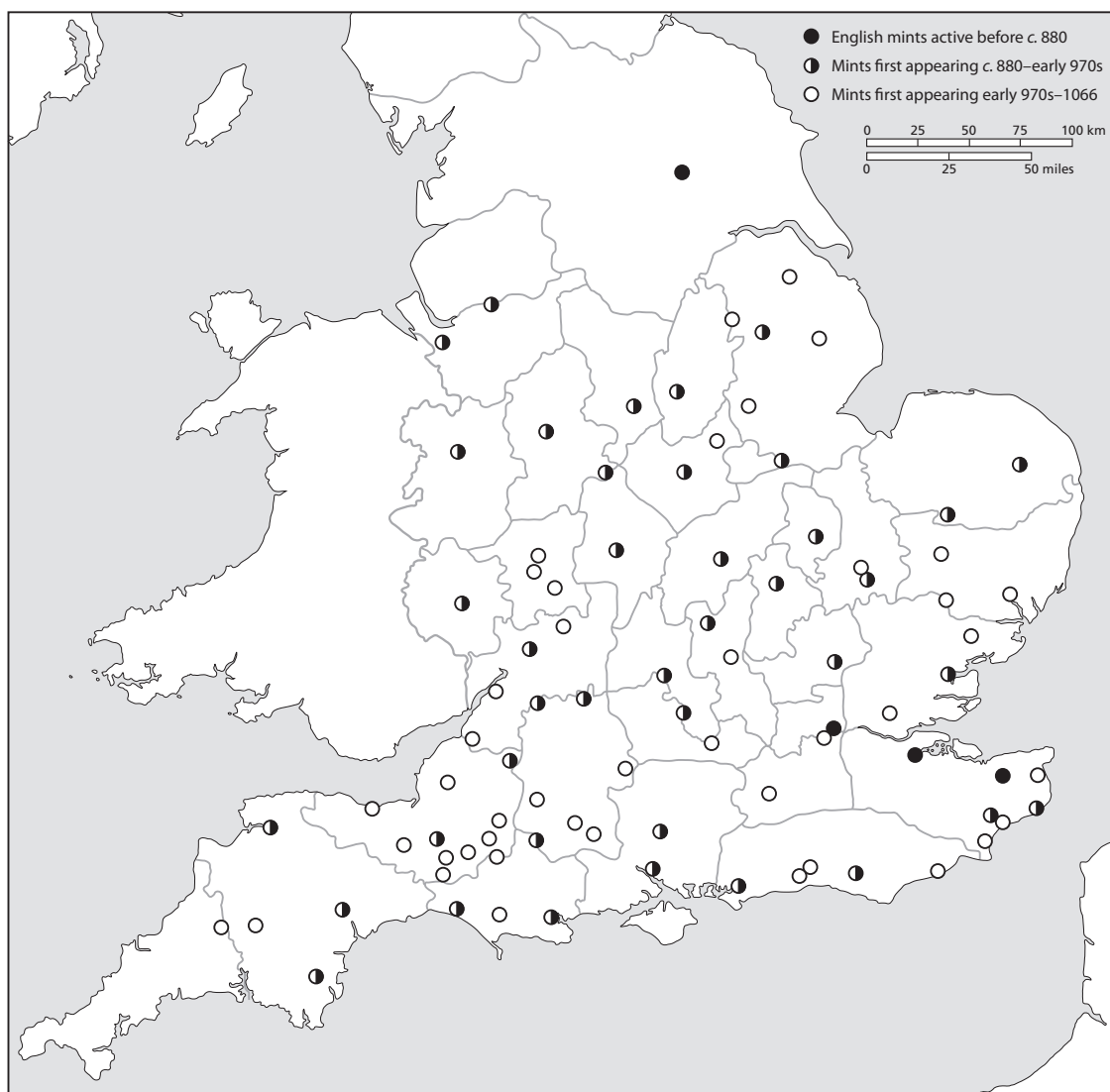
Perhaps the strongest evidence of an aim for monetary unity comes from royal legislation of the tenth century: the first English documents to provide any reference to the administration of the coinage (Screen 2007). The earliest and most detailed of these laws is the text known as

II Æthelstan (ed. Liebermann 1903–16, I, 158–9), which originates from a royal gathering held at Grately in Hampshire in the later 920s, although some or all of its monetary content may have been transplanted from an earlier law-code (Liebermann 1903–16, III, 100; Molyneaux 2015, 136–41). A later law-code, II/III Edgar (ed. Liebermann 1903–16, I, 204–5), reiterates some of the primary themes of Æthelstan's decrees, most prominently that there should be one coinage throughout the king's domain (*þæt an mynet sy ofer eall ðæs cynges onweald*). If this is accepted at face value, then the currency of the tenth century was on some level accepted as *an mynet* ('one coinage'): or at least the king wanted it to be so. In an important sense it was a single whole, since issuers virtually without exception recognised the king and the moneyer on their pennies. Compared with the situation in the contemporary West Frankish kingdom, this was no small achievement. There were also periodic initiatives aimed at establishing a broader level of typological unity within the kingdom, including Æthelstan's institution of the Circumscription and Bust Crowned types, which were both used across most, though not all, of the kingdom.

The tenth-century coinage has in many respects suffered from comparison with its successor. Several of the key studies set out with the aim of contrasting the relative disorder of Edgar's pre-reform coinage with what came after (see Chapter 10, section (i), pp. 260–1). It has been judged by the measure of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage, and inevitably found wanting. If taken on its own merits, however, the tenth-century English coinage was a versatile system. Above all, it shows how a combination of imposition and compromise helped install key institutions of the expanding English kingdom, with fault-lines running along old political boundaries. Thus, the coinage comes across much more favourably if it is seen as evolving gradually in response to changing political and institutional needs, rather than only as an end product to be set alongside Edgar's reformed coinage. During the tenth century a broad level of monetary unity emerged as one of the key means by which the kingdom's territories were welded together, from York in the north to Kent and Devon in the south. Indeed, all the features of the coinage established with Edgar's reform had their roots in tenth-century practice; what was new after the early 970s was their determined imposition across the kingdom, and their maintenance in subsequent generations.

(g) MINT-PLACES

One of the most important developments in the tenth century was the creation of a substantial network of mint-places (see Map 5; for a review of the process see M. Allen 2014b). This process had begun under Alfred, whose later coinage carries the names of five mint-places (see Chapter 8, section (c) p. 168), and more were certainly active. Two specimens from the beginning of Edward's reign are known with the mint-signature of Bath (**1281**) (Whitlock 2012). However, for the most part the expansion of the minting system went on in silence: the great majority of surviving tenth-century coins carry only the name of the moneyer responsible for production, not that of the mint-place. There were only two periods between Alfred's reign and Edgar's reform when mint names were widely used: one in the middle and later part of Æthelstan's reign; and the other in the pre-reform coinage of Edgar. Attribution of coins to specific mint-places at other times largely depends on projecting forwards or backwards from these coinages, and on the assumption that moneyers associated stylistically with attributable individuals worked at the same location, or at least in the same region.



Map 5. *Evolution of the Anglo-Saxon minting network, from c. 880.*

Conclusions about the probable number of mint-places in each region are summarised in Table 15. In the early 870s there were probably only two mint-places active, at least on a substantial and regular basis, in the whole of Southumbrian England (Canterbury and London), and even York may have fallen by the wayside at this stage. From the latter part of Alfred's reign, stylistic evidence points to the existence of at least two or three mint-places in English Mercia (Blackburn 1989a, 16–18; 1989b, 342–4; *MEC* 1, 313–14), and expansion of minting in the south to new locations outside the traditional south-eastern heartland: the named mint-places at Exeter, Gloucester,

Table 15. *Number of mint-places known or likely to have been active in different parts of England, c. 871–early 970s.*

	Alfred		Edward the Elder			Æthelstan		Edgar 959–early 970s (mint-signed)
	<i>c.</i> 871–5	<i>c.</i> 875–99	<i>c.</i> 899–910	<i>c.</i> 910–15	<i>c.</i> 915–24	924– <i>c.</i> 927	<i>c.</i> 927–39 (mint-signed)	
Southern England (including London and Oxford)	2	6	7	8	12/13	18	20	15/16 (+2 inferred)
West midlands	–	2/3	2/3	4	5	7	10	6
Eastern England (including East Anglia and east midlands)	–	[3+]	[3+]	[3+]	2+	3+	6+	8/9 (+4 inferred)
Northumbria	– (?)	[1]	[1]	[1]	[1]	[1]	1	1
Total	2	8/9 [3+]	9/10 [3+]	12 [3+]	19/20+ [1]	29+	37+	36/8

Note: Numbers in square brackets indicate known mint-places under Viking control.

Source: Modelled on Blackburn (1996b, 164), with supplementary information drawn from *CTCE*, Jonsson (1987b), Pagan (2008) and Naismith (2014f).

Oxford and Winchester (as well as Bath at the beginning of Edward's reign) provide some guide to the general direction of this process. Working backwards from the time of Æthelstan into the reign of Edward, there is every indication that this was in fact the period of swiftest growth in minting. Expansion seems to have tapered off by the time of Æthelstan; some new mint-places appeared under his successors (especially among the mint-signed coins of Edgar), but these were balanced by probable closure of others, and consisted mostly of additional small boroughs in the south of England. The only region which truly defeats analysis of this kind is the east midlands. Virtually no mint names were used there, but the number of moneyers known strongly suggests the activity of several substantial minting operations. Lincoln is known to have issued pennies already under Viking rule (see Chapter II, section (j), pp. 301–04), and a minute number of Lincoln mint-signed coins are known for Eadred and Edgar (1605). It may have been one of the principal producers in the east of England, but it is likely that there were others, including Stamford and possibly other minor mint-places.

Mint-places at this time varied significantly in size and character. Importantly, Chester emerged as one of the largest in the kingdom (*SCBI* 64; for a table of numbers of moneyers see Naismith 2014f). It retained this vibrancy into the reign of Edgar, when mint-signatures were again used widely and Chester boasted at least twenty moneyers compared with London's maximum of eight (see Table 16 on p. 209). York is difficult to evaluate, as for much of the tenth century it was apparently dominated by one highly productive moneyer at a time, who may have exercised some sort of monopoly within the city (Dolley and Van der Meer 1958, 124–5; Blunt 1974, 89). Many other mint-places, however, were comparatively small. Under Æthelstan, seventeen mint-places are known from only one moneyer in either the Circumscription or Bust Crowned phase (or both), and in six cases the one moneyer known in the Circumscription type disappeared in Bust Crowned, not to be replaced. On the face of it, these mint-places seem simply to have disappeared, although the surviving sample, especially from the south, is small enough for this perhaps to be a misleading impression. Previously unknown mint-places are still coming to light. The first known pre-reform penny of Cricklade, for example, appeared only in 2009 (Lyon 2011), and the first mint-signed penny of Edgar from Lincoln in 1996 (Blackburn and Leahy 1996). There are in addition two locations named in the mint list of II Æthelstan which are not represented by any surviving coins of the pre-reform period: Hastings and Dorchester. But the point remains that many of the mint-places in the tenth century were probably quite small entities, essentially based on the presence or absence of a single moneyer whose activity may have been irregular at the best of times.

The forty-seven or so locations named as, or that can be inferred to be, mint-places from the time of Edward the Elder to Edgar's reform coincide closely with known boroughs (OE *burh*, pl. *byrg*): fortified settlements which acted as a refuge and strongpoint in times of conflict, and provided a safe, supervised setting for focal points of local infrastructure such as courts, markets and minting (Biddle 1976a; Blackburn 1996b; Holt 2010; Baker and Brooks 2013; Molyneaux 2015, 86–92, 106–9). This association of minting with specific, regulated settlements appears as an article of the earliest English law-code to discuss the coinage, II Æthelstan, where it is declared that 'no one may mint money except in a town' (*nan mon ne mynetige buton on port*) (II Æthelstan 14: ed. Liebermann 1903–16, I, 158–9). Many boroughs had a long previous history as major urban settlements, or as important church sites, estate centres or fortifications (Blair 2005, 330–7; Carver 2010, 127–45), and some (if far from all) of them grew to become centres of population and trade in the later tenth and eleventh century (Astill 1991, 103–9; Holt 2010).

By the later tenth and early eleventh century, *byrg* in the midlands especially came to be focal points for shires, although these administrative divisions emerged gradually (Molyneaux 2015, 155–72) and *byrg* were probably founded with a range of other (mostly defensive) roles in mind (Williams 2013d, 151–7). Moreover, while all mint-places were situated in boroughs, not all boroughs supported minting. Of the thirty-three places listed in the so-called *Burghal Hidage* (a document listing *byrg* in southern England and the number of hides attached to the defence of each; Rumble 1996), for example, only thirteen were named as mint-places on coins in the time of Æthelstan (fourteen if one counts Hastings, named as a mint-place in II Æthelstan but not known from any surviving coins), another four more before Edgar's reform, and six more thereafter; ten were never named on coins at all. II Æthelstan included a provision for other boroughs to have one moneyer only, but it is unlikely that this would make up the discrepancy between it and the *Burghal Hidage*.

Beyond a link with the network of boroughs, there is little clear rhyme or reason to the expansion of the minting system. At the highest level rulers must sometimes have dealt with the monetary system as a whole, for instance when a common new design was instituted. But there were areas that resisted standardisation, and also royal legislation which dealt with only part of the kingdom. The famous list of numbers of moneyers assigned to specific towns in II Æthelstan names twelve places (two of which are not known from any surviving coins), all located on or south of the Thames. Even if, as is likely, it was written earlier than Æthelstan's reign, it probably omits several mint-places in the south, and, most glaringly, says nothing at all about the mint-places north of the Thames, which included some of the most productive mints in the kingdom (Molyneaux 2015, 138–9; Naismith 2014f, 70–4). Management of the minting system could therefore be handled for kings on either a national or a regional basis, presumably reflecting the integration of coin production into other processes of government. On a local level, moneyers derived their livelihood from direct contact with customers, and so were dependent on the level of demand for coin in each individual location. Factors leading to the establishment of one or more moneyers in a borough could have included a surplus of bullion needing to be coined, or indeed a perceived lack of coin: such is cited in an early medieval charter as the reason for establishing at least one ninth-century Carolingian mint (Bur 1991), and it should be remembered that many of the English mint-places of the tenth century are known from so few surviving coins that their activity may have been very small in scale. Moneyers could have started work in boroughs under their own initiative, or been drawn thither by royal or local command.

(h) METROLOGY AND FINENESS

There was a long and gradual decline in the weight of the English penny from Alfred to Edgar, accelerating significantly in the period from Edmund's reign onwards, but tempered at all times by regional variation. The probable target standard inherited at the beginning of Edward the Elder's reign was in the vicinity of 1.60g, and for the most part Edward's coinage adhered closely to it (*CTCE*, 237–8). Local divergence was most substantial in the newly conquered territory of East Anglia, where a coinage imitating the portrait issue of London from late in Edward's reign continued to follow a weight standard similar to that of the preceding St Edmund Memorial coinage (Blackburn 2006a, 205–8); however, there was also a noticeably lighter element in the coinage of Edward which can be assigned to Kent and Sussex. This area remained distinct

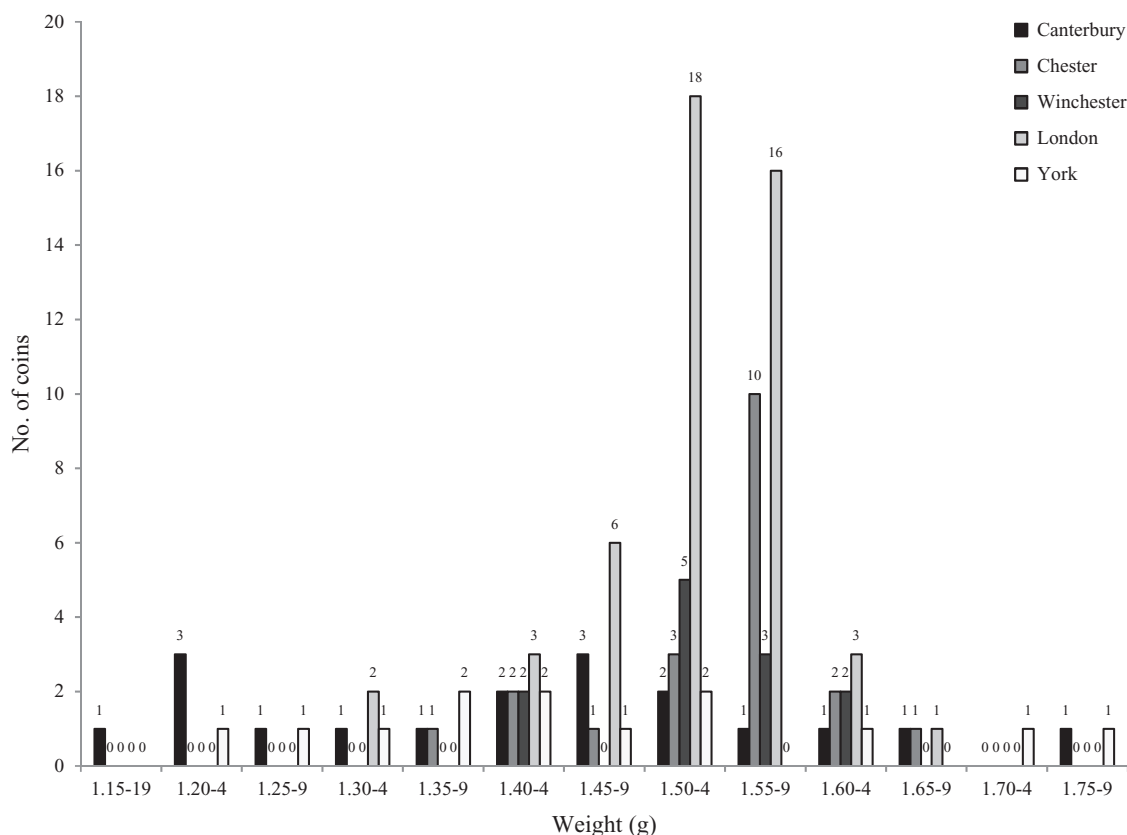


Figure 8. *Weight distribution of mint-signed pennies from the Forum hoard of Æthelstan, minted at Canterbury, Chester, London, Winchester and York (based on Naismith and Tinti forthcoming).*

under Æthelstan. Recent analysis of the numerous mint-signed coins of Æthelstan in the Forum hoard allows the metrology of specific southern mint-places to be examined in relative detail (Fig. 8). Comparison of Canterbury, London and Winchester (known from nineteen, forty-nine and twelve intact pennies, respectively) shows that the last two are very similar, the paucity of Winchester pennies notwithstanding: both the mean and median weights of London and Winchester were 1.53g and 1.54g respectively. Canterbury, however, is noticeably more varied in its metrology, and its mean and median weights are lower than those of the other two mint-places: 1.44g and 1.45g.

Regional fluctuations under Æthelstan are also apparent further north. Mint-signed pennies of Chester in the Forum hoard are marginally heavier than those from the three largest southern mints (with a median of 1.56g), but with a clear peak, like London and Winchester; York is similar to Canterbury in being more variable and generally lighter (median 1.41g). Issues from the north-west in general tend to be heavier than those from elsewhere, as are the Bust Crowned pennies from East Anglia (Metcalf 1992b, 49–50); the east midlands were generally on par with pennies from London and Winchester (though the portrait NE II and NE III coins were slightly lighter) (*CTCE*, 237).

Overall decline in weight became more apparent under Edmund and his successors (*CTCE*, 237–41), with the qualification that issues from the north-west tended to be on the heavier

side – indeed, it becomes apparent that the heaviest are those from Chester. By the time of Edgar, the median weight at major mints (including Chester, London, Winchester and East Anglia) lay in the region 1.42–1.49g, though issues from York and the north-east were significantly lighter; a wide gap had also emerged between different types at York and in the north-west. York Circumscription Cross issues were significantly heavier than those of Horizontal Trefoil types (medians of 1.38g and 1.23g), while issues of the HR3 type from Chester were noticeably lighter (median 1.34g) than those of the (probably later) Circumscription Rosette type (median 1.49g). In general the revived Circumscription coinage of Edgar tended towards a higher and more consistent weight standard than earlier types, and there was relative similarity in metrology across most of the kingdom except in York and the east midlands (Naismith 2014f, 68–70).

The poor and badly skewed pattern of survival among tenth-century English coins means that their metrology will never be known in as much detail as those from after Edgar's reform. Gradual decline from a standard established under Alfred and Edward the Elder is only part of the story. There was significant regional variation from the earliest stages of the coinage, as well as periodic attempts to bring most or all parts of the kingdom into line. Indeed, the essential features of the weight of the coinage earlier in the tenth century have much in common with those of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage (although gradual decline within each later type was usually arrested at times of reform). Regional weight variation in the period after Edgar's reform hence perpetuated a custom which was already well established in the English monetary system.

Fineness is also poorly known; the only substantive set of data (McKerrell and Stevenson 1972) is heavily weighted towards northern coins, and its reliability has been questioned (Metcalf 1986a, 145). In outline, the coinage was generally of quite high purity (i.e. 90 per cent silver or more) until the time of Eadwig and especially Edgar, under whom there was considerable variation.

(i) EDWARD THE ELDER (899–924)

The coinage of Edward the Elder (**1281–407**) bears vivid witness to the developments of his reign, and has been closely studied by Stewart Lyon. His important analyses (*CTCE*, 20–96; Lyon 2001) mean that more can be said with confidence about the details of Edward's coinage than about that of his successors. On a general level, Edward's coinage was dominated by a continuation of Alfred's last coin type (the 'Guthrum', Horizontal or Two-Line type). Edward's name appeared on the obverse with the title *rex*, around a small cross contained within a circle; on the reverse, the moneyer's name was placed in two lines, typically with three crosses in between and varying numbers of pellets above and below. A minority of coins from several parts of the kingdom substitute a diademed bust (**1282–6**) or an elegant floral design ('rose': **1403**) for the basic obverse design, and there were significant departures from the usual reverse in western Mercia.

This apparent simplicity masks a monetary system which was changing fast. In 899 the number of mints had fallen considerably. Canterbury and London had virtually or completely ceased to function, possibly as a consequence of plague in the 890s (*CTCE*, 21). Yet Winchester survived, and so did the mints of western Mercia. Output gradually revived in the first two thirds or so of Edward's reign, and took off on a much larger scale in his last few years. Mints became more numerous in the south, in western Mercia and, as English armies advanced, eastern regions. As a consequence, the absence of mint names on coins becomes especially problematic in this reign. By Edward's death in 924, the eight or nine mint-places active under Alfred had perhaps doubled in number to seventeen or eighteen (Blackburn 1996b, 163–5).

At the outset of Edward's reign, a very rare coinage is known which continued another of his father's issues: this entitled him REX SAXONVM and – uniquely for the reign – carries a mint name: Bath (1281) (Whittock 2012). Thereafter, lack of mint names renders analysis of the coinage challenging. Several centres of die manufacture and distribution were active (discussed in detail below), and over the course of the reign supplied different mints within one of three principal regions: southern England, the west midlands ('English Mercia') and the newly conquered Viking lands (the 'Danelaw').

1. Southern England was essentially Alfred's kingdom, incorporating Wessex and the south-east. By this stage it also included what had formerly been the southern reaches of Mercia, and Oxford and London were, for numismatic purposes, firmly within the southern orbit. Winchester appears to have been the principal centre of die distribution throughout the reign: initially, indeed, it was probably the only source of dies in the south, but was later joined by Canterbury and London. These three also supplied several additional locations.
2. Western Mercia (the modern west midlands) never issued coins in the name of Æthelred or Æthelflæd: Edward's title appeared on all pennies minted in this area. In the early and later parts of Edward's reign the basic design of coins in this region was also essentially the same as in the south. However, during the middle part of the reign – the period of Æthelflæd's rule (before 911–18) – a remarkable series of ornamental designs appeared on the west Mercian coinage (1404–7). Several stylistic distinctions are apparent within the west midlands, suggesting that it contained multiple active mints drawing on multiple sources of dies.
3. Finally, Edward's conquests brought large swaths of eastern England under his dominion. Adoption of English coinage was one of the first and most symbolic forms of integration into the larger kingdom, though of course there was scope for local customs and peculiarities to persist. An essentially imitative coinage was produced in East Anglia, while a pair of related Horizontal issues appeared in the east and south-east midlands.

1. Chronology

Key chronological criteria include the size of the flan and of the inner circle; the orientation of the central cross relative to the initial cross on the obverse; the presence of an outer circle between the obverse legend and the beading on the edge of the coin; and the style of the epigraphy. On this basis, Edward's reign can be divided into three segments (Early, Middle and Late), which further subdivide into two phases each, producing a total of six discernible periods. Only the stylistic groups associated with Winchester and the west Mercian die-cutting centres persist across the reign; Canterbury began at an early date in the reign; London and the Danelaw coinages later. Lyon's tripartite chronological division (*CTCE*, 20–96; Lyon 2001) provides a convenient yardstick with which to assess the development of Edward's coinage, but it should be remembered that phases of coinage are not always sharply distinguished, especially between different regions: coins ascribed to Canterbury 'Middle II', for example, very probably span the period when 'Late I' pennies were minted at Winchester and associated mints. The absolute dating of this scheme was also left deliberately approximate. 'Early' probably ended around 910, 'Middle' in 915 (perhaps later in western Mercia), while 'Late' continued to the end of the reign. A few key hoards underpin this chronology. The earliest segments of the coinage are those represented in the Cuerdale hoard, deposited *c.* 905–10 (*Checklist* 87), and the Morley St Peter hoard (*Checklist* 107: deposited under

Æthelstan, but including a small and distinct early group from about the same time as the Cuerdale coins). Small hoards from Chester (St John's church) (*Checklist* 99), Shrewsbury (*Checklist* 89) and Harkirke (*Checklist* 92) belong to the middle part of the reign, while a number of large later finds, particularly the Vatican and Forum hoards from Rome, illustrate the later phases of the reign. An important new hoard from Brantham, Suffolk, found in 2003 (*Checklist* 105b), has shed fresh light on the late 'Danelaw' coinage of Edward and the impact it had even this far east: it was found close to (and was probably hidden only a few years after) the Manningtree, Essex, hoard, which contained a more heterogeneous mix of Viking and English currency (Blackburn 2006a).

2. Winchester

The prominence Winchester had attained late in Alfred's reign carried through into Edward's: across the period it remained a major mint in itself, and the most important source of dies in southern England, initially being responsible for supplying all southern English mint-towns including Canterbury and Oxford. The careers of moneyers known later in the tenth century show that Winchester was probably also supplying London and mints in Sussex (both from Early II), Southampton (from Middle II) and Exeter (from Late II).

At the dawn of the tenth century, in the 'Early I' phase, Winchester dies were distinguished by a relatively small flan (20–21mm) and inner circle (9–10mm), with a central cross set diagonally relative to the initial cross (s (for 'saltire') type in *CTCE*) and sometimes a circle enclosing the obverse legend (e.g. **1296–7**). Subsequently ('Early II') the central obverse cross becomes upright (c (for 'cross') type), the outer circle disappears and the lettering becomes more 'upright' than it had previously been (e.g. **1292–3**: a Canterbury moneyer using West Saxon dies). The first part of the Middle phase at Winchester saw an increase in the diameter of the inner circle on the obverse (to 12–13mm), which had the effect of reducing the size of the lettering in the inscription and produced a noticeable gap between the king's name and REX. Also associated with this period was a relatively extensive issue of the 'Rose' type, apparently entirely by the moneyer Wulfheard (**1403**). 'Middle II' saw the flan size increase (to 22mm or more) to keep pace with the inner circle; as a result the lettering became larger once again, and the gap before REX was closed (e.g. **1294**). In the Late phase, the central obverse cross reverts to a diagonal orientation, and the lettering becomes characterised by thick wedges and thin curves, with an uncapped A and a contraction-mark over MO on the reverse (e.g. **1290**). The reverse design sometimes features trefoils (HT1) or single pellets (HP1) above and below the moneyer's name. Winchester dies of 'Late II' are distinguished by the reappearance of an outer circle, and exclusive use of trefoils (HT1) on the reverse.

3. Canterbury

Minting probably never ceased at Canterbury, although at the beginning of Edward's reign the city's monetary activity was at a low ebb. Dies were supplied from Winchester to the very few moneyers who remained active. However, already within the first decade or so of Edward's reign (Early II) it becomes possible to detect more numerous Canterbury moneyers (up to eight in total, several of whom worked for Archbishop Plegmund) and the products of local die-cutters. Their dies were marked out from their contemporary counterparts of Winchester origin by slightly smaller lettering.

Canterbury apparently suffered a temporary setback in the first part of the Middle phase. The only coins which can be attributed to Canterbury's die-cutters at this time are a group of crude Rose-type coins of the moneyer Eicmund. There is very little continuity between the Early II beginning and the later revival in Middle II, which may be a sign that the gap between these issues was longer than might otherwise be supposed (*CTCE*, 44–5). These Middle II coins of Canterbury style are Horizontal/Two-Line coins, all with trefoils of pellets (i.e. HT1) on the reverse, upright central crosses (type c), large flans and relatively large lettering (e.g. **993–4**). It is likely that they carried on being issued into Late I, during which two distinct series emerge among the Canterbury products, one with markedly heavier and spikier lettering. Both late series saw a slight reduction in flan size (by about 1mm). This feature persisted into the last specimens of Canterbury-style work (Late II), when a new style emerged. In this, the central cross on the obverse became diagonally aligned (type s), the initial cross shrank in size and, conversely, the central cross on the reverse became somewhat larger.

During Edward's reign the very last coins in the name of an archbishop of Canterbury were struck. Plegmund (890–923) was first named on coins which can be associated stylistically with Alfred's Horizontal/Two-Line coins (**990–2**) (*CTCE*, 31). Like Edward's, his pennies were apparently very few in the years immediately after 900, but revived to a limited degree in the middle and late segments of Edward's coinage. Exact chronological division of Plegmund's later issues is not possible because of the relatively small quantity of surviving specimens; they may always have been the work of just two moneyers (*CTCE*, 32, 45, 50).

4. *London*

Like at Canterbury, minting at London was effectively defunct at the inception of Edward's reign. No moneyers or dies can be attributed to it with confidence until the latter part of the 900s, at which point a small group of moneyers comes into view using dies of probable Winchester origin, albeit of distinctive style (*CTCE*, 30–1). They indicate the slow rebirth of minting at London, which did not begin to produce its own clearly distinguishable dies until the last few years of the reign. A selection of coins with a diademed bust characterised by smaller flans and cruder lettering than at Canterbury may reflect the inception of a local style in Late I, but it was only in Late II that London became a major force in the southern English monetary system. At this stage it was responsible for a large output of Two-Line and Bust Diademed dies, which probably derive from several mint-places in addition to London. The Two-Line coins have an upright obverse cross, and generally a cross above the moneyer's name on the reverse (HLT 1) (e.g. **1289, 1303–4**); the Bust Diademed coins usually feature a cross flanked by two trefoils in the upper reverse position (**1283**) (HLT 1). These late features persisted into the reign of Æthelstan, during which the London mint remained very prominent.

5. *West midlands: the 'Ornamental' types*

The coinage of the west midlands is one of particular complexity. Relatively few coins survive: enough to show considerable stylistic diversity, but not enough to clarify exactly how these groups should be arranged geographically or chronologically. Evidently a number of centres came to share

in the work of die manufacture and distribution, in a pattern quite distinct from that of southern England.

This was less clearly developed in the earliest years of the reign (Early I), when only five moneyers can be assigned to western Mercia, as part of a more tight-knit group. Some of these had been at work since the time of Alfred, and most of them continued to issue both Two-Line and Bust Diademed coins after 899 (e.g. **1285**, **1299**). These were on smaller flans and (in the case of the Two-Line pennies) had a central cross upright relative to the initial cross (type c), with larger inner circles than in the south (typically 10–12mm); they also generally have no ornamentation above or below the moneyer's name on the reverse.

It is towards the end of this phase (Early II) that the famous exceptional reverse types (**1404–7**) first appear, the earliest specimens being on small flans (*CTCE*, 34–43). These dominate the middle part of the reign in the west midlands. Very probably they span the period when Æthelflæd held power in Mercia, first in place of her ailing husband, and then in her own right between his death in 911 and her own in 918 (cf. Karkov 1995). However, it should be stressed that neither these coins, nor any others from Mercia after c. 880, ever carry the name of any ruler save Alfred, Edward and their heirs. These coins reflect regional practices and tastes as part of a larger whole (Naismith 2014f, 47).

The range of types found in this part of Edward's coinage is truly astounding. Some are architectural, showing a church or Roman-style camp gate, taken from bronze coins of the Constantinian dynasty. Another type (**1404**) has, by analogy with the two previous designs, generally been interpreted as a tower of some sort, but an alternative suggestion would identify it as a reliquary (Gannon 2013). Several different floral and geometric types were issued, as well as an elegant but minimal design which simply gave the moneyer's name in a single line across the reverse field (**1407**). One type associated with the moneyer Wighard shows a bird holding a twig in its beak. Particularly diverse are the designs featuring variations on the hand of God (**1405–6**) – sometimes mailed, sometimes blessing, sometimes open and with several configurations of the moneyer's name around it. The subject matter of most of these designs is religious, as is the case with a large proportion of elaborate numismatic iconography across the Anglo-Saxon period. The sentiments of peace and renewal implied by some of the coinage – the bird with the twig is quite possibly the dove with the olive sprig returning to Noah's ark (Genesis 8:11) – contrast with the military activities of the period. Yet the mailed hand and the camp gates may indicate that divine peace and favour were expected to accompany English victory over the Vikings.

Some twenty-three moneyers were involved in the Ornamental or Exceptional coinage. Among them, some issued only one type, others two or three, while individual designs were used by anything between one and six moneyers. The Tower, for example, is known for six moneyers; Hand types for a completely different six. There is some evidence to suggest that the former are associated with Chester, the latter with Shrewsbury: these two centres probably account for the bulk of the coinage, though they seem to have been home to multiple die-cutters over the course of the coinage. Some moneyers may, on the basis of attribution under Æthelstan, have already been based in Gloucester and Hereford as well. Very few coins of the 'exceptional' types have a known hoard provenance, leaving their internal chronology unclear (*CTCE*, 40–2; Lyon 2001, 72–3).

In Edward's last years, the mints of the west midlands reverted to the Two-Line design as was current in the south (e.g. **1300**); indeed, links with the south became noticeably stronger, especially in Late II, when there was a slight reduction in flan size (as at Canterbury), to 21.5–22.5mm, and

an adoption of outer circles (as at Winchester). Most coins of the later phase, including those of Late I, had a diagonally oriented central cross on the obverse (s type), though there were some – also marked by larger, more awkward lettering – which had a straight cross (c type). Several different styles of epigraphy can be detected at this time, indicating that the complex organisation established in the ‘exceptional’ coinage still prevailed. This retreat from the fascinating iconographic diversity of earlier years is striking, as is the apparent attempt to mirror quite detailed features of the southern coinage: both suggest a general attempt to adhere more closely to practices in the heartland of Edward's kingdom, which may be associated with the end of Æthelred and Æthelflæd's rule and Ælfwynn's removal from power at the end of 918 (*CTCE* 51–2; Lyon 2001, 76; cf. Keynes 1999b, 462–5).

6. Eastern England

Although portions of Viking territory had been recovered already in Alfred's reign, it was Edward, together with Æthelflæd, who made significant inroads into eastern England in the 910s. By the end of 918, it seems, most territory up to the Humber had been won (though for Lincoln see below, Chapter 11, section (j), pp. 301–4). Three groups of Edward's coins can be assigned to this area, broadly corresponding to earlier divisions within formerly Viking territory (*CTCE* 52–4; Hart 1992, esp. 3–24). Two of these are quite closely related, and consist of Two-Line pennies, all of them on large flans and with an upright central cross (c type), and often with an unbarred letter A. Some of these, with trefoils on the reverse (HT1), can be associated with the east midlands; earlier specimens (Late I) carry small lettering, and are struck by a restricted number of moneyers, whereas the later ones (Late II) have large, ponderous lettering (modelled on that of London in Late II) (**1305–94**). The second group of Two-Line pennies probably belongs to the south-east midlands, approximately around Northampton and Cambridge (**1287, 1298**): these are similar to the first, yet are notable for their large but ‘cleaner’ lettering, and for the reverse design of quatrefoils instead of trefoils (HQ1). Both groups have recently been supplemented by coins from the Brantham hoard (*Checklist* 105b), contained in this collection, which provides a number of new moneyers and shows how dominant the new east midland issue swiftly grew to be, even as far east as the Suffolk coast (Blackburn 2006a, 34–6).

The third group of coins from the subdued Viking territory is more difficult to contextualise within the broader framework of Edward's coinage. It belongs to East Anglia, perhaps specifically to Norfolk, and consists of imitations of the Bust Diademed type (**2452–3**). These name, or attempt to name in garbled form, a range of largely London moneyers, and take London coins as their visual inspiration. These coins are often deficient in weight, and ranged between the approximate older Viking standard (c. 1.30g) and the new standard of Edward's regular coinage (c. 1.60g) (*CTCE*, 52–3). Finds of them are few, but they are well known thanks to a large clutch in the Morley St Peter hoard (*SCBI* 26, 4–8) and also, more recently, a smaller selection from the Framingham Earl hoard (*Checklist* 105a; Blackburn 2006a, 205–8); other finds include a small number of single coins from East Anglia and its fringes (e.g. EMC 2012.0311). Because of this coinage's essentially imitative nature, there can be no way to confirm its exact date, or even that it solely belongs to the reign of Edward. There is every possibility that it went on being made into the reign of Æthelstan, and set the pattern for that region's preference for portrait coinage down to the 970s (Blunt 1974, 80–1).

(j) ÆTHELSTAN (924–39)

In many respects Æthelstan's coinage foreshadows the ambitious reforms undertaken in Edgar's reign five decades later, and in fact elements of Æthelstan's issues were taken as a model by Edgar and his advisers (Naismith 2014f, 81–2). The coinage saw the institution of two of the main types which characterised the tenth century (Circumscription and Bust Crowned), alongside the Horizontal/Two-Line type. The overall scheme of the reign can be divided up into three segments, though certain regions followed a distinct course.

1. *The early coinage*

During Æthelstan's earliest years as king the coinage was essentially a continuation of Edward the Elder's. The Horizontal Trefoil type (i.e. the standard Horizontal/Two-Line design with three pellets above and below the moneyer's name) was overwhelmingly dominant in all parts of the kingdom (1408–36), save for East Anglia, where it is likely that the lightweight coinage imitating Edward the Elder's London portrait coinage continued. There was also limited production of an early (diademed) bust type, known from only a tiny number of surviving specimens (1482); importantly, some of these already carried a circumscription reverse, unlike the late bust issues of Edward the Elder, and may have paved the way for Æthelstan's later and much larger Circumscription and Bust Crowned issues (1451–81, 1483–94). Another minor type known from a single surviving specimen places a floral motif above and below the moneyer's name on an otherwise regular Horizontal reverse (Blunt 1974, 47).

As in Edward's reign, it is possible to discern regional patterns among these issues, and many of the moneyers named at this time continued into the later mint-signed types. A critical feature distinguishing the east from the west of the country is the presence of an inner circle: issues of Kent, London, East Anglia and the east midlands are without, while those of Winchester, the west midlands and Derby do have one. Moneyers of Oxford did both, because they received some dies from Winchester and some from Derby (the latter also distinguished by $\mathfrak{D}$ crossed through the curve rather than the upright). A distinct style of die-cutting used in Kent and Sussex was marked by small, seriffed lettering, usually with an unbarred A and an M with a significantly lowered middle (e.g. 1426). Dies associated with London moneyers tend to have neat and prominent beading on the edge, and extremely regular lettering (with barred A and a looped centre to M); the king's name begins with an Æ (e.g. 1432). Conversely, dies used by moneyers in Wessex have a linear outer circle, together with a looped centre to the M; A is often (but not always) barred, sometimes with a curve or chevron, and the king's name normally begins Æ, occasionally E (e.g. 1416–20). In the west midlands two principal groups can be discerned, both of which are distinguished by $\mathfrak{D}$ crossed through the curve rather than the upright (as was the case elsewhere). One group, tentatively associated with Chester, has notably less neat lettering than was customary in the south, with a lowered centre on M, and usually commences the king's name with Æ (e.g. 1423). The other group, seen at Shrewsbury and Hereford, has more orderly lettering, and normally uses E to begin the king's name (though Æ sometimes occurs) (e.g. 1433).

A rare type was issued at York in the period between Æthelstan's conquest of the city and the institution there of the Circumscription type. This intriguing group carries an architectural representation of a church on the reverse (1494A–5). Some specimens carry the mint name of York, in

Latin form; others name moneyers normally associated with the east and west midlands, who may have produced the type at their regular mint-places or been seconded to York in the aftermath of its takeover in 927 (Blunt 1974, 88–92). The discovery in York of a lead trial-piece stamped with a reverse Church die suggests the latter (Blackburn 2004, 335). The recent Vale of York hoard (*Checklist* 111a) has substantially expanded the number of known specimens of the Church type, and even provided an example of an imitation – important as evidence that the length and scale of production may have been greater than hitherto expected. Nonetheless, it was a short-lived coinage, lasting only a year or two after the conquest of York, and even the new specimens in the Vale of York hoard have not increased the number of known moneyers (Williams 2011a, 150).

2. The east midlands

The former Viking territories of eastern England, corresponding approximately to the modern east midlands, followed a distinct trajectory under Æthelstan, with their own range of local types which dominated local coinage throughout the reign. The other types instituted elsewhere in the kingdom made relatively small inroads. Three main groups can be distinguished, corresponding to Blunt's NE I, II and III (Blunt 1974, 81–8). NE I is a Horizontal type associated with the eastern part of the Danelaw, characterised by thick lettering (**1437–44**); late in the reign some moneyers were supplied with dies which carried a linear circle inside the beaded edge. These dies also had thinner lettering, and tended to cross ð through the curve rather than the upright and use a reversed N. A specimen of NE I was found in the Vatican hoard, indicating that it had already begun early in the reign, and probably continued for its duration (Blunt 1974, 54, 57). NE II and III (**1445–7**) both bore busts. NE II has a crude bust, sometimes seemingly wearing a helmet and/or crown. Its moneyers can be linked to mint-places in the south-west Danelaw such as Bedford and Northampton; they are also named on a slightly earlier Horizontal type with lettering which is as large as that on NE I but neater in appearance. NE III is unusual in featuring a bust which stands out in high relief. On earlier specimens the bust faces right; later it faces left with retrograde legends. Several of the moneyers' names appear to be corrupt, but one among them can be associated with Nottingham, for which reason it may tentatively be assigned to the north-west Danelaw.

3. The Circumscription type

This important new type was instituted comparatively early in Æthelstan's reign. Placing both obverse and reverse legends in circumscription, with generally smaller lettering than on previous types, it gave scope for more extended legends (**1451–81**). On the reverse, this meant the first widespread inclusion of mint names, often with a qualification as to whether a location was a CIVITAS (ten places, generally Roman cities) or an VRBS (four places, all relatively new foundations) (Blunt 1974, 45). On the obverse, the extra space was used for an extended form of royal title, typically along the lines of +ÆDELSTAN REX TO[*tius*] BRIT[*anniae*] ('+Æthelstan, king of all Britain'). This grand and entirely new royal style reflects Æthelstan's claims to dominance across Britain following his triumphant conquest of York in 927, and subsequent recognition as overlord by other British rulers at Eamont in Cumbria; it is mirrored, in even more elaborate form, in contemporary royal diplomas and book inscriptions (Molyneaux 2011; Foot 2011, 212–26). Indeed, these other sources

for when such a new and specific form of title became popular are important for the dating of the coinage: the title must post-date the events of 927, and first appears in reliable charters dating to 930 (S 403) and more widely in 931 and afterwards (Blunt 1974, 55–6). A recent hoard from Yorkshire (the Vale of York hoard; *Checklist* 111a) suggests that the new coin type, with the longer royal style, appeared earlier rather than later within this bracket: probably only a year or two after the fall of York and the meeting at Eamont (Williams 2011a, 150–1).

Coins of Circumscription type were produced throughout Æthelstan's kingdom, with the conspicuous exception of the east midlands and East Anglia. Both regions are presumed to have adhered to previous types. Also, in the west midlands a slight variation on the type was introduced. A rosette of pellets later replaced the cross on the obverse and/or reverse; this motif was to become established as a characteristic feature of the region (**1474–81**) (*SCBI* 64, 6; Blunt 1974, 48). Derby used a different form of title on many of its coins: REX SAXORVM ('king of the Saxons') or similar (**1457–8**) (Blunt 1974, 93–5). Circumscription Cross pennies were issued on a large scale in York (now named in its Old English form), but in the name of only one moneyer, Ragnaldr (**1466–9**). His complex coinage includes many small minor ornaments and variations, perhaps intended as privy marks to denote the work of subordinates (Dolley and van der Meer 1958, 124–5; Blunt 1974, 89). A few of Ragnaldr's pennies are struck from two reverse dies, therefore omitting the name of the king altogether; the same is true of some pennies from Nottingham (Blunt 1974, 92, 96). These were probably the result of technical error, for coins struck from two obverses also exist, though the possibility exists that they stem from the troubled times around the battle of *Brunanburh* in 937, or immediately after Æthelstan's death.

4. *The Bust Crowned type*

Like its predecessor the Circumscription type, this coinage shows signs of having been conceived at the highest levels of authority, by agencies familiar with other representations of royal power. The obverse design is, as the name suggests, a crowned bust, usually facing right (**1483–94**). Busts had been used on previous coinages many times, but none of them had been adorned with crowns since the early pennies. Moreover, the exact form of crown on these coins is very similar to that the king wears in a contemporary illustration of Æthelstan donating a book to St Cuthbert (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183, fol. 1v; Blunt 1974, 47–8), and a good claim can be made that this represents the actual form of crown worn at the time (Foot 2011, 216–23). Because of the modified obverse design, most Bust Crowned pennies reverted to a shorter royal style – though a number of coins from Winchester (e.g. **1485**), and also occasionally Oxford and York, retained the lengthier title of the Circumscription type by placing the bust entirely within an inner circle (Blunt 1974, 66). The reverse generally retained a Circumscription arrangement, though a significant number of coins no longer gave the mint name (Blunt 1974, 48).

Bust Crowned pennies were introduced some years after the Circumscription coinage: Blunt guessed that the two types occupied an equal share of the period 927–39 (Blunt 1974, 56–7), but it may be that the Bust Crowned type was of briefer duration. At York (**1487–8**) it was only introduced on a very limited scale, either because it arrived later than in the south, or because it came at a time of declining activity (Blunt 1974, 57). However, the type seems to have continued until Edmund's accession (*CTCE*, 111). The Bust Crowned type found particular favour in East Anglia, where it was probably the first coinage to be issued in Æthelstan's name: seven moneyers

are known from Norwich (**1484**), and one from the unlocated (but probably East Anglian) mint of 'SMRIERL' (Blunt 1974, 80–1). It was also popular in much of the south, especially at larger mint-places, and close analysis of the large sample of coins of this type in the Forum hoard has indicated that dies were supplied by three or four centres, tentatively associated with Canterbury, London, Winchester and Oxford (the last possibly a subsidiary of Winchester) (Metcalf 1992b, 80–9). No Bust Crowned pennies are known from the south-west, which presumably continued to use the Circumscription Cross type. The east midlands in a sense conformed to the institution of a bust type by issuing the idiosyncratic NE II and NE III series, which both belong late in the reign. However, there is no evidence that mints in the west midlands ever issued Bust Crowned pennies. Indeed, there is even an example of a Circumscription Cross penny from Chester overstruck on a bust penny of NE III (*CTCE*, 109; Blunt 1974, no. 149). This reluctance to produce coins with the crowned bust of the king may reflect Mercian sensitivity, though the more mundane explanation that the region was already distinguished by the rosette variant is also possible.

(k) EDMUND (939–46)

Edmund's coinage (**1506–57**) reverted to a pattern more like that of his father, Edward the Elder, or the very early coinage of Æthelstan: the Horizontal type again became dominant, and mint names were generally avoided. A significant proportion of Edmund's moneyers had issued the mint-signed types of Æthelstan (or, in some cases, appear at named mints in later reigns) and can thus be attributed to specific mints. These moneyers provide a baseline for assigning other, associated moneyers to particular regions of the kingdom.

Ongoing research by Hugh Pagan (pers. comm.) has identified a total of fifty-eight moneyers for Edmund who can be assigned to the southern part of England. The coins bearing their names are comparatively uniform in style (**1527–41**). One distinct group is marked out by especially neat and regular lettering, of varying size: it is characteristic of Wallingford and Winchester, though was occasionally used at London. Another substantial group is united by the common use of a beaded outer circle only, and also by its moneyers sometimes producing Horizontal types with single pellets or crosses in place of the usual trefoil. A few moneyers of this group worked at mint-places in Kent and Sussex in other reigns, suggesting that this is where these coins belong. There was rather more variation further north. East Anglia continued the distinct local Bust Crowned variety of Æthelstan's time, and was one of the very few parts of Edmund's kingdom to use the mint name (Norwich) on a regular basis (**1552–5**); Bedford too may be named on a small number of coins (**1551**) (*CTCE*, 191; Blunt 1971). The (Horizontal) NE I and (crude bust) NE II coinages also continued in the east midlands. York, which was recovered in 944, presents a situation of some complexity. Two moneyers who had been active there in preceding Viking coinages survived into Edmund's reign. One, Farman, may have decamped to a location further south, for he is known from coins of Edmund of both HR I and NE I types, and under Eadred he issued Bust Crowned pennies of a type associated with the east midlands; but he then returned to York to issue coins again for Viking rulers. Another moneyer, Ingelgar (**1526, 1547**), was responsible for an extensive range of coins which often place an abbreviated form of the mint name in the obverse legend; others were of NE I style. Links between York and the east midlands were especially strong in this period. Two further moneyers who produced NE I (**1542–6**) and (under Eadred) Bust Crowned

coins issued pennies in the name of Viking rulers around 940, which may be the products of the brief spell of Viking rule in the east midlands, 939–42 (*CTCE*, 117–19).

In the west midlands (**1511–25**) and – after its recovery by the English in 942 – at Derby (**1510**), a variant of the Horizontal type emerged with the rosette which had begun to be used on Circumscription pennies in the west midlands late in the reign of Æthelstan. Coins of this region in the reign of Edmund were considered in detail by Pagan (Pagan 1995). The products of die-cutting centres associated with Derby and with Chester (and smaller neighbouring mint-places) can be distinguished based on the form of *M*: on dies of the former, this tends to have an arch formed from two upwardly curved arches; on those of the latter, *M* is more angular, and on earlier specimens has a long limb descending from the central arch. Other mint-places in the region looked at various times to sources of dies more akin to ‘Chester’ or ‘Derby’, though for the most part these mints seem to have depended on local resources. Shrewsbury apparently imitated ‘Chester’ style early in Edmund’s reign, but followed Derby later on. Moneyers at Hereford used a rare variant which placed a cross above and below the reverse inscription, while at Stafford a form of regular Horizontal type (without rosettes) influenced by ‘Chester’ style was used.

(1) EADRED (946–55)

For the most part Eadred’s coinage (**1558–618**) maintained the basic pattern of Edmund’s, in that its largest single component remained the Horizontal type. Within the surviving corpus, southern mint-places tend to be represented by numerous moneyers known only from a few coins each, whereas in the east midlands and the north fewer moneyers are known, but from a great many specimens (*CTCE*, 130). This pattern is due in large part to the distorting effect of the northern hoard evidence; single-finds are now redressing the balance to some extent, and emphasise the vibrant monetary role of East Anglia in particular (Naismith 2014f, 58–68). At this time East Anglia maintained its idiosyncratic adherence to the Bust Crowned type (including the mint-signature for Norwich), and one of the most unusual features of Eadred’s reign was the extension of this type to the east midlands (**1606–16**). Numerous new moneyers issued pennies of Bust Crowned type, similar in style to those of the East Anglian moneyers, while the NE I style of Horizontal pennies is markedly rarer than in other reigns. Some of the new Bust Crowned moneyers can be associated with the east midlands in other reigns, and, exceptionally, a mint-signature for Lincoln (**1605**) appears on the issues of one of the moneyers responsible for the eastern Bust Crowned coinage (*CTCE*, 191–4; Blackburn and Bonser 1997).

Control of York went back and forth multiple times during this reign (see Chapter 11, sections (a) and (i), pp. 278–81 and 292–301). As under Edmund, coin issues vividly reflect this complex history, and indicate links with the midlands (**1601–2**). The one moneyer to work at York throughout Eadred’s reign (and for Viking rulers), Ingelgar, was on at least one occasion supplied with dies bearing the rosette characteristic of Derby and the west midlands, and was tied by a die-link to two moneyers associated with the east midlands. Two other moneyers, Hunræd and Theodmær, who issued Horizontal pennies of a neat and consistent style associated with the east midlands (with trefoils on the reverse, hence designated HT1) (**1597–9**) can also be tied to York (as well as Derby and Chester) through obverse die-links; they may have moved to York to help supplement production there after its reconquest, or increased their output and extended their connections from a base in the east midlands, perhaps when replacing the Viking coinage of Northumbria. It should

be added that the established NE I style of Horizontal type with characteristically large lettering and a single outer circle on both faces continued (**1600**), albeit on a very limited scale; much of its usual output may have been replaced by the new and substantial east midlands coinage of Hunræd and Theodmær, and by the extended Bust Crowned coinage (*CTCE*, 130–3).

In the west midlands, Horizontal types with rosettes on obverse and reverse prevailed throughout the reign (**1560–80**). However, moneyers associated with Chester soon adopted a new and distinct variant which replaced two of the central crosses on the reverse with annulets (known as HR2); elsewhere, including at Derby, the older type with three crosses and rosettes (HR1) continued, often with either an M or S inserted into the obverse field.

Issues from the south of England under Eadred are as yet poorly understood. Two coins (both of regular Horizontal Trefoil (HT1) type) place a mint-signature at the end of the obverse legend, one each for Canterbury and Oxford (for which see *CTCE*, 133–7). A minor local variant of the same type is also known, with four pellets added in the obverse field, or three and a large die flaw; the moneyers responsible for this small group of coins are attributed to Bedford and 'NIWEPORT' under Eadwig (Stewartby 1994b, 38–9). Another small group spanning the reigns of Edmund and Eadred probably stems from Kent and Sussex; it carries a floral motif on the obverse, and dagger-like devices in place of crosses on the reverse (Naismith 2014c). Further research may identify other sub-types, and criteria for more precise regional attribution.

(m) EADWIG (955–9)

Although the product of a brief reign, Eadwig's coinage (**1619–43**) set in motion a number of developments which would continue on a larger scale under Edgar, culminating in a sweeping reform of the coinage. In particular, there was a revival of mint-signatures and, to a limited degree, of the Circumscription and Bust Crowned types, which had not been used on any scale in southern England since the time of Æthelstan. The new Circumscription type (**1643**) was confined to the south-west: Barnstaple, Exeter and Totnes are all represented by a single mint-signed coin each (*CTCE*, 172). A still smaller revival of the Bust Crowned type may have begun in London, from which a single mint-signed specimen survives (*CTCE*, 194–5). In other southern regions of the kingdom, mint names were placed on the reverse of the Horizontal type; the resultant coinage is known as HT3 (**1635–42**). It was most popular in southern Mercia, but also extended into Wessex. Ten places are named on coins of this type: Bath, Bedford, Hertford, Huntingdon, 'NIWEPORT', Northampton, Oxford, Southampton (though distinguishing this mint-place from Northampton is problematic, as both are named simply as HAM or similar, for *Hamtune*), Wallingford and Winchester. In the west midlands, a visually similar design appeared (HR3) (**1624–7**), but the additional line of letters placed across the reverse field simply continued the word *monetarius*; all examples are attributable to Chester.

In other respects, however, Eadwig's coinage perpetuated the basic pattern of the immediately preceding period. There were many coins of the old established Horizontal types from both the south and the west midlands, which possibly belong earlier in the reign. In the east midlands Horizontal coins of NE I style continued as well, on a somewhat larger scale than in the time of Eadred (**1632–3**). These spelt the king's name EADVVI (omitting the final G). Pennies of another style had smaller lettering and a double outer circle, but because they also rendered the king's name as EADVVI, they have been associated with the east midlands (as NE IV). The Bust Crowned type

used there under Eadred is known from only one specimen in the name of Eadwig, and seems to have been discontinued very quickly (*CTCE*, 313–14). In the west midlands there was a brief issue of coins of HR2 type from Chester, soon to be superseded by the new HR3 type. At Derby and probably other neighbouring mint-places such as Leicester and Nottingham, the issue of coins of HR1 type continued throughout the reign (**1619–23**). Another rare variant cannot be associated with a specific mint-place, but should probably be linked with the west midlands. This type, referred to as HR5, places the moneyer's name in one line across the reverse field, with a rosette above and below (*CTCE*, 146–52).

East Anglia is puzzling, for no Bust Crowned pennies of East Anglian style or moneyers are known in the name of Eadwig. At least two moneyers, however, who issued such coins in other reigns are named on Horizontal-Trefoil pennies of Eadwig, one of NE I style (Naismith 2014f, 50). Under Edgar the traditional Bust Crowned type of East Anglia reappeared, but for the few years of Eadwig's reign, it appears that this coinage was discontinued in favour of a (perhaps more limited) Horizontal issue.

The division of the kingdom in 957 has left no obvious mark on the coinage of England. For this reason it is likely that although Edgar took control over territories north of the Thames, most or all moneyers continued to name Eadwig on their coins until his death in 959 (*CTCE*, 278–80). Two specific points have been adduced in support of this proposition. A mule between the coinages of Eadwig and Edgar was struck from a reverse which was also used (in the west midlands) to produce coins which gave Edgar some variant on the abbreviated title *rex totius Britanniae*. It is difficult to believe that this style would have been used on the coins if Eadwig still lived (*CTCE*, 279–80). Also, there was an extensive coinage at York in the name of Eadwig, continuing on from that of Eadred, which was unusual for spelling the king's name EADWIG with a winn (a form used only occasionally elsewhere) (*CTCE*, 147). This coinage survives in significant quantity, from numerous finds: hence its representation is not distorted by a single hoard. The same is true of HT3 issues from the south-east midlands (Pagan 2008, 204). The scale of these coinages, relative to other issues of Eadwig, does not seem consonant with a reign of only two years north of the Thames. Neither of these cases is conclusive individually, but taken as a whole the argument for Eadwig's coinage continuing throughout England until 959 is strong.

(n) EDGAR (959–EARLY 970S)

Because of the dominance in scholarship of Edgar's post-reform coinage, his earlier issues (**1644–763**) have often been considered with the primary aim of emphasising the magnitude of the change which came at the end of the reign (e.g. Dolley and Metcalf 1961, 137–45; Jonsson 1987b, 31–78; 2006). Features of diversity have hence been highlighted, and while the earlier coinage of Edgar was indeed more varied, it still presents an important step towards the fundamental change which would be taken in later times (Naismith 2014f, 51). Central to this was a move in southern England and the west midlands towards restoring the Circumscription (**1714–51**) and (to a more limited degree) Crowned Bust (**1752–61**) types, which had been widespread under Æthelstan. The final reform of the coinage was in a sense the culmination of this process, building upon the principle of unity advanced under Æthelstan, and possibly taking inspiration from the design of rare pennies of Æthelstan issued at Winchester which placed the bust inside an inner circle (Naismith 2014f, 80–1).

The Circumscription type appears to have been revived at an early date in Edgar's reign. Horizontal coins of moneyers from the south are very scarce (though cf. Pagan 2008, 196–7), and Circumscription Cross pennies of London and Winchester were the only English specimens in a recent Italian hoard which may have been concealed in 964 (Saccocci 2002). Horizontal issues from other parts of the kingdom are preserved in greater numbers, however. A large group was made by moneyers associated with York (**1740–4**), and is closely tied to an east midlands coinage referred to as NE V (**1667–96**) (heavily represented in the large Tetney hoard from Lincolnshire: *Checklist* 141); a small number of coins in Edgar's name of NE I style is also known from the east midlands early in his reign (**1665–6**). At York, a late and minor Horizontal type replaced the trefoils on the reverse with single pellets (*CTCE*, 162). The HR1 and HR2 types (the former likely to be from Derby and other nearby mint-places, the latter from Chester) remained plentiful too (**1646–64**) (*CTCE*, 157–64; Jonsson 1987b, 46–55; Pagan 2008, 201–3). It may well be that the Circumscription type spread more gradually outside southern England, or that there was some overlap between it and earlier types in these regions.

A somewhat special segment of the Horizontal coinage is Edgar's so-called HR3 type from the west midlands (**1708–12**). Initiated under Eadwig, under Edgar the central line of letters on the reverse was used to represent the mint name: Chester, Derby, Tamworth and possibly one other location (NE, though this could be an extension of *moneta(rius)* rather than a mint name) are recorded. In the case of Chester especially, this was a substantial coinage, known in the names of at least nineteen moneyers. The hoard finds of this type strongly suggest that it belongs late in Edgar's reign (*CTCE*, 163–4; Jonsson 1987b, 59–60; Pagan 2008, 200). It was suggested by Michael Dolley that this type continued to be issued after Edgar's reform for the purposes of trade in Ireland, and he noted that in the early 1960s no specimens of the type had ever been found in England (Dolley 1961b, 16–18; Dolley and Metcalf 1961, 141). However, several English finds have now come to light, and there can be little doubt that HR3 was in the first instance expected to circulate within England (*CTCE*, 164, 254). There is as yet no firm evidence that it continued to be minted after the major reform late in the reign, and given the determined effort to homogenise the appearance of the coinage made and used throughout the kingdom, even in previously resistant areas such as the east and west midlands, it is improbable that HR3 continued thereafter.

Several regional groupings stand out among the Circumscription coins of Edgar (**1714–51**) (*CTCE*, 172–89; Jonsson 1987b, 55–9). Many examples from the south shared small, neat lettering which permitted the lengthy royal title REX ANGLORV(M) (later ANGLOR: cf. Blackburn and Leahy 1996, 240), though Canterbury, London and Winchester also called on a common source for dies with larger lettering and a pellet in the field below the initial cross on the obverse; Oxford and Wallingford moneyers also sometimes issued coins of anomalous style. Another cluster of coins from the south-west shared unusual inscriptions on the obverse and reverse, adding seemingly nonsensical words and symbols to the regular legend. Mint-places in the midlands sometimes drew either on the main source of southern Circumscription Cross dies, or on local resources. Northampton was strikingly productive, and by this time it probably accounted for the great majority of coins reading HAMTVN or similar (Blunt and Dolley 1971; cf. Blackburn 1979). Derby, as under earlier kings, produced its own dies, distinguished by the presence on the obverse of a letter in the field. Four locations in the west midlands (Chester, Derby, Stafford and Tamworth) also produced Circumscription Rosette pennies, though many of these (some with a rosette on only one face) do not carry a mint name. Local dies from mint-places in the west midlands generally entitled the

Table 16. *Mint-places named on the principal types of Edgar, with the number of moneyers recorded for each.*

	Circumscription	Bust	Horizontal	Other
Bath	5	1		
Bedford	1	5		
Buckingham	1	1		
Canterbury	1			
Chester	4		20	
Chichester	2			
Cricklade	1			
Derby	7		2	
Exeter	3	1 (?)		
Hertford		4		
Huntingdon		2		
Leicester or Lympe				1 (?)
Lewes	1			
Lincoln	1			
London	6	4		
Malmesbury	1			
NIWEPOR	1			
Northampton	8			
Oxford	5			
Shaftesbury	1			
Southampton	6			
Stafford	1			
Tamworth	3		4	
Thetford		1 (?)		
Totnes	1	1		
Wallingford	3			
Warwick	1			
WEARDBVRH	2			
Wilton	5			
Winchester	14			
York	1			

Note: Some moneyers issued multiple types.

king REX TO[tius] BRIT[anniae] or similar. York also issued an extensive range of Circumscription Cross coins, albeit without a mint name (save for two specimens). An arrangement similar to that of Æthelstan's reign still prevailed in the city, with one moneyer dominating output, though in this case his position was expressed by coupling his name with those of subordinate moneyers on the reverse. By the time of Edgar's final reform this system seems to have broken down. A small number of Circumscription Cross coins similar in style to those of York probably belong to moneyers in the east midlands; confirmation that Circumscription Cross pennies were minted there has been provided by a surprising find of a mint-signed specimen from Lincoln, struck from dies of southern style (Blackburn and Leahy 1996). In short, there is now evidence that the Circumscription type – with either crosses or rosettes – was issued across much of Edgar's domain at some point in the pre-reform coinage, including at York, Lincoln and in the west midlands.

The Bust Crowned type (1752–61) was produced on a smaller scale than the Circumscription type. East Anglia was an exception; there it was the dominant type throughout the reign, having resumed its former prominence in the region after 959. A substantial number of specimens has come to light, and although they do not use mint names, Norwich was very probably the principal source, perhaps supplemented by Thetford (CTCE, 195–7). Elsewhere Bust Crowned pennies are rare, and several mint-places (e.g. Bath, Exeter, Hertford and Totnes) are known from only one surviving specimen. London was the largest producer outside East Anglia, and is represented by six moneyers (as opposed to four in Circumscription Cross). The existence of a unique Bust Crowned penny of Eadwig from London indicates that the type may have been in production there from the very beginning of Edgar's reign (Jonsson 1987b, 60–1). Bust Crowned and Circumscription Cross could have been issued side by side, but there was greater continuity from moneyers of the latter type into the reformed coinage of the 970s, indicating it was the later type of the two.

The extant corpus of Edgar's pre-reform coinage is still remarkably unbalanced, and southern specimens in particular are scarce. A total of thirty places are named on pennies of Edgar in all types (Table 16); to this can be added at least six further inferred mint-places which are not represented by mint-signed coins (Barnstaple, Cambridge, Leicester (if the mint-signed coin assigned to Leicester in Table 16 is not actually from Lympne), Norwich, Stamford and Wareham), but which can be identified based on the issues of moneyers active in other reigns. The conclusions presented here remain provisional, pending the discovery of new material. A revealing signal of how much remains to be discovered came with a small hoard of pre-reform pennies of Edgar, probably from Hampshire, which was dispersed through trade in the 1990s (Checklist 171c; cf. Pagan 2008, 196). It added four new moneyers for Winchester and five for Southampton; another new moneyer for Winchester was produced by a small hoard found at Lucca, Italy in 2001 (Naismith 2012a). A single large hoard from southern England of the 960s or early 970s would transform impressions of the pre-reform coinage of Edgar, and the gradually accumulating mass of single-finds might one day accomplish the same feat (Naismith 2014f, 58–68).

THE LATE ANGLO-SAXON COINAGE

(a) HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The kingdom of the English, forged in the course of the tenth century, was a formidable entity by the latter part of Edgar's reign (959–75). Northumbria had been reconquered from Scandinavian rule for the last time in 954, and, despite temporary divisions over the coming century, there was little prospect of the kingdom dissolving into separate pieces. Edgar's rule marked an apogee in the eyes of later observers: an era when the kingdom was unified, neighbouring rulers submitted to English supremacy, and monastic reform rejuvenated the Church (see Chapter 9, section (a), pp. 174–8).

The robust infrastructure and ideology which grew up behind the political scenes of this kingdom – at least within a core area extending as far north as Yorkshire (Molyneaux 2015, 1–9; 2011) – proved crucial to the realm's weathering of several successive crises in the later tenth and eleventh century (general surveys include Freeman 1867–79, I–III; Stafford 1989; Keynes 1999b; Molyneaux 2015, 34–8). Some of these were the result of external invasions, but others were of the English people's own making. Even though a single dynasty monopolised kingship down to 1013 (see Table 13, p. 176), the transition of power between kings was a particularly dangerous time, liable to widen existing cracks and exacerbate tensions in elite society. The aftermath of Edgar's death in 975 precipitated one such dispute. His two sons by different mothers both had a claim to the throne: one faction sided with Edward (975–8), another with Æthelred II (978–1016). Edward was crowned king in 975, but unrest continued, and landowners who had suffered loss at the hands of monastic establishments patronised by Edgar took the opportunity to reclaim their property. On 18 March 978, Edward was murdered at Corfe Castle, Dorset, in mysterious circumstances, paving the way for his half-brother's succession (Yorke 1999; Keynes 1999c, 48–55; 2012b; Marafioti 2014, 161–91). This was a far from auspicious start to what would prove to be a tumultuous reign (Keynes 1980; Keynes 2006; cf. Lavelle 2002; Williams 2003). Æthelred is remembered as 'the Unready', a corruption of the nickname *unræd* ('poor counsel', or 'no counsel', playing on the meaning of his name *æthel-ræd* or 'noble counsel') which was first recorded in the twelfth century. In subsequent times his reputation plummeted still further (Keynes 1978a). Yet while Æthelred was far from the most capable representative of the dynasty, he was as much a victim of circumstances as a feckless and incompetent ruler. His ultimate defeat by the Vikings came only at the end of a long

and turbulent reign which reveals much about the workings of Anglo-Saxon kingship, pushed to extremes by deeply troubled times.

As a youth Æthelred was guided by his mother, Ælfthryth, and tutor, Bishop Æthelwold, but in 984 the latter's death and the former's disappearance from the court ushered in a period of 'youthful indiscretions' when Æthelred and his aristocratic henchmen confiscated lands from the Church (Keynes 1980, 176–86). By 993, however, Æthelred had seen the error of his ways, and entered a period of penitence and atonement, as expressed in a remarkable series of charters (Cubitt 2012; Roach 2013c). But the most serious threat to Æthelred's regime stemmed ultimately from the resumption of Viking attacks on England – the so-called second Viking Age (Sawyer 1969; Keynes 1997b, 73–82). It is unlikely that contacts with Scandinavia (violent or otherwise) had ever ceased completely, but from 980 (in which year Chester was attacked) raids began once again to appear with fearful frequency in the annals of the *ASC*. At first (980–91) the attacks were sporadic and unco-ordinated. But in 991 a large force arrived which remained in England for more than a decade. At the beginning of this campaign the Vikings defeated an English army at Maldon in Essex, killing the prominent Ealdorman Byrhtnoth in a battle subsequently commemorated in a poignant poetic tribute (Scragg 1991; 2006). This Viking army appears to have stayed in England until 1005, undergoing several changes of leadership along the way. Æthelred resorted to several measures intended to halt its depredations. In 990–1 and again in 1002 he used diplomacy to try and close off access to Normandy as a base of operations against England (Bauduin 2011). Other measures were more aggressive. The latter year saw the infamous St Brice's Day massacre, in which Danes across England were killed on 13 November (Wilcox 2000; Keynes 2008b), and Viking armies were hired by the king on two occasions to provide support in fending off new invasions. But direct military action was problematic because of the mobile nature of the seaborne threat. As a result, from 991, Æthelred resorted to the policy for which he is best remembered: paying off the Vikings. This was not necessarily an unwise plan in itself. It had been used by earlier rulers, including Alfred the Great, and several Viking armies paid off in this way did stop their attacks (Keynes 1986, 199–200, 203–4). Yet the repeated waves of raiders forced the king to repeat and increase his payments, and the prospect of tribute encouraged further Viking armies to try their luck. Two major invasions in the period 1006–12 left Æthelred's regime on its knees (Stenton 1971, 381–4; Keynes 1980, 209–25; 1997b, 79–81; 2007). The *coup de grace* came in 1013 when the king of the Danes himself, Swein Forkbeard (986/7–1014), crossed the North Sea to launch an invasion. All the English shires submitted in turn, and Æthelred fled into exile in Normandy. Yet Swein himself died very soon after winning the throne (3 February 1014), and the leading men of England invited Æthelred to return as king once more. His last two years were dominated by ferocious warfare and complex political manoeuvring between his son Edmund 'Ironside', Cnut (Swein's son) and the pre-eminent ealdorman, Eadric Streona ('the acquirer').

Æthelred's death at his stronghold in London on 23 April 1016 left England with an unclear future. Edmund continued his campaign against Cnut; Ealdorman Eadric at first supported the Danish claimant, and although he later turned to Edmund, it was Eadric's flight in the crucial battle of *Assandun* which led to Edmund's defeat. Six months after Æthelred's death, Edmund and Cnut reached an agreement at Alney, Gloucestershire, by which the latter gained control over Mercia and Northumbria. After Edmund's own death on 30 November, Cnut was recognised as king of all England (1016–35): the West Saxon dynasty of Ecgbærht had been displaced after two centuries, and a Dane installed in their place. Yet Cnut was not cut from the same cloth as the pagan

raiders of the ninth century (Rumble 1994; Lawson 2004; Bolton 2009). He was a Christian, and modelled many aspects of his rule on English precedent. Cnut issued coins, law-codes and charters in much the same way as his predecessors, drawing on the expertise of Wulfstan, archbishop of York (d. 1023), just as Æthelred had done; he even married Emma, Æthelred's Norman widow (also known as Ælfgifu) (Stafford 1997, esp. 209–54). Appointments of earls under Cnut included natives (most notably Godwine: Raraty 1989) as well as Scandinavians, and Cnut emulated English ecclesiastical and minting arrangements in his Scandinavian dominions (Abrams 1995a; 1995b). In time, Cnut established a powerful North Sea empire: he inherited the kingdom of Denmark from his older brother in 1019, and in the later 1020s established power over Norway and part of Sweden as well.

This empire forged by Cnut came apart at the seams following his death in 1035. Control over England was contested between his two sons by different women: Harold Harefoot (d. 1040), the son of Ælfgifu of Northampton, and Harthacnut (d. 1042), the son of Emma/Ælfgifu. As in 975, each party had powerful backers. But Harthacnut, as king of Denmark, was not present in England, and despite his mother's best efforts, his cause eventually began to ebb: by 1037, Harold had been recognised as sole king. Harthacnut was in a more secure position at the time of Harold's sudden death in 1040, and seized the opportunity to claim the throne of England as well (cf. Marafioti 2014, 125–60). In 1041 he and his mother, Emma, invited her son by Æthelred II, Edward, to leave his long exile in Normandy and join them in England (Maddicott 2004; Keynes 1991a; 1998a). Yet another unforeseen death in 1042 – Harthacnut's – threw matters into disarray once again (cf. Keynes and Love 2009, 190–9). The upshot was that Edward, son of Æthelred II and Emma of Normandy, brought the West Saxon dynasty back to the throne (Freeman 1867–79, II; Barlow 1997; Mortimer 2009). He became known as the Confessor after his canonisation in the twelfth century, partly on the strength of his devotion to the Church (including the lavish patronage of Westminster Abbey) and partly because of his supposedly chaste relationship with his wife, Edith (Eadgyth), which produced no children (Scholz 1961). Edith was the daughter of Earl Godwine, Cnut's appointee as earl of Wessex, who had become the most powerful magnate in England by the time of Edward's accession in 1042. Godwine and his family dominated England's political scene during Edward's reign (Barlow 2002). Other major aristocratic families held power in Mercia and Northumbria (Baxter 2007a), while Edward himself cultivated a network of French clerics and aristocrats (Lewis 1995). The viewpoints of the kingdom's major power blocs are reflected by the different recensions of the *ASC* (cf. Baxter 2007b), but rivalry between these families and factions only once boiled over into confrontation, in 1051–2. Edward ordered Godwine, as local earl, to impose retribution on the townsmen of Dover for an alleged assault on the retinue of Eustace of Boulogne. When Godwine refused, he and the king began to gather armies but both agreed to back down so that a meeting could be held in London. Godwine and his sons fled to Flanders and Ireland when they were refused safe conduct to this meeting, but they returned to England in force the following year, took the king by surprise in London, and forced him to reinstate them with all their previous lands and powers. Godwine himself died in 1053, but his sons inherited his central position within the English political establishment. Harold, the pre-eminent son and heir to the earldom of Wessex, seems to have won Edward's favour and led English forces in campaigns against the powerful Welsh king Gruffydd ap Llywelyn (d. 1063/4). Tostig was appointed earl of Northumbria in 1055, but lost his position and had to go into exile after a rebellion in 1065.

Edward's lack of offspring meant that the succession was an important question throughout his reign (John 1979; Barlow 1997, esp. 214–39; Baxter 2009a). In the mid-1050s Edward the Exile, son of Edmund 'Ironside', was brought back from Hungary, presumably as heir to the throne, but he died shortly after arriving in England and his son, Edgar the Ætheling, was too young to be a realistic prospect for succession (Keynes 1985a; Hooper 1985). King Edward may have promised the throne away several times, but for later history the most important of these claims would be that of William the Bastard, duke of Normandy (1035–87) and (from 1066) king of the English. One manuscript of the *ASC* (D) claims that William visited Edward in 1051; other sources have Robert of Jumièges, archbishop elect of Canterbury, stopping at William's court to promise him the throne *en route* to Rome in 1051 (Douglas 1953; Oleson 1957; Licence 2013). In any case, on his deathbed in January 1066 Edward probably entrusted the kingdom to Earl Harold, who was quickly crowned king. William prepared an invasion force, claiming that in accepting the kingship Harold had broken an oath sworn to him on a visit to Normandy a few years previously. In his brief time as king in 1066 Harold had to face two military threats, the second proving fatal. September saw the arrival of a Norwegian army, led by King Harald Hardrada and the exiled Earl Tostig, and William landed in Sussex soon after. Harold succeeded in defeating the Norwegian invaders at Stamford Bridge, and killed their leaders, but was himself slain after swiftly marching south to confront William at the battle of Hastings on 14 October. The events of 1066 have been told and scrutinised many times (e.g. Freeman 1867–79, esp. III; John 1982; Higham 1997; Golding 2001; Carpenter 2003, 61–105; Lawson 2003). The outcome was the conquest of England by William, and the replacement of the Anglo-Saxon secular and ecclesiastical elite with Normans.

The kingdom William took over in 1066 was a desirable acquisition. A network of shires, each with its own local meetings, articulated the king's dues and policies (Loyn 1984, 133–40; Keynes 2014b). The collection of large tribute payments in Æthelred's reign and after is one powerful demonstration of the brute strength of late Anglo-Saxon kingship. Documents (charters and writs) (Keynes 2013; Sharpe 2003; Harmer 1952), law-codes (Wormald 1999) and also the coinage play a key role in showing how mechanisms of royal government functioned in practice. All three reveal the king and the earls dealing directly with a range of individuals in the localities. The earls themselves were enormously wealthy, but a large proportion of their riches and power derived from resources allocated to the office of earl rather than to themselves as individuals (Wormald 1994, 359–71; Baxter and Blair 2006; cf. A. Williams 2008): as such, appointees were easily removed or transplanted, and remained tightly bound to the central political establishment.

One of the most attractive features of England to its rulers and invaders was the wealth which the kingdom's infrastructure could harness so effectively (Sawyer 1965; 2013, 87–110). Towns were expanding significantly, as part of a larger European growth in urbanisation (Astill 1991; Johanek 1999; Blair 2000; Hinton 2000; Keene 2004); perhaps most notably from an English perspective, it was in this period that London acquired its pre-eminent size and status (Keene 2000; 2010; Keynes 2012a, 137–44; Naismith 2013c, 47–51). Estate surveys and the Domesday Book inquest, which compared landed property in 1085–6 with the situation at the time of Edward the Confessor's death twenty years previously (DB; Williams and Martin 2002), highlight the careful management and productivity of the countryside (Loyn 1991, 152–205; Wickham 2009, 467–71). Rural production underpinned the resources of the secular elite and the Church. The last century of Anglo-Saxon England began with the Benedictine reform movement in monasteries across southern England and the midlands, and the generation of clergy active in these institutions under Æthelred II

consolidated the process with extensive production of literary texts and manuscripts, using both Latin and a standardised form of Old English (Barlow 1979). Ælfric of Eynsham (d. c. 1010) was one of the most prolific and influential writers of the day, known for saints' lives and homilies (Magennis and Swan 2009), while his slightly younger contemporary Wulfstan, archbishop of York (d. 1023), produced homilies, sermons and legal texts, all marked by a distinctive bombastic style (Townend 2004; Lionarons 2010). Wulfstan in particular was close to the royal establishment under Æthelred II and Cnut. Both rulers, along with Edgar and other late Anglo-Saxon kings, were deeply conscious of their religious as well as secular responsibilities: piety, politics and patronage were all tightly bound together. A strong sense of divine as well as worldly responsibility comes across in the charters, literature and art of the late tenth and eleventh century (Backhouse *et al.* 1984; Deshman 1976; 1988; Molyneux 2015, 218–30).

This combination of ideological, administrative and economic strengths has attracted the attention of many modern historians (especially Campbell 1986, 155–89; 2000; Reuter 1998; Foot 2005; Wickham 2009, 463–6; Molyneux 2015). The 'late Anglo-Saxon state' which emerges in the most favourable interpretations is heir to a long historiographical tradition focusing on English institutional precociousness and political unity (Foot 2005). It built on Carolingian models more effectively than any of the empire's own tenth-century successors (Wickham 2009, 460–7). The 'maximal' perspective on the late Anglo-Saxon administrative system derives principally from the perspective of a group of sources issued from, and for the benefit of, the central political establishment: DB above all, but also law-codes, royal charters, the various redactions of the *ASC* (cf. Brooks 2010) and (in some respects) the coinage (cf. Keynes 2006, 82–7). England's bundle of centralised institutions including towns, courts, charters and coinage, supported by a well-developed ideological and linguistic notion of unity, defines the late Anglo-Saxon 'state' much more cogently than any individual ruler or dynasty as such (Reuter 1998, esp. 298–9).

There is much to commend this view, but it should not be allowed to outshine others. Casting light on later Anglo-Saxon England from alternative directions or into its darker corners reveals the kingdom in a whole new guise (Keynes 2001a, 251–9). Some of its most impressive features appeared in response to sudden and unforeseen crises, not out of a gradual build-up of royal ambition. Taxation to pay *heregeld*, for example – one of the most aggressive elements of the 'state' machinery of late Anglo-Saxon England – developed under the duress of sustained Viking attack in the reign of Æthelred II (Roach 2013a, 216–17). Royal action was also limited in key areas. Legal process as understood from the normative law-codes of Edgar, Æthelred II and Cnut emphasises strong royal involvement (Wormald 1999, esp. 430–65; 2014, 8–11), but assessment of the same theme from the basis of dispute settlements and other narratives paints a much more complicated picture, in which local disputants called on and obeyed royal justice selectively, and kings had to operate through (and, at times, against) locally entrenched elites (Wormald 1997; Hyams 2003, 71–110; Roach 2013a, 122–46; Rabin 2014). Perhaps for this reason, the way in which kings imposed their will on wrongdoers could move beyond the well-ordered strictures of the law-codes, to become nothing short of brutal. Edgar ravaged Thanet over the murder of merchants from York in 969; and Harthacnut meted out similar treatment to Worcester in 1041 after the locals killed two tax collectors (Wickham 2009, 464). The big stick of violence always lurked behind the lofty pronouncements of legislation.

Yet even if the central authorities of the late Anglo-Saxon kingdom never monopolised control over dispute settlement and justice, there was at least a strong sense of a political centre at work – a

king and his circle, based for the most part in Wessex, south-west Mercia or London, in close touch with the ealdormen and shire administration. Personal interaction within this group was key to effective political action (Rabin 2009; Molyneaux 2015, 216–18), and symbolic demonstrations of the authority of the king and his inner circle at gatherings of the *witan* reinforced their position (Maddicott 2015, 50–77; Roach 2013a, 218–27). Such a highly centralised political establishment could be a weakness as well as a strength. It made the kingdom vulnerable to swift collapse when its leadership failed, and to the equally swift installation of a conquering power (Reuter 1998, 290; Baxter 2009b). Ironically, one of the best reflections of the strength of late Anglo-Saxon government is that its institutional and territorial cohesion prevailed in the face of a volatile political scene for much of the period 1013–66 (John 1996, 139–95; Insley 2002). Frequent shifts from one king and dynasty to another eroded the prestige which attached to them, and even to the West Saxon clan which had ruled for more than two centuries: Edward the Confessor only came to the throne through the munificence of his half-brother and mother, neither of them English by descent. According to one source he had to swear to uphold the laws of Cnut on arrival in England (Maddicott 2004), while in 1036 Earl Godwine was implicated in the murder of Edward's brother Alfred (Keynes 1998a, xxx–iv). A new and dangerous class of formidably powerful earls was both the product and beneficiary of this process: Earl Godwine and his ilk resulted from a system which relied on a cohesive and stable cohort of leading men, but which was also marked by conflict, absence and change among its kings (Fleming 1991, 21–104; 2001).

The late Anglo-Saxon 'state' – as manifested in coinage, royal legislation and aspects of the kingdom's administration – should, in other words, be separated from late Anglo-Saxon England as simply one dimension of the way the kingdom operated. Its inhabitants, from peasants to earls and kings, shared diverse experiences of ambitious royal government which could impose itself with impressive, sometimes terrifying, effectiveness. But they would also have been aware, however distantly, of the dynastic rollercoaster at the peak of the political system, and how changes of personalities and policies could affect society as a whole; they would also have been aware of a host of other areas of life on which the force of royal government never impinged, or attempted to do so only with difficulty. The late Anglo-Saxon 'state' was one fact of life, just not the only one, and the degree to which it was welcome or successful lay in the eye of the beholder.

(b) LITERATURE

Study of the coins of Edgar and his successors down to 1066 began with the first stirrings of interest in Anglo-Saxon coinage among collectors and scholars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Specimens of Edgar's Reform type and most others down to the latter part of Edward the Confessor's reign were owned by Sir Robert Cotton (Archibald 2006), and these issues have featured in most assessments of Anglo-Saxon coinage produced since. However, early discussions of the coins of late Anglo-Saxon kings generally made little remark on the order or significance of different types, and concentrated on general iconographic features and the appearance of new mints and moneyers (e.g. Ruding 1840, I, 129–39; Hawkins 1841, 65–8). There seems to have been no specific sense of the reorganisation of the coinage late in Edgar's reign, and the coins of the period were treated in much the same way as those of kings from earlier centuries.

It was against this background that the great Swedish numismatist Bror Emil Hildebrand (1806–84) approached the subject. Hildebrand's research on Anglo-Saxon coins preserved in

Sweden – effectively beginning with Edgar’s reform coinage – proved a turning point in the development of the subject, putting at the disposal of scholars a vast and carefully edited body of information, as well as a new arrangement of types which is in large part still accepted (Jonsson 1987c, 79–80). Hildebrand’s work began in the 1820s, when, jilted by his first love, he chose to devote all his energies to a new bride, ‘Miss Numismatica’ (Jonsson 1990b, 37). By 1829 he had completed his doctoral thesis on Anglo-Saxon coins in the museum of Lund, and laid the foundations for his future work on Anglo-Saxon coins held in the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm (Hildebrand 1846; 1881). Despite being published only in Swedish (with a French summary in the first edition), the work quickly became known to English contemporaries and helped spur subsequent research on the later Anglo-Saxon period. Already in 1867 it could be declared that Hildebrand’s typology of Edward the Confessor was ‘by far the best and most scientific we possess’ (Head 1867, 65). The second volume of *BMC*, published in 1892, built on Hildebrand’s classification of the types of Æthelred and Edward the Confessor, but was marred by a tendency to represent mules and rare variants as main types (Lyon 2003, 58, 67). The arrangement of a more secure and fully explicated typological sequence, along with a chronology, was the main achievement of the early decades of the twentieth century. P.W. P. Carlyon-Britton devoted a meticulous study to Edward the Confessor’s coinage (Carlyon-Britton 1905a) which remains fundamental to understanding of the reign (though refinement came in later years, culminating in Seaby 1955–7), while that of Æthelred II was considered in a combative series of papers in 1910 by Alexander Parsons (1910a; 1910b) and George Brooke (1910). Æthelred’s coinage was treated again by Carlyon-Britton in 1921–2 and at the same time by the Finn Carl Axel Nordman (Nordman 1921). Details of their interpretation for the sequence and chronology of types are discussed below (section (d), pp. 221–7). Brooke also noted that the type-changes attested in DB had existed under Edward the Confessor (Brooke 1929–30), though he did not pursue their origins before 1066 in any detail.

By about 1950, therefore, numismatists recognised that a sequence of coin types could be established in the reigns of late tenth- and eleventh-century kings. Those for Edward the Confessor were still somewhat better understood than those of Æthelred II, and the principle of successive types was seen as essentially an invention of the Anglo-Danish dynasty: a leading handbook of the first half of the twentieth century stated that ‘Æthelred’s coinage, therefore, represents an incomplete stage in the development of the type-changing system’ (Brooke 1950, 67). The major change undertaken by Edgar was generally unrecognised. Hildebrand in the first edition of *Anglosachsiska mynt* noted that the last type of Edgar would be perpetuated by his successors (Hildebrand 1846, xxi; 1881, 9), and a similar conclusion was implied in the type arrangement in *BMC* (II, 167). Apparently the first recognition that there had been a deliberate change in the form and organisation of the coinage late in Edgar’s reign, including reference to the chronicle of Roger of Wendover as well as the ongoing weight variation between Æthelred’s major types, came with H. M. Chadwick (1870–1947) (Chadwick 1905, 35–6), though his prescient remarks on metrology were not developed until after the Second World War.

It was the achievement of Michael Dolley (1925–83) and his associates to push the inception of a regular system of successive type-changes back to the 970s, specifically to an ambitious reform undertaken by Edgar towards the end of his reign. Modern understanding of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage as a distinct entity is owed in large part to the theories developed by Dolley. Appointed as Assistant Keeper in the British Museum in 1951, he took a decisive role in several large new projects such as the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* (Blackburn 1994a) and later the publication of

Anglo-Saxon coins in Swedish hoards (CNS), all of which provided opportunities to work closely with major collections of late Anglo-Saxon material. Dolley was a dynamic and vigorous scholar who lent new purpose to the subject (Lyon 1982). His approach was fast-paced, and he preferred to write numerous brief publications on specific points or new discoveries, which along the way outlined his thoughts on larger implications. Dolley's formidable level of productivity eventually resulted in more than 850 published items, spread across numerous British, Irish and Scandinavian books and journals (Thompson 1986). It is consequently difficult to trace the precise evolution of all aspects of Dolley's view of the late Anglo-Saxon currency, at the heart of which was the proposition that highly regulated national type-changes began late in Edgar's reign and took the form of successive issues normally lasting six years each, then two or three years after the death of Cnut in 1035 (Brand 1984, 3; see also below). This 'sexennial thesis' emerged gradually in the 1950s, and although it was actively promulgated and discussed in the tight-knit community of numismatists working at that time, early published discussion of it was more often allusive than explanatory: clear expressions of the 'sexennial thesis' only appeared in print somewhat later (e.g. Dolley and Metcalf 1961; Dolley 1964a, 24–30; 1976a; 1978b).

Dolley's infectious energy stimulated, and was in turn stimulated by, a range of colleagues and students. Friends and collaborators who actively exchanged ideas with Dolley included Mark Blackburn, Veronica Butler (later Veronica Smart), Francis Elmore Jones, D. M. Metcalf, Stewart Lyon and Ian Stewart (Lord Stewartby). As a result, swift progress was made on late Anglo-Saxon coinage between the 1950s and 1970s (Lyon 2003, 69–71), although Dolley's vigorous pen helped suppress most voices of dissent on the subject of the 'sexennial thesis' until after his death. One rare early challenge was offered by Philip Grierson (Grierson 1962b), but within just a few years of Dolley's death several important critiques of his 'sexennial thesis' appeared, targeting its chronological rigidity and place in contemporary government (Brand 1984; Stewart 1990).

In several respects numismatists working in the post-Dolley era are still digesting the progress made in the remarkable period of activity in the mid-twentieth century. Close attention has been paid in publications of recent decades to two problems at the heart of the late Anglo-Saxon monetary system. One is metrology, for it is clear that weight varied significantly within and between types during the late Anglo-Saxon period (Petersson 1969; 1990; Lyon 1971; 1976, 206–8; see also below); the other is the pattern of die distribution, which likewise seems to indicate near constant change in the organisation behind the coinage (effectively beginning with Dolley 1958; Dolley and Talvio 1977a; Blackburn and Lyon 1986; Lyon 1998a).

An important complement to these approaches was a move towards highly focused analyses of specific mints and types within the coinage. Beginning around 1970 and continuing down to the present, such studies offer a contrast to Dolley's methodology, which tended to extrapolate from individual coins or hoards to much broader conclusions. These targeted studies have served to deepen understanding of how the coinage answered to particular needs and circumstances. This process had already begun during Dolley's lifetime, with a mint-study of Lincoln (Mossop 1970) written under the tutelage of Dolley himself and Stewart Lyon; a similar project on Winchester was initiated in the 1960s, though only completed significantly later (Biddle 2012a). Other recent mint-studies have covered Huntingdon (Eaglen 1999), Aylesbury (Clarke and Symons 2007) and Wallingford (T. J. T. Williams 2012; Williams and Williams 2013). Type-studies include major projects on the *Reform* and *Hand* types by Kenneth Jonsson (Jonsson 1987b; 1987c), and on Edward the Confessor and Harold II by Hugh Pagan (Pagan 1990; 2011). The special case of

the *Agnus Dei* coinage of Æthelred II has been revisited multiple times (most recently Keynes 2007, 190–203; Keynes and Naismith 2011). New volumes of the crucial series of publications begun in the mid-twentieth century, *SCBI* and *CNS*, have also continued to appear. This mass of information, combined with good relations between British and Scandinavian numismatists, has facilitated fresh assessments of the mechanisms which brought Anglo-Saxon pennies from England to Scandinavia and the Baltic. Since the 1980s, interpretations have gradually moved away from a direct correlation between the voluminous northern hoards and payment of tribute: rather, recent re-examination of the material has emphasised the many tangles and aberrations in the data, which betray some of the complexities in paying tribute or (perhaps more often) indulging in commercial exchange across the North Sea (see below, section (h), pp. 254–8). In general, there is a sense that the code to the inner workings of the coinage has been identified but not yet cracked. Re-evaluations of the underlying structure of the coinage have stopped short of advocating wholesale abandonment of the views advanced by Dolley: the tendency has been towards modification rather than replacement of his ‘sexennial thesis’, and towards asking fresh questions of the material from new perspectives.

Another major achievement of Dolley and the other numismatists who devoted so much energy to the subject was the creation of lasting ties with historians in British universities. In earlier times, contact between the historical and numismatic fraternities was indirect and cautious (Naismith 2015); the great historian of the Norman Conquest, Edward Augustus Freeman (1823–92), made precious few references to coinage in his six-volume study of the Conquest, and even then with great hesitation (Freeman 1867–79, III, 631–2). Conversely, Sir Frank Stenton, doyen of Anglo-Saxon historians in the 1950s and 1960s, delivered a lecture on the intersections between Anglo-Saxon history and coinage to the British Numismatic Society in 1958 (Stenton 1970, 371–82), and served as the first chairman of the *SCBI* committee (Blackburn 1994a). As a result of dialogue between numismatists and historians, the implications of late Anglo-Saxon coinage have often been addressed in general assessments of England in the late tenth and eleventh century. The pattern was set by Peter Sawyer’s famous article on the wealth of England in the eleventh century, in which he noted the potential capacity of coinage ‘to give us some idea of the quantity of silver minted in England from time to time in the eleventh century’ but added that ‘this is no more at present than a hope’ (Sawyer 1965, 148). Yet even on the basis of the conclusions reached by numismatists in the mid-1960s Sawyer was able to make important observations about how the coinage complemented the evidence of *DB* and the *ASC* (Sawyer 1965, 148–53), and his hope had to a large extent been fulfilled when he revisited the subject four decades later (Sawyer 1998b, 214–18; 2013). Other historians have followed Sawyer’s lead in exploiting the coinage of this period as a gauge for the level of centralised power in late Anglo-Saxon society. The coinage figured prominently in James Campbell’s several summations of late Anglo-Saxon England’s economic and institutional sophistication (Campbell 2000, 7–8, 32–3, 160, 181), Henry Loyn’s surveys of early English economy and society (Loyn 1991, 125–32; 1992, 224–40) and George Molyneaux’s re-evaluation of the tenth-century English kingdom (Molyneaux 2015, esp. 116–41), as well as in studies of individual kings, such as Simon Keynes’ re-evaluation of Æthelred II (Keynes 1980, esp. 193–6) and Frank Barlow’s biography of Edward the Confessor (Barlow 1997, 180–5). From an administrative perspective, the royal coinage of the last century of Anglo-Saxon England is now established as one of the principal sources for understanding government of the period, with which every historian of the period is expected to engage. Economically too

the coinage is a central source (e.g. Sawyer 1965; Loyn 1991, 120–37; Sawyer 2013), although later medieval historians (e.g. Bolton 2004; 2012) have recently queried optimistic conclusions regarding the eleventh-century monetary economy.

The broader use of numismatic evidence by Anglo-Saxon historians has been mirrored by its growing role in other disciplines, such as the study of personal and place names. Once again, the effective origins of this process can be traced back to the mid-twentieth century, though there were earlier precursors: coins were used occasionally in the study of personal names in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (e.g. Searle 1897; Redin 1919). Since the 1960s, however, a sub-discipline has grown up based on philological study of late Anglo-Saxon moneyers' names, dominated by Veronica Smart and Fran Colman (see below, section (f), p. 241). Mint-signatures on coins have also recently begun to attract attention from the scholars of the English Place-Name Society (Carroll and Parsons 2007).

Late Anglo-Saxon coinage, more than any other part of the material covered in this volume, has become a scholarly centrepiece. The features of the coinage – frequent changes in type, voluminous preservation and inclusion on each coin of the names of king, mint and moneyer – make the pennies of this period a uniquely rich subject for detailed research, which has been magnificently exploited by generations of scholars. It is now one of the most closely studied of all British coinages (and, probably, also of all early medieval coinages in Europe), and is often referred to no longer simply as a coinage but as a monetary system, lauded as the most sophisticated of its time in Europe outside the Caliphate of Córdoba or the Byzantine Empire (see above, section (a), pp. 214–16). Elements of this assessment, and the coinage's place in the contemporary economy, might be challenged, but there is no doubt that, overall, work on the late Anglo-Saxon coinage represents one of the crowning achievements of early medieval numismatics.

(c) GENERAL FEATURES OF THE COINAGE

The central features seen as marking out the last century or so of the Anglo-Saxon coinage from what preceded it were the universal recognition on coins of the king, the moneyer and the mint-place responsible for production; a nationwide network of mint-places which all generally adhered to the same design; and relatively frequent recoinages or changes of type, again observed more or less simultaneously at all mints from York to Exeter and Dover. The coinage did not emerge in this form overnight, and indeed all the individual elements of the late Anglo-Saxon monetary system can be paralleled in England during the ninth or the earlier tenth century (Naismith 2014f, 81–2). These features were combined in a new coinage inaugurated towards the end of Edgar's reign, and maintained as part of an adaptable, evolving system for more than a century and a half. Much the same system continued under the Norman kings, extending in increasingly attenuated form down to the reign of King Stephen (1135–54) (Allen 2012a, 1–40). Many aspects of Michael Dolley's interpretation of the coinage as a whole are still compelling. In its mature form, especially during the reigns of Æthelred II and Cnut, the coinage was certainly a formidable economic and administrative achievement. But it is necessary to step back from the monolithic form of the 'sexennial thesis' Dolley advocated so eloquently and forthrightly, as recent specialist literature has begun to do (cf. Allen 2012a, 35–6; Williams 2013b, 60). Part of the currency's success in fact seems to have been its versatility in the face of changing circumstances. Arrangements behind minting and coin-use never stood still, but were in a constant state of flux, in terms of chronology and the

type-changing system, and weight standards and die distribution were also highly variable (see below, sections (f) and (g), pp. 235–53).

These points do not erase the importance of the coinage in assessments of late Anglo-Saxon government as a whole (see above, section (a), pp. 214–16). Despite the necessary focus in this chapter on points of complexity, the late Anglo-Saxon coinage was very uniform in its essential characteristics compared with the earlier tenth-century coinage of England, and even more so compared with the coinages of most neighbouring kingdoms in post-Carolingian Europe. Coinage was one of several facets of government founded on close interaction between the royal centre and diverse local agents. Recoinages came to be seen as statements of authority, good governance and even morality, as well as a tool of royal finance. But these very same features which placed the coinage at the heart of the king's administration also made it flexible. The evolution of the coinage reflected the changing needs and priorities of the ruling establishment: hence the currency could respond swiftly to sudden invasions or deaths of kings. In its variable metrology and die distribution it also reflected a balance of local and 'national' interests. As with other elements of the late Anglo-Saxon 'state', the monetary system weathered the many political storms of the period because of its versatility, adaptability and inclusion of a range of agencies from across the kingdom.

To all intents and purposes the silver penny was the only denomination in production. Gold pennies or mancuses were made using regular penny dies from time to time, probably on an *ad hoc* basis (Blackburn 2007c, 64–7). The occasional issues of round halfpennies which had taken place between the reigns of Alfred and Edgar came to an end, with the possible exception of one specimen from the reign of Edward the Confessor (the authenticity of which is not unquestioned) (Lyon 1965). However, from the time of Edgar's reform onwards English pennies were commonly cut into halves or quarters to serve as halfpennies or farthings. Some of this cutting may have been done at the point of production, for cuts are generally precise and consistent (though the near-ubiquitous cruciform reverse designs facilitated neat division at any point) (Metcalf 1998a, 76–84). Cut fractions are generally scarce in hoards (though there are exceptions, such as the Thwaite, Suffolk, hoard: *Checklist* 232), but the expansion of metal-detector use has brought many fractional single-finds to light, and they now constitute a significant share of all finds, especially in urban settings where more low-value monetised exchange could have been expected (Naismith 2014g, 29–30); indeed, in recent excavations at the Vintry on the London waterfront, fourteen cut halfpennies and six farthings were found as opposed to three whole pennies (Kelleher and Leins 2008).

(d) RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY: THE ORDER OF TYPES

A typological arrangement of late Anglo-Saxon coinage can be traced back to a catalogue of coins in the possession of the Swede Nils Keder (1659–1735), in which those of English rulers were divided up by type (Keder 1708). However, the earliest apparent attempt to divine the chronological sequence of types is found in the first edition of Hildebrand's *Anglosachsiska mynt* (Hildebrand 1846). The coins themselves give relatively little explicit clue to their chronology beyond the name of the current king: there are no outward signs of date, or obvious allusions to datable events. Even the name of the king is occasionally misleading. Imitative issues from Scandinavia which haphazardly combined types and inscriptions confounded nineteenth-century attempts (including

those of Hildebrand 1881 and *BMC*) to lay down a typology, and among regular issues the *Jewel Cross* type presented difficulties: Alexander Parsons (1915, 40–2) saw the type as originating under Cnut, continuing 1035–7 in the name of Harold I, then being revived again three years later for Harthacnut. Michael Dolley (1952–4a, 269–70) brought clarity with the realisation that the coins of ‘Cnut’ actually belonged to Harthacnut, and that the whole type belonged to the years immediately after Cnut’s death in 1035 (see below).

Consideration of chronology must therefore begin in relative terms, by looking at the likely order of types within a reign. Criteria include:

1. Mules. Coins which are struck from the obverse and reverse of different types. These were sometimes categorised as separate (if rare) types in the past, leading to confusion: a particular difficulty in *BMC* and Hildebrand (1846; 1881) (a point already noted in Carlyon-Britton 1905a, 182). Typically, a mule is struck from an older obverse and a newer reverse, for the latter occupied the upper position in striking and hence tended to wear out more quickly (Dolley 1976a, 366; Seaby 1955–7, 119–20). There are rare examples of mules ‘the wrong way round’, with a newer obverse and an older reverse, though these might still be expected to have occurred in the course of regular activity (Dolley 1966b; Brand 1984, 24): one such example is **2099**, which combines a *Pax* obverse with an *Arm and Sceptre* reverse. Finally, there are a few anomalous examples of mules which combine types not believed to have been adjacent. Type-spanning mules of this kind are concentrated in the reign of Edward the Confessor, when the durations of types were probably shorter than in previous decades. The assumption is that the old dies used to produce these coins were kept by moneyers across the intervening type(s). One example is **2160**: the obverse belongs to the *Trefoil Quadrilateral* type, generally accepted as the third type of Edward the Confessor, with a reverse of *Expanding Cross*, normally counted as the fifth (skipping *Small Flan*). Another is **2235**, which combines a *Pointed Helmet* obverse with a *Hammer Cross* reverse, bypassing *Sovereign/Eagles*. Moneyers’ occasional retention of dies cautions against relying too heavily on the evidence of mules.
2. Overstrikes. Coins of one type struck on top of an older type. Normally pennies were melted down before being re-struck, but, through oversight or laziness, this step was sometimes omitted, and the results survive to indicate that the under-type must have preceded the over-type. Late Anglo-Saxon overstrikes are rare but valuable, and proved important in establishing the sequence of early types of Edward the Confessor (Dolley 1958–9d; Dolley and Lyon 1967).
3. Hoards. Large assemblages of coins put together in one time and place offer a snapshot of the coinage at that point. There is a strong case to be made (see below, section (e), pp. 228–31) that late Anglo-Saxon type-changes constituted recoinages, and that the current type was either the sole legitimate, or at least the preferred, form of coin in circulation. Hence, within England at least, it is often the case that a hoard is dominated by one or two types, assumed to be the most recent, occasionally with a ‘tail’ of varying length of specimens of preceding types. The representation of types in hoards can therefore provide some gauge for their order. Generally one must be cautious of the argument that absence of evidence constitutes evidence of absence, but this may sometimes be the case with hoards, especially large ones. The Appledore, Kent, hoard (*Checklist* 239a), for example, has been argued to indicate that the ‘heavy’ portion of *Expanding Cross* came before the ‘light’ (see below, section (l), pp. 272–4). Scandinavian and Baltic hoards do not reflect a currency controlled in the same way, but even so include many

examples of what appear to be relatively fresh parcels of coins from England that can help illuminate the chronology in comparison with English hoards, as in the case of the 1880 Espinge (Skåne) hoard (Dolley 1958–9d, 291–2).

4. Moneyers and mints. The activity of moneyers or mints in some types but not others can provide a guide to chronology, although this evidence must again be used with care. Not all mints or moneyers will be known from surviving specimens in every type, and it is still common for new combinations of mint, moneyer and type to appear in fresh finds. Furthermore, there is always a chance that multiple moneyers at one mint, especially a large mint, bore the same name in the course of a reign. Evidence of mint and moneyer activity thus is only compelling in substantial quantity. It can be used to show convincingly that the *Agnus Dei* type of Æthelred II falls between *Helmet* and *Last Small Cross* (Dolley 1971, 340; Keynes and Naismith 2011, 178), and was employed to good effect by Peter Seaby in his magisterial study of the sequence of types in the period c. 1030–50, for instance in showing the high proportion of moneyers at several mints active before 1042 who were only known for Edward the Confessor in the *Pax* type, which strongly suggested that it was his first (Seaby 1955–7, esp. 113–14, 121–3).

Collectively, these criteria have allowed numismatists to arrange the coin types of the late Anglo-Saxon period in an order that is now generally accepted as accurate (cf. Stewart 1990, 458). These types are outlined in Table 17. Not surprisingly, the longest reigns with the most coin types have proved most difficult to unravel, particularly those of Æthelred II and Edward the Confessor. In the case of Æthelred, Hildebrand correctly grasped the order of the *Hand* types, *Crux*, *Long Cross* and *Helmet*, with *Agnus Dei* placed after an interpolated Danish type (his type F) (Hildebrand 1846; 1881). The greatest challenge he and other early scholars faced was the *Small Cross* type, which proved puzzling because it enjoyed affiliations with coinages that could otherwise be identified as both early and late. Hence it was long believed that *Small Cross* continued throughout the reign (e.g. Brooke 1910, 371; a view which survived into Brooke 1950, 66). Alexander Parsons, in a paper which made many less well-founded propositions, suggested that there may have been two *Small Cross* issues, at the beginning and end of the reign, based on criteria such as the use of the conjunction ON in the reverse legend (Parsons 1910a, 263; the switch to ON had already been noted in Hildebrand 1846, 23). This point was taken further by Carl Axel Nordman in the introduction to his work on Anglo-Saxon coins found in Finland (Nordman 1921, 29–31). Finally, Michael Dolley and Francis Elmore Jones identified a third ‘intermediate’ *Small Cross* issue, issued for a brief period between *Crux* and *Long Cross* (Dolley and Elmore Jones 1955–7a).

The other problematic reign in the arrangement of late Anglo-Saxon coin types was that of Edward the Confessor. Difficulty here was posed by the relative paucity of coins, and by the probably briefer duration of each type, which meant that there were fewer changes in moneyer between types. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, in a pioneering article, established the correct order for the latter part of the reign on the strength of the above techniques (Carlyon-Britton 1905a). He also correctly noted an important shift in *Pointed Helmet* towards a right-facing and bearded bust (Carlyon-Britton 1905a, 201), and bestowed on most of the types the names which remain standard. However, the arrangement of the first four types of the reign – five if one includes the rare *Arm and Sceptre* pieces of Edward – was complicated by mules joining multiple types, and continued to be debated during the first half of the twentieth century, with different orders being proposed by George Brooke and Horace King (summarised in Dolley 1958–9d). Finally, a classic article by Peter

Table 17. *Names and probable dates for late Anglo-Saxon coin types.*

Reign	Type name	Traditional date	Revised date	Catalogue	North	BMC	BEH
Edgar (after 1 Oct. 959–8 July 975)	<i>Reform</i>	<i>c.</i> 973–5	Early 970s–975	1764–70	752	vi	C2
Edward the Martyr (17 July 975–18 Mar. 978)	<i>Small Cross</i>	975–8	975–8	1773–82	763	i	A
Æthelred II (after 18 Mar. 978–23 Apr. 1016)	<i>First Small Cross</i>	978– <i>c.</i> 979	978– <i>c.</i> 980?	1784–5	764–5	i	A
	<i>First Hand</i>	<i>c.</i> 979–85	<i>c.</i> 980–late 980s	1786–1807	766–7	iiia	B1
	<i>Second Hand</i>	<i>c.</i> 985–91	Mid-980s–late 980s	1808–14	768	iid	B2
	<i>Benediction Hand</i>	<i>c.</i> 991	Late 980s	1815	769	iif	B3
	<i>Crux</i>	<i>c.</i> 991–7	Late 980s–mid-990s	1816–66	770–2	iiia	C
	<i>Small Crux</i>	<i>c.</i> 995–7	Mid-990s	1867–9	770 var.	iiia var.	Ca
	<i>Transitional Crux</i>	<i>c.</i> 997	Mid-990s	1870	770 var.	iiia var.	C var.
	<i>Intermediate Small Cross</i>	<i>c.</i> 997	Mid-990s	1871–3	773	i	A
	<i>Long Cross</i>	<i>c.</i> 997–1003	Mid-990s–early/mid-1000s (1003 or after?)	1874–1923	774	iva	D
	<i>Helmet</i>	<i>c.</i> 1003–9	Early/mid-1000s (1003 or after?)–late 1000s (1009?)	1924–45	775	viii	E
	<i>Agnus Dei</i>	<i>c.</i> 1009	Autumn 1009?	1946	776	xi	G
	<i>Last Small Cross</i>	<i>c.</i> 1009–16	Late 1000s (1009?)–1016	1947–81	777–80	i	A

Cnut (after 30 Nov. 1016–12 Nov. 1035)	<i>Quatrefoil</i>	1016/18–c. 1023/4	1016/17–early 1020s	1982–2016	781–6	viii, x	E
	<i>Pointed Helmet</i>	c. 1023/4–9/30	Early 1020s–mid-/late 1020s	2017–38	787–9	xiv	G
	<i>Short Cross</i>	c. 1029/30–35/6	Mid-/late 1020s–1035	2039–58	790–4	xvi	H
Harold I (after 12 Nov. 1035–17 Mar. 1040)	<i>Short Cross</i>	1035/6	Late 1035	2059	801	iiia	–
	<i>Jewel Cross</i>	1035/6–c. 1038	1035–late 1030s	2060–71	802	i	A
	<i>Fleur-de-Lis</i>	c. 1038–40	Late 1030s–1040	2072–85	803–7	v, vi	B
Harthacnut (with Harold I after 12 Nov. 1035–1036, alone after 17 Mar. 1040–8 June 1042)	<i>Jewel Cross</i>	1035–c. 1036	1035–mid-/late 1030s	2086–90	808–9	i (Cnut xx)	A (Cnut k)
	<i>Fleur-de-Lis</i>	1040	Late 1040	–	810	viii	H
	<i>Arm and Sceptre</i>	1040–2	1040–2	2091–6	811	ii (Cnut xvii)	B (Cnut l)
Edward the Confessor (invited to England as king with Harthacnut 1041; sole ruler after 8 June 1042–5 Jan. 1066)	<i>Arm and Sceptre</i>	1042	Summer 1042	2097	812	iiic	Cd
	<i>Pax</i>	1042–c. 1044	1042–mid-1040s	2098–108	813–15	iv	D
	<i>Radiate/Small Cross</i>	c. 1044–6	Mid-1040s	2109–17	816	i	A
	<i>Trefoil Quadrilateral</i>	c. 1046–8	Mid-/late 1040s	2118–33	817	iii	C
	<i>Small Flan</i>	c. 1048–50	Late 1040s	2134–59	818–19	ii	B

(cont.)

Table 17. (cont.)

Reign	Type name	Traditional date	Revised date	Catalogue	North	BMC	BEH
Edward the Confessor (<i>cont.</i>)	<i>Expanding Cross Light</i>	<i>c.</i> 1050–3	Early/mid-1050s	2160–8	820–2	v	E
	<i>Heavy</i>			2169–83	823–4		
	<i>Pointed Helmet</i>	<i>c.</i> 1053–6	Mid-/late 1050s	2184–204	825–6	vii	F
	<i>Sovereign/Eagles</i>	<i>c.</i> 1056–9	Late 1050s	2205–33	827	ix	H
	<i>Hammer Cross</i>	<i>c.</i> 1059–62	Late 1050s–early 1060s	2234–76	828–9	xi	G
	<i>Facing Bust</i>	<i>c.</i> 1062–5	Early–mid-1060s	2277–316	830	xiii	Ac
	<i>Transitional Pyramids</i>	<i>c.</i> 1065	Mid-1060s	2317	835	xiv	Ia
	<i>Pyramids</i>	<i>c.</i> 1065–6	Mid-1060s–early 1066	2318–31	831–4	xv	I
Harold II (5 Jan. 1066–14 Oct. 1066)	<i>Pax</i>	1066	January–October 1066 (later at Wilton?)	2332–53	836–8	i	A

Note: Types placed slightly to the right were limited in some respects; those placed further to the right in the second column were minor or short-lived.

Seaby (Seaby 1955–7; cf. Colman 1992, 127–51) secured the now generally accepted order of the types, supported subsequently by further discoveries by Michael Dolley and Stewart Lyon (Dolley 1958–9d; Dolley and Lyon 1967).

(e) COINAGE AND RECOINAGE

1. *The sexennial thesis*

A secure relative chronology still leaves open the question of what dates might actually be assigned to the late Anglo-Saxon coin types. This question is intimately associated with the basic workings of the currency and scholarly views on the implementation of nationwide recoinage. The maximal interpretation of late Anglo-Saxon coinage, as propounded by Michael Dolley, identified an ambitious programme of recoinages taking place at Michaelmas (29 September), initially every six years (a variant on this scheme proposed a regular system of recoinages every seven years: Petersson 1969, 74–87). Edgar's reform of the coinage in 973 would have been the first of these; further recoinages were placed in 979 (*First Hand*), 985 (*Second Hand*) and so forth throughout the reign of Æthelred II. A slight aberration came late in his reign, when the *Last Small Cross* type (probably instituted in 1009) overran its expected currency period, albeit at a time when the kingdom was in crisis and the king on his deathbed. Order was restored under Cnut, whose first type, *Quatrefoil*, was dated to 1017, with two more recoinages on the traditional model in 1023 (*Pointed Helmet*) and 1029 (*Short Cross*) (though Dolley later modified these dates to 1018, 1024 and 1030: Dolley 1968). More frequent recoinages took place after Cnut's death. *Jewel Cross* and *Fleur-de-Lis* must have both come in the five-year period 1035–40, so probably lasted two or three years each. Edward the Confessor's reign was seen as having coinages of similar duration. Dolley saw the ten principal types as lasting two years each until the fifth, *Expanding Cross*: this and its successors lasted three years each (Dolley 1955–7h, 284). Edward's last coinage, *Pyramids*, fell short by two years on this reckoning, but was subsumed into Harold II's short coinage and the first issue of William I to form a single 'cycle' of three years (Dolley 1955–7h, 284).

Full details of the traditionally accepted chronology are given in Table 17; a helpful table was also produced by Lord Stewartby, showing how Dolley's thought had developed over time, and how it compared with other views (Stewart 1990, 460). Although now most closely associated with Michael Dolley, aspects of this scheme had emerged much earlier. The concept of a 'type-changing system' was recognised by George Brooke (Brooke 1950, 67), based on the ideas of P.W. P. Carlyon-Britton (1905a), who worked on the basis that Edward the Confessor's coinages were changed at Michaelmas, as was then believed to be the custom of the post-Conquest exchequer. Dates were proposed for Edward's coinages by Peter Seaby (1955–7), but it was Michael Dolley who imposed an overarching sense of order on the whole period 973–1066. He did so gradually, and as much through discussion as in print, meaning that elements of his reading of the monetary system sometimes appear for the first time in a passing comment, seemingly taken for granted. The belief that recoinages took place at Michaelmas, for example, evolved over time, and Dolley never fully explained his basis for this conviction besides its establishment in literature as far back as the time of Carlyon-Britton (Dolley and Elmore Jones 1955–7a, 84; 1961b, 176). But even in 1956 Dolley was able to write that 'study of the Scandinavian hoards would seem to have established beyond reasonable doubt not only that between September 973 and October 1066 there

were issued twenty-four successive types, but also that each type ran for a fixed period, originally six years and later only two or three years' (Dolley 1956c, 267). The fullest expressions of Dolley's views, which he defended vigorously against any perceived criticism, are found somewhat later than the pioneering days of the 1950s (e.g. Dolley and Metcalf 1961; Dolley 1964a; 1976a; 1978b). Also valuable for grasping the development of Dolley's thought on the subject are the balanced retrospective of Lord Stewartby (Stewart 1990) and the more partisan survey by John Brand (Brand 1984, esp. 3–4).

2. Evidence for recoinage and its impact

There can be little doubt that there was some form of systematic type-change at work in the later Anglo-Saxon coinage – a point which must initially be distinguished from the separate question of how regularly changes were effected. The most explicit evidence comes from the very end of the Anglo-Saxon period, in the form of references in DB to moneyers in 1066 paying for dies at London *quando moneta vertebatur* ('when the coinage was changed') (DB 1, fol. 172r). Beyond this, conclusions about the operation of the monetary system depend largely on inferences drawn from the coins themselves. Mules are rare enough that moneyers must normally have been expected not to combine dies of different types: in other words, one type was produced at a time. Most major mints are known in most coin types (with important exceptions outlined below). The weight of the coinage, which varied between types and was commonly higher in specimens datable to the early stages of a new coinage (see below, section (g), 248–52), suggests appreciable difference in the practical arrangements behind each issue.

The most crucial evidence for how different types interlocked chronologically in circulation, however, derives from English hoards. One of the central pillars of Dolley's case for regular recoinage was that hoards from the latter part of Edgar's reign onwards tended to be made up of one type, or of two adjacent types: indeed, in 1961 Dolley and Metcalf found that more than two-thirds of all English hoards of the period c. 973–1075 contained one type only, and none contained appreciable numbers of more than two types (Dolley and Metcalf 1961, 156–8).

This still, however, leaves a substantial element of multi-type hoards to be accounted for (cf. Allen 2012a, 38–40). These occur as early as the reign of Æthelred II, and finds from the 1040s and after sometimes also contain coins of Æthelred and Cnut, implying that these had been kept across the intervening period (Blackburn 1985b, 81–2). In general multi-type hoards become more numerous after about 1035 (84 per cent single-type before 1035, as opposed to 27 per cent after). This could be one consequence of the downturn in tribute payments to Scandinavia, since if Viking customers did not care whether pennies were of the current type their *geld*-money may have included many old coins (Metcalf 1990b; 1998a, 98); it could equally be a facet of the more frequent recoinages which took place after Cnut's death. There might also be particular circumstances behind at least some of the multi-type hoards of the period 1035–66, for after the Norman Conquest single-type hoards again become more common (Allen 2012a, 39–40; 2014a). A cluster of substantial multi-type hoards, among them some from Sussex (Chancton and less certainly Arundel and Offham (*Checklist* 255, 257–8), and possibly others) may be associated with the events of 1066, for example. Among these, Chancton had a long 'tail', extending back to the early part of Edward's reign, while the London 'City' hoard of the 1070s went all the way back to the end of Æthelred's reign (*Checklist* 261). These should probably be interpreted as savings

put together out of occasional parcels taken more or less directly from the mint, as there is a tendency for multi-type hoards to be dominated by the local mint-town(s) over a number of types, rather than the much more diverse composition which would be expected if they had been withdrawn from the circulating currency (Metcalf 1998a, 96–8); nor are the coins evenly distributed chronologically in many of the large Conquest hoards, as might have been expected from a gradual process of accumulation (Blackburn 1985b, 82). The early multi-type hoards should perhaps be interpreted in a similar light as long-term build-ups of cash, often assembled on a local basis. More than half of the Isleworth, Hounslow, hoard (*Checklist* 184) (*Second Hand*, *Benediction Hand* and *Crux*) consisted of coins of nearby London, and all eight recorded coins from the Welbourn, Lincolnshire, hoard (possibly *First Small Cross*, and certainly *First Hand*, to *Long Cross*) were of the Lincoln mint (*Checklist* 189). These finds suggest that older coins could be retained in the context of savings in localities throughout England, but that the larger pool of circulating currency was not generally mixed in type. Both single- and multi-type hoards could thus be put together across the late Anglo-Saxon period: the balance between them varied appreciably over time and place depending on a range of factors.

On the face of it, the single-type hoards provide strong evidence that across the whole late Anglo-Saxon period the currency consisted essentially of one type at a time. Of sixty-eight hoards deposited within the borders of modern England between Edgar's reform and 1066 that have been recorded in any detail, thirty-seven consist of mostly (90 per cent or more) one type; that is, 54 per cent (cf. Allen 2012a, 38–9). These single-type hoards include examples from across the period, from the Oakham, Rutland, hoard deposited at the very beginning of Æthelred II's reign (*Checklist* 175), to the Stockbridge Down, Hampshire, hoard of Edward the Confessor's final type (*Checklist* 251). The tendency towards single-type hoards is accentuated among small finds, which are more likely to represent parcels extracted from the generally circulating medium (cf. Blackburn 1985b, 82; Metcalf 1998a, 98). Of twenty-seven recorded hoards of between two and ten coins, twenty-one are all or mostly made up of one type, whereas only five of fifteen hoards containing 101 or more coins are single-type (33 per cent), although there are a few cases of very large single-type hoards, such as the Appledore, Kent hoard which contained 502 *Expanding Cross* pennies and just 7 coins of earlier types (*Checklist* 239a). Yet the impression these hoards present should not be accepted uncritically. Many – even most – hoards probably reflect at least some selection, and if anything it is likely that they over-represent the prevalence of the current type. Older coins might sometimes have been kept separately from current coin, accentuating the apparent contrast between different types of hoard (Blackburn 1985b, 83). This has not yet been demonstrated archaeologically, though it can be seen in finds from other periods, and excavation of a multi-type hoard may yet show differences in the handling of various coin types. What can be said is that the occurrence of both single-type and multi-type hoards strengthens claims for a system in which there were substantive differences in the handling of different types of coin. This is likely to have been the case down to 1066: the more numerous multi-type hoards of Edward the Confessor's reign should not obscure the probable continuation of a largely uniform currency, albeit with more frequent recoinages placing greater stress on the system and political crisis in 1066 producing a number of multi-type hoards from the reign's end (Naismith 2013b, 206; Lyon 1971, 115–16).

However, beyond the general picture presented by the hoards, other forms of evidence support the impression of a currency which was dominated by the current type. One might point to the example of a small single-type hoard from the time of Edward the Confessor which came to light

in excavation of an execution cemetery, nestled in the armpit of a skeleton (Stockbridge Down, Hampshire; *Checklist* 251). The circumstances of discovery mean that this find can be interpreted with confidence as an assemblage which was not intended to be hidden, and suggests that at least one user of Anglo-Saxon coins on the eve of the Norman Conquest was using solely pennies of the current type in day-to-day life. The coinage of Harold II, issued shortly thereafter, points in much the same direction. It is known from a large number of single-finds: as many or more coins than have been found of several types from late in Edward's reign or early in William's (Naismith 2013b). Yet this coinage can only have lasted for around ten months. Its strong representation in the single-find record is difficult to explain unless a large proportion of the relevant coins fed into domestic circulation relatively early in the type's duration; in other words, if its production was weighted towards the early part of the type, suggesting a significant degree of recoinage. More general support for the existence of a system of recoinage, or at least generally recognised type-changes, derives from literary sources. An Old English adaptation of the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (surviving in two copies written in the first half of the eleventh century) contains an important passage in which one of the sleepers – Christians who retreat to a cave to escape persecution, only to be miraculously kept asleep for more than a century – comes back to civilisation for provisions and surprises the locals with his outdated coins (ed. Magennis 1994, 46–7; see also Whitelock 1961; Cubitt 2009). Much of the relevant English passage was prompted by misunderstanding of a corrupt Latin text; nonetheless, it is striking that the translator adapted what he found into a discussion of how 'the dies were changed four times in his [Emperor Decius'] days' (*feower siðon man awende mynet-isena on his dagum*), with each issue (*mynetslæge*) of a different weight.

The picture which emerges is one of a currency normally dominated by the current type, perhaps with some leeway for the previous type, but also with a background of savings in older types which did not circulate as extensively. There were many reasons why the current type may have been treated differently, at least for some – and probably most – purposes. Enticements and/or deterrents were probably in place (Blackburn 1985b, 81; Dolley 1976a, 364), perhaps related in some way to variations in weight (see below, section (g), pp. 248–52). Certain payments, particularly to the king and his agents, could have been required to be of the current type, as *Dialogus de scaccario* implies was the case in the early twelfth century (*Dialogus de scaccario* 1.3, ed. Johnson 1983, 14–15; cf. Stewart 1990, 468). Reeves were expected to supervise the quality of the coinage, which may have included checks on the type of coin being used; these checks could have been carried out when payments were made under the reeve's supervision at boroughs or hundredal meetings (Harvey 2014, 143–4). However, no source specifies what inducements in favour of the current coin type were in place in the Anglo-Saxon period, or what aim the recoinages were supposed to achieve (Stewart 1990, 463–8). DB indicates some of the payments which could be expected from moneyers in 1066, including a mark for the king per moneyer every year and a pound or more when a new coinage was brought in (Brooke 1929–30; Grierson 1985; Metcalf 1987d); but in the context of a general survey of lands and rights this fiscal emphasis is to be expected, and it should not be assumed that financial motives lay solely, or even primarily, behind the recoinages.

Law-codes and other texts from the time of Æthelred II and Cnut show an altogether different side of the monetary system (Screen 2007). They say nothing of income or recoinage of specific types, and are overwhelmingly concerned with the protection of the currency from forgery,

echoing one of the primary concerns of Carolingian, Byzantine and Roman monetary legislation (Hendy 1985, 320–8; Naismith 2012c, 181, 183). In a number of homiletic and legal writings, Archbishop Wulfstan associated *feos bot* ('improvement of the coinage') with the keeping of the peace, avoidance of sin and the general moral wellbeing of society (Keynes and Naismith 2011, 197–8; cf. Molyneaux 2015, 187–94). The designs of the coinage are also heavily laden with symbolism and religious meaning (*Agnus Dei* and *Sovereign/Eagles* being the most prominent examples: see below). Recoinage was therefore as much a part of the moral and spiritual life of the kingdom as it was an economic concern. Its implementation formed part of the complex and evolving range of preoccupations which faced late Anglo-Saxon monarchs and their advisers. From this perspective, Æthelred II's repentance in the early 990s for youthful misdeeds, for example, is as convincing a context as any for the introduction of the new *Crux* coinage (possibly prefigured by *Benediction Hand*): the king undertook several acts of restitution to churches he had previously stolen from, restored to favour his mother and other counsellors, and generally revitalised his running of the kingdom (Keynes 1980, 186–200; 2006; Roach 2011; Cubitt 2012). There is no specific evidence that this was the setting in which *Crux* was conceived, but it is a plausible one, and provides an example of the alternative forces besides warfare and fiscal pressure which might have guided the development of the coinage.

3. Absolute dates: possibilities and problems

Possible links between recoinages and specific years assume considerable importance as a litmus test for the regularity of the system as a whole. The best such evidence relates to recoinages in the years 1003 and 1009. The former year saw Viking raiders under Swein Forkbeard sack Wilton (ASC CDE s.a. 1003). Dolley connected this attack with a caesura in the coinage of Wilton after the *Long Cross* type. Three (possibly all four) of its moneyers reappeared in the subsequent *Helmet* type at Salisbury. The change in type may well have taken place when Viking aggression prompted a retreat from Wilton to the more secure hill-fort of Old Sarum, presumed to have occurred as a result of the 1003 attack (Dolley 1954a; for this and other 'emergency mints' see below, section (f), p. 239). This version of events cannot be regarded as watertight, for John of Worcester states that Salisbury too was destroyed by the Vikings directly after Wilton (ed. Darlington and McGurk 1995, 454–5), and the principal ASC text (that of MSS C, D and E) more ambiguously says 'they [the Viking army] went then to Salisbury' (*eodon þa to Seabyrig*) on the way to the sea. The transplant of minting from Wilton to Salisbury is still best associated in general terms with Viking presence in Wiltshire, but may have taken place in the aftermath of the events of 1003 (cf. Brand 1984, 30), and it is also possible that Wilton had ceased minting *Long Cross* pennies some time before the end of the type (Petersson 1969, 76–8). A change of type a year or two before 1003, and/or a shift to Salisbury a year or two later, is entirely conceivable.

The evidence for 1009 again concerns links with Viking attacks. The ASC states that, after Christmas that year, the Viking army led by Thorkell the Tall left London, marched through the Chilterns to Oxford, and then made its way eastwards along both sides of the Thames (ASC CDE s.a. 1009). *Last Small Cross* pennies of Oxford and Wallingford (lying on the Thames immediately south of Oxford) are exceedingly rare; they are also uniformly heavy relative to the rest of the type, and struck from dies of a style identified by Stewart Lyon as among the earliest in the issue (Lyon 1966). None are known which can be attributed to the later stages of *Last Small Cross*. If

this break in the coinage of Oxford and Wallingford came as a result of Viking movements around the turn of the year 1009/10, it implies that *Last Small Cross* had begun in 1009. One might also note the concomitant implication that the *Agnus Dei* coinage took place in the latter part of 1009, complementing the historical evidence for desperate measures against the Viking invasion beginning on 1 August 1009 (Dolley 1971, 339–45; Keynes 2007, 190–5; Keynes and Naismith 2011; see also below, section (j), pp. 266–7).

Other possible connections between the coinage and specific historical events have been advanced. Michael Dolley suggested that the Chester ('Pemberton's Parlour') hoard (*Checklist* 174), deposited early in *First Hand*, was hidden and abandoned as a result of the Viking raid on Chester recorded in 980 (*ASC C* s.a. 980; Dolley and Pirie 1964); and apparent disturbance and contraction at Rochester late in the transition between *First* and *Second Hand* was claimed to relate to the harrying of the diocese in 986 (*ASC CDE* s.a. 986; Dolley 1967; Brand 1967). The movement of a *Cruix* die from Watchet to Dublin assumed significance on the assumption that its transfer must have occurred as a result of a raid in 997 (*ASC CDE* s.a. 997; Seaby 1971). In the mid-eleventh century, it has frequently been suggested that the *Expanding Cross* type of Edward the Confessor, exceptional for its sharp change in weight standard, was tied somehow to the turbulent events of 1051, specifically the dismissal of the Scandinavian mercenaries previously supported by the *heregeld*. The association remains circumstantial, however (Brand 1984, 6–7; see also below, section (l), pp. 272–4).

The absolute dates for the late Anglo-Saxon coin types which can be accepted with any confidence (besides, of course, regnal dates) are extremely few. It remains true that the best examples adduced, for c. 1003 and 1009, tentatively suggest a gap of approximately six years between these two recoinages. But it does not necessarily follow that the same applied in other cases, and generally no convincing evidence exists to suggest the date when any particular coin type appeared. Even the initial reform of Edgar is not in fact dated to the year 973 in the one surviving written reference of Roger of Wendover, who assigns it to 975 (although it is associated with a number of other events known to have occurred in earlier years) (Dolley 1979c). There is no need for all types in a reign to have been of equal length, and some reason to believe that they were not.

A more flexible reading of the coinage therefore has much to recommend it. Historians and those with practical experience of modern government have pointed to the general improbability of the entire system springing into being, essentially fully formed from its inception; much more likely is a gradual evolution, adapting to fit unforeseen circumstances (e.g. Grierson 1962b, viii–xiv; Brand 1984; Archibald 1988, 275–8; Gillingham 1989, 373 n.; Stewart 1990, 462–3). Recoinage was not a process to be instituted lightly, and could be expected to take some time to carry out – potentially years. Among Carolingian precedents, Charles the Bald in July 864 proclaimed a new coinage which would be the only one acceptable after Martinmas (11 November), that is, after a period of about four months (Boretius and Krause 1883–98, II, doc. 273, pp. 314–15); but Louis the Pious in 825 commanded his counts that as of Martinmas the 'new' type instituted two to three years previously would be the only acceptable currency (Boretius and Krause 1883–98, I, doc. 150, p. 306). Later medieval English recoinages (albeit dealing with a larger currency produced at a reduced number of mints) could also vary in length, often lasting several years (Allen 2012a, esp. 304–16, 325–31; Stewart 2009). In tenth- and eleventh-century England there is no evidence for how long the implementation of recoinages could take: the occurrence of dual- or multi-type

hoards may reflect a prolonged process, and the possibility of variability in duration should not be forgotten. There is no obvious sign that frequent recoinages, regular or otherwise, were envisaged by Edgar, and continuation of the same design under his sons could be read as maintenance of the more conservative earlier tenth-century monetary tradition instead of waiting out the duration of a requisite period (cf. Stewart 1990, 459–63; and see below). A case in point of the difficulties posed by the early stages of the recoinage system is presented by the *Hand* types of Æthelred II – the first recoinage after Edgar’s seminal reform. Dolley’s interpretation of the evidence required that the *Hand* type be split into two primary coinages, *First* and *Second Hand*, each a full and separate issue lasting six years (Dolley’s epiphany on this point is discussed in Brand 1984, 3; Stewart 1955–7b, 109). He defended his views on this point vigorously (e.g. Dolley 1966b, 23; 1978b, 120–3), and cited a number of English and Scandinavian hoards which were wholly or largely dominated by *Second Hand*, implying that it was seen as a distinct type by contemporaries. There was, however, much for the critics to object to. As outlined below (section (j)), pp. 261–3), the two main *Hand* types are difficult to distinguish visually, and there are peculiarities in the production of *Second Hand* which indicate that it was essentially a large regional variant which grew out of *First Hand*. The further evolution of *Benediction Hand*, again with a limited geographical distribution, strengthens the general impression that all the *Hand* types constituted a single prolonged coinage cycle, one which demonstrates the flexibility and adaptability that still prevailed. In many respects this coinage is closer to the practices of Æthelstan than those of Edward the Confessor. Further reasons to query the supposedly equal duration of these and other late Anglo-Saxon coinages are outlined below in the consideration of individual types (sections (i)–(l), pp. 260–71).

4. *Towards a new chronology for the late Anglo-Saxon coinage*

One of the most attractive features of the sexennial scheme for the late Anglo-Saxon coinage (and its later form, the two- or three-year types of Cnut’s sons and Edward the Confessor) is the provision of firm-looking absolute dates. But much of the evidence for the thorough regularity crucial to the chronology is essentially unsupported, as are most of the postulated links between coin reforms and specific historical events. Any alternative scheme for dating the late Anglo-Saxon coinages must necessarily be somewhat looser, as is the case with (for example) those put forward by John Brand and Lord Stewartby, or recently for Norman coin types by Martin Allen (Brand 1984, 33; Stewart 1990, 460; M. Allen 2014a, 90–4). Greater flexibility is also called for in the naming and interpretation of different types and sub-types. A dogmatic approach to defining main or *renovatio* types and sub-types within them risks imposing an inappropriate level of rigidity. There is no doubt that some types were dominant for extended periods, but below them were ‘sub-types’ of many complicated forms: large ones such as *Second Hand* and possibly *Helmet*; small ones such as *Intermediate Small Cross* and *Transitional Pyramids*; and minute ones such as the sole surviving *Pointed Helmet* penny of Æthelred II (see below, sections (j)–(l), pp. 261–71). Some of these permutations are surely the result of local initiative, outside the strictures of any national directives, but the variations are numerous enough to indicate that there probably never was a rigid system of recoinage. The coins must be allowed to speak for themselves, on a case-by-case basis, and any expectation of regularity for its own sake should be abandoned. So too should the presumption that the taxonomy constructed by modern numismatists faithfully mirrors the concepts, intentions and internal divisions according to which the Anglo-Saxons organised their

currency. It is consequently dangerous to speak with too much confidence of 'regular changes in type', 'full-scale recoinages' or similar. If anything, the pattern which emerges bespeaks a culturally, politically and economically charged monetary policy, which resulted in relatively frequent recoinages answering to the changing needs of contemporary circumstances. The coinage was fully capable of responding to sudden developments, such as (probably) the Viking invasion of summer 1009, or the unpredictable deaths and successions of kings. Only the initial reform type of Edgar was maintained on any scale by subsequent kings, and there is no indication that a recoinage was originally intended to follow it so soon. Later, the accession of a new ruler normally meant the institution of a new coinage very swiftly: 'transitional' issues of the outgoing type but with the name of the new king do occasionally survive (Jonsson and Van der Meer 1990, 120; Jonsson 1994, 199–201), but these are extremely rare and geographically circumscribed.

A new dating scheme needs to go beyond the unwarranted assumption that the number of (perceived) main types in a king's reign must each have occupied an equal share of its duration. In the thirty-one years from Cnut to the Conquest, there is no specific evidence to support the proposition that types of two-year duration gave way, after the *Expanding Cross* issue, to types of three-year duration except the desire to associate *Expanding Cross* with the events of 1051 (Dolley 1964a, 28–9; 1976a, 359–60). Instead of prejudicial associations with events in the *ASC*, a new chronology should attempt to allow for the likely fluctuations in minting, as dictated by both known and unknown quantities (such as shifts in thought at the heart of royal government attested by a range of sources, the flow of bullion from Germany and changing demands of internal trade respectively), and the effects these had on surviving finds (for discussion of such an approach to the coinage of Æthelred II, see Naismith 2016). Hoards from England and Scandinavia remain crucial, but it is notoriously difficult to associate individual hoards with known events; attempts to do so have sometimes proved misleading (cf. Blackburn 1991b), and are best avoided. The volume of late Anglo-Saxon single-finds from England is also now very substantial, amounting to more than 1,300 specimens. These pose problems of their own, and there are no grounds for advocating a precise correlation between numbers of single-finds and the duration of every coin type. There are, however, extreme cases which might influence views on the relative duration (cf. Allen 2006, 498–500) (see Fig. 9). For instance, the *Short Cross* type of Cnut is by far the best represented of all late Anglo-Saxon coin types among single-finds: as of 2010, it was known from 182 finds, the next best represented type (Æthelred's *Long Cross*) from 124, and the two earlier types of Cnut from 57 and 53 finds respectively (Naismith 2013b, 205). At the opposite extreme, two of the more contentious types of Æthelred II, *Second Hand* and *Helmet*, are known from comparatively few single-finds, with 38 and 33 finds each. In these cases, the single-finds seem to support the proposition that either a varying level of coinage output was injected into domestic circulation, and/or some types ran for longer or shorter time spans than others. Numbers of finds are smaller during the shorter coinages of Edward the Confessor, but some types still stand out: *Small Flan* and *Expanding Cross* are the most numerous, with 71 and 90 finds each. Again, the suspicion must be that they were of longer duration than Edward's other types (though for *Small Flan* the small size of individual coins may also have been a factor leading to increased rate of loss).

In short, one must resist the temptation to assign absolute dates to most of the late Anglo-Saxon coin types. A new dating scheme taking account of these points is laid out in Table 17 above.

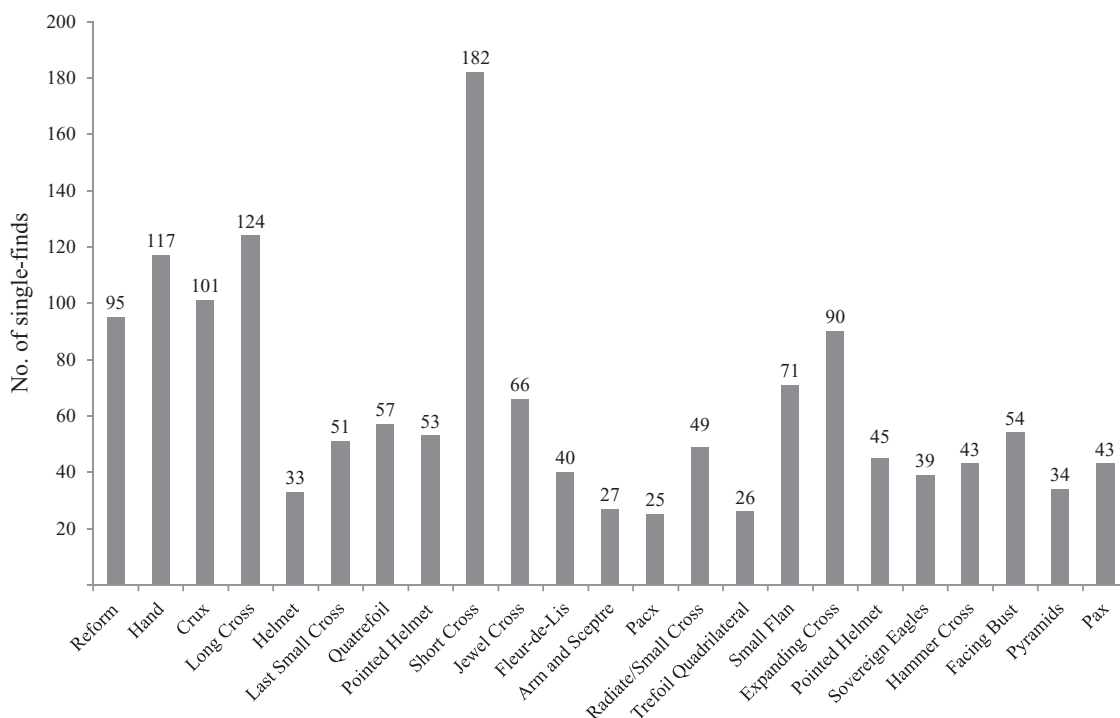


Figure 9. Numbers of single-finds for late Anglo-Saxon coin types (after Naismith 2013b, 205, based on a total of 1,329 single-finds recorded on EMC and PAS to October 2010).

(f) MINT ADMINISTRATION

1. Mint-places

Already by the time of Edgar's reform, more than fifty locations had been named as mint-places in England (see Chapter 9, section (g), pp. 189–93, and Appendix 1, pp. 337–59). Additional mints, particularly in the east midlands, may have been at work but did not place their names upon the coins. The late Anglo-Saxon coinage inherited this already robust framework and more than doubled the number of places which operated as a mint, yet did not particularly extend their geographical distribution: York remained the one and only mint-place north of the Humber and Chester the principal mint-place of the north-west, while in Wessex small mint-places at Lydford in Devon and (briefly) Launceston in Cornwall went only slightly further south and west than Barnstaple and Exeter, which had appeared earlier in the tenth century. Neither were most of the new mints particularly productive; the largest centres were all established well before the 970s. What the late Anglo-Saxon period added was a multitude of smaller mint-places, mostly in the south, though there were important changes in the role of many centres over the period.

Overall, approximately 113 locations were named as mint-places on late Anglo-Saxon coins. This total includes 85 places which can be identified with confidence, and 28 others which are more problematic, though some of these can be assigned to a shire or approximate geographical region (see Map 5; full details and bibliography on each mint-place are included in Appendix 1, pp. 337–58; also critical is Jonsson and Van der Meer 1990). These figures contain some points of uncertainty. All pennies bearing the mint-signature NIWAN, NIWANPO or similar are here tentatively assigned to a single mint-place (possibly Newport Pagnell), but some have traditionally been attributed to Newark on Trent. New mint-places may also yet come to light, or specimens which alter understanding of known mint-signatures, as was the case with a coin found in 1999 which prompted reattribution to Melton Mowbray of pennies formerly assigned to Peterborough (1805: Blackburn 2000b). Mint names from this time are an important resource for the philologist, even though in most cases they are abbreviated. Several locations are named for the first time on coins, sometimes (as probably in the case of Cissbury, Sussex) by a margin of several hundred years (Carroll and Parsons 2007, 97–8; further comments on the significance of individual readings are given in the Appendix 1).

A famous map published in 1961 showed all of the mint-places named in Edgar's reform and after, each at the centre of a circle representing a fifteen-mile radius, 'marking out the area within which it might be expected that a man could walk to the mint and back again in a day' (Dolley and Metcalf 1961, 146–52, quotation at 149). The view of Dolley and Metcalf was that the very extensive network of mint-places was intended to facilitate recoinage. But recoinages simply did not need large numbers of mints: a much larger currency was recoinced in the later twelfth and thirteenth century by about a dozen mints (Allen 2012a, esp. 304–16, 325–31). Rather, the number and placement of mints in late Anglo-Saxon England depended principally on urban geography and local patronage. Moreover, there was never a time when all the late Anglo-Saxon mints were in operation simultaneously. The largest number of mint-places active in the course of a single coin type was seventy-two (Cnut *Quatrefoil*), and most types are represented by fifty to sixty locations. Not surprisingly, the types with the fewest recorded mints are those represented by relatively scarce surviving specimens: only twenty-seven named mint-places are recorded for Æthelred II's *First Small Cross*, for example, and nine for the exceptional *Agnus Dei* coinage. The regional distribution of late Anglo-Saxon mint-places is highly uneven. South-west England by itself accounts for almost a third of all mint-places (thirty-one), with eleven in Somerset alone. Other shires (based on the reckoning of DB) with an exceptional number of mint-places include Lincolnshire (ten), Kent (seven), Dorset and Wiltshire (six each). Conversely, fourteen shires are home to only one mint-place each: Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Cheshire, Cornwall, Derbyshire, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire and Yorkshire. In all these cases the mint-place was situated in the main, and usually eponymous, shire town, with the exception of Cornwall. Cornwall, however, was a special, peripheral case, while Rutland was not constituted as a shire by the early eleventh century (Stenton 1908, 134–6; Phythian-Adams 1977).

England's network of mint-places in the late tenth and eleventh centuries can be divided into three principal zones. These relate to the three zones loosely characterised by James Campbell as one of 'palaces and councils' (i.e. the south, with a generally denser and more complex distribution of mints), one 'lacking palaces and royal meeting-places but having uniform institutions' (i.e. the midlands and, arguably, York, with mints generally more tied into shire geography) and a

‘frontier zone’ (which did not include any mints unless one counts York) (Campbell 2000, 47); there are also intriguing similarities with the urban geography of later medieval England (Masschaele 1997, 95–103).

1. Northumbria. Northumbria was unusual for the absence of minting at any location besides York, at least under normal circumstances. This seems to have been the situation since the eighth century, but in the context of the later Anglo-Saxon kingdom the absence of mint-places ties in with important administrative differences north of the Humber. The region also lacked other elements of the machinery of royal government, especially the further north one travelled (Whitelock 1959; Molyneux 2011; Rollason 2003, 257–74).
2. The Midlands. The territory from approximately the Thames to the Humber – ‘English’ Mercia and the eastern territories settled by Scandinavians – tended to have one (or at least one significant) mint-place per shire, situated in the principal town or stronghold. This pattern probably related to the processes of midland shire formation in the course of the tenth century (Stenton 1970, 336–8; Stafford 1989, 137; Molyneux 2011, 131–44; 2015, 155–72; see also Chapter 9, section (g), pp. 189–93), and a concern that at least one mint-place should be available in each shire. By and large, these tended to be mints of long duration and at least medium standing, most going back to before Edgar’s reform and surviving beyond the Norman Conquest. There were instances of additional mint-places in some parts of this area. Lincolnshire is particularly anomalous: in addition to two of the largest mints in the kingdom (Lincoln and Stamford), it contained a number of small mint-places, most of which were only named in the early stages of the new coinage. These may be a legacy of the quite distinct monetary tradition of the ‘north-east’ region in the pre-reform period: a territory enjoying some administrative freedom which had, for much of the tenth century, resisted the reforms and type-changes of various English kings. The coinage of the ‘north-east’ before Edgar’s reform was also characterised by very numerous and productive moneyers and rarity of mint names. East Anglia too had a history of distinctive government (Marten 2008), which carried over into its somewhat unusual organisation of minting. In addition to Norwich and Ipswich, Thetford (situated on the border between Norfolk and Suffolk) was a major mint-place throughout the late Anglo-Saxon period, and there may also have been a limited tendency in the eleventh century to open additional small and short-lived mint-places at small towns or even rural estates in this wealthy region: Sudbury and possibly Hockwold-cum-Wilton under Æthelred II, and Dyr, Stes and Bury St Edmunds (this last probably under ecclesiastical control) under Edward the Confessor (Eaglen 2006; Freeman 1985, 70, 217).
3. Southern England. Finally, the region along and south of the Thames (including Essex) was marked by a rather less orderly relationship between mint-places and shire divisions. This area was the historic heartland of the West Saxon dynasty. It included the ancient shires of Wessex, as well as former kingdoms of the south-east which had evolved into shires (see Chapter 9, section (g), pp. 189–93). The majority of the late Anglo-Saxon kingdom’s mint-places (sixty) were to be found in this area, among them some of the oldest and largest centres of all, such as Canterbury, London and Winchester. Southwark, essentially a suburb of London (though jurisdictionally distinct), was in itself a substantial mint, closely linked to its much larger neighbour immediately across the Thames (Naismith 2013c). Wessex itself had the highest concentration of mint-places, many (though not all) of them small. Kent and Sussex were unusual in

having or acquiring a relatively large number of well-established mint-places; those in Kent were mostly dotted along the coast, implying a connection with maritime trade. Other shires in the south were more similar to the midlands in having a mint-place in the main town, although there are several cases of moneyers also being active at other significant urban centres. Hence Essex had two substantial mint-places at Maldon and, from Æthelred II *Crux*, Colchester (the two made a joint payment to the king for their respective minting privileges in 1086: DB II, 107r), later supplemented by the ephemeral Horndon; and Hampshire had two substantial minting establishments at Winchester and (until Cnut *Quatrefoil*) Southampton. Both of Hampshire's mint-places had been active since before the reign of Edgar. The relationship between urban geography and minting again appears to have been important, more so than the correlation with shire-level government, in contrast to most of the midlands.

Some sense of ranking among mint-places is key to understanding the different roles they fulfilled (see in general Metcalf 1977a; 1978b). Numbers of moneyers provide one rough tool for gauging the activity of a mint-place (e.g. Hill 1981, 130), but there can be no guarantee that all moneyers are known in each type (especially at small mints), how many worked simultaneously and how moneyers' output differed (cf. Naismith 2013c, 58–68; Metcalf 1978b, 165). A complete mint-study of all surviving specimens is the best tool for understanding a mint-place's activity, broken down by type and moneyer. Enough mint-studies have now been completed to give a view of establishments of very different character, from the large (Lincoln, Winchester and York) and the medium (Huntingdon and Ipswich) to the small (Watchet) (references in Appendix 1).

Representation in hoards (English and Scandinavian) as well as single-finds shows that a small number of mints dominated the Anglo-Saxon currency: the five leading mint-places alone (Lincoln, London, Stamford, Winchester and York) accounted for 55–75 per cent of all single-finds, and tentative estimates of overall output suggest London and York may have provided 25 and 9 per cent respectively (Metcalf 1978b, 182–7; 1980, 32–5; cf. Metcalf 1987c for critique of this methodology). This is an important point: despite its plethora of mint-places, the late Anglo-Saxon coinage was for most of its history dominated by just a few centres, located in the kingdom's principal urban settlements. The largest mint of all was London. At the peak of its activity (Cnut *Quatrefoil*), London (with its ancillary mint of Southwark) supported seventy-nine known moneyers who may have used more than a thousand reverse dies in the course of one type. London's activity remained exceptionally high c. 980–1040, so much so that no detailed mint-study has been completed for the whole period. It may at times have been twice as large and productive as the next best-represented mint-place, and accounted for up to 40 per cent of all known single-finds of some types in this period (Naismith 2013c, 56–8). The other leading mint-places were also very large, supporting a maximum of forty-nine (York, Æthelred *Long Cross*), thirty-five (Lincoln, *Last Small Cross*) or thirty-three (Winchester, Cnut *Quatrefoil*) moneyers each in one type. The profiles of all four mints point towards common trends deriving from similar economic and political pressures (see below, section (h), pp. 253–8): there was a general expansion in *Crux* and again in *Last Small Cross* and *Quatrefoil*, tailing off slowly thereafter towards 1066 (cf. Metcalf 1980; 1981a; though for variations see Metcalf 1990a, 169–74). London remained noticeably larger than the next most significant mints (based on the number of moneyers and representation among single-finds) until c. 1050/60. Its decline may be related to a general contraction in the contribution of the large mint-places, counterbalanced by a rise in the collective importance of medium and

smaller mints (Naismith 2013b, 209–12; 2013c, 56–8, 68–70). This process coincides with interesting developments in the single-find record which carry important implications for the involvement of mint-places in the domestic economy.

The dominance of the few largest mint-places was, however, not total. A large number of middle-ranking mints continued alongside them throughout the period, and shared in many of the same ups and downs. They show the same rise as the major mint-places in *Crux* and the same peak in *Last Small Cross* and *Quatrefoil*; however, they tend not to decline quite as precipitously as the major mints thereafter. On average, towards the end of Edward the Confessor's reign, numbers of moneyers at Lincoln, London, Winchester and York had declined to 24 per cent of the peak total in Cnut *Quatrefoil*. Greater consistency – sometimes even expansion – is apparent at medium and even minor mint-places. Hastings in Sussex had between two and four moneyers in every type from Æthelred II *Last Small Cross* to Harold II; Dorchester in Dorset one or two moneyers from Æthelred II *Crux* to Harold II. In general, small and medium-size mints collectively took on a more important role in the mid-eleventh century, at the expense of the major mints (Freeman 1985, 70).

Individual mint-places had distinct features. York did not demonstrate quite the same burst of productivity as London in *Quatrefoil*, while Lewes (unlike most other mints) acquired a number of new moneyers in the middle of Edward the Confessor's reign: several of these continued from one type to the next, indicating that they were probably active simultaneously. Small mint-places in particular were very often *sui generis*, created as a result of diverse local circumstances (Freeman 1985, 72–7). Some were comparatively secure institutions based in small towns and catering (it must be presumed) to sustained needs of local exchange; such mint-places operated at a low but consistent level over a number of generations. At Watchet on the Somerset coast there was a strong tradition of having a moneyer at work: from Æthelred II *First Hand* to Edward the Confessor's *Pointed Helmet* a succession of three individuals can be traced whose activity barely if ever coincided. Other 'mints' seem essentially to have been personal creations, lasting only as long as the career of a single moneyer: Bedwyn in Wiltshire, for example, was staffed solely by the moneyer Cild for most of the reign of Edward the Confessor and into the beginning of William the Conqueror's (2207, 2278), and minting ended when Cild then decamped to nearby Marlborough. There are also numerous mints which lasted only a brief time, sometimes – as far as can be seen from surviving coins – for only one or two types, which may in real terms have meant activity over as little as a few days. One small group of mints occurring in the latter part of Æthelred II's reign, as Viking incursions became increasingly severe, reflects a tendency for moneyers in southern England to establish temporary 'emergency' mints at defended hilltop sites, where the essentials of local government could be maintained in greater security (Hill 1978b, 223–5; Haslam 2011, 208–17). South Cadbury, Cissbury (1958) and Salisbury (1944, 1946, 1973) were all set up under these conditions (for excavations of contemporary defences at Cadbury see Alcock 1994, 44–59, 154–70); only Salisbury was to outlast the early part of Cnut's reign. The thick cluster of small mint-places in Wessex coincides with the region's numerous small towns in DB (Darby and Welldon Finn 1967, 50–60, 117–22, 196–205, 279–85).

There is some difficulty in moving from this inevitably patchy record to the actual economic role of the settlements in question (Darby and Welldon Finn 1967, 362–3), yet even those settlements which did at one point serve as a mint-place but have not traditionally been viewed as towns (e.g. Crewkerne in Somerset) were usually royal estates (cf. Wareham 2012, 923). A few other

small mint-places may also have been seigniorial, intended to facilitate the conversion of local rent or tribute into cash and add to the income of the landowner (Stafford 1978, 38–9; Stenton 1970, 536–37; Dolley and Metcalf 1961, 148–9). Bury St Edmunds is a rare case of a probable ecclesiastical mint, which (at least by the end of Edward the Confessor's reign) fed into the income of the abbot of Bury (Eaglen 2006; see Appendix 1, p. 338). Evidence that moneyers could also belong to laymen in this way is provided by a grant of one Stamford moneyer to Peterborough by an aristocrat named Thurkil Hoga in the time of Cnut (see Appendix 1, p. 344). But most moneyers probably worked in the name of the king within his towns, as implied by a writ issued by Edward the Confessor which grants rights over one moneyer at Bury St Edmunds to the abbot (1065×1066: S 1085, ed. and trans. Harmer 1952, no. 25): this states that the abbot is to have his moneyer 'with the same freedom from restriction as I [King Edward] have my own anywhere in any of my boroughs' (*al swa freolice on ealle þing to habben, al swa me mine on hande stonden ower on enig minre burge*).

The central impression to be drawn from the late Anglo-Saxon mints is one of a versatile and flexible framework, embedded in the prior developments which had already seen the principal mints come into being, and in the changing conditions which dictated the appearance of new centres and affected the standing of existing ones. There is little sign that mint-locations were governed by a grand strategy aimed at creating an evenly dispersed system to support recoinage (Stafford 1978, 38; Metcalf 1977a). The existence of numerous mint-places rather seems to have been based on the mechanisms of the local economy and administration; moneyers worked as and where they could within this framework. The fiscal or seigniorial role of the coinage is emphasised by the existence of some of the very smallest mints, which are difficult to see emerging in a purely commercial setting. The initiative of the landowner in raising cash may have been a driving factor in such cases; they may better be thought of as places where moneyers worked rather than long-term mint-places, like some of the myriad Merovingian mints of the sixth and seventh centuries (Stafford 1978, 40). It is equally important to keep the number of mint-places distinct from estimates of the actual scale of the currency. Most late Anglo-Saxon mint-places contributed minutely to the coinage as a whole. Minting on a substantial scale was essentially the preserve of towns, and the largest towns were the largest mints. A great many forces could lead to the production of coin – but substantial and sustained minting was associated with concentrations of population and exchange.

2. Moneyers

The internal operation of mint-places comes into relative focus in the late Anglo-Saxon period thanks to the heightened level of detail given by the coins and by surviving written sources. These indicate that, as had probably been usual since at least the eighth century, each moneyer generally operated a separate minting operation (Brand 1984, 45–50; Metcalf 2001b; Allen 2012a, 1–9). Direct attestations of this arrangement are concentrated after the Anglo-Saxon period. Perhaps the most vivid evidence comes from Winchester, in the form of a survey commissioned by Henry I c. 1110 which cites customs and possessions in the city during the time of Edward the Confessor. This earlier material includes references to five men described as *monetarii*, and nine others who apparently correspond with known moneyers; the combination of names matches most closely the moneyers of the *Sovereign/Eagles* type, probably minted in the late 1050s. Details in the c. 1110 document reveal the location of properties owned by some of these moneyers, and mention that

at least five workshops (*monete*) belonging to them were situated in the high street (Biddle and Keene 1976, 396–407; cf. Brand 1984, 45–50). Winchester's system of organisation was not necessarily universal, but other sources largely concur with its picture of moneyer-based production. Different circuits of DB adopt various means of describing mint-dues, but these are normally based on the moneyers active in a particular town as a group, rather than a single institution (references are collected in Grierson 1985, 85–7). Late Anglo-Saxon laws likewise focus on the relationship between king and moneyer, making no reference to any higher level of organisation (Screen 2007). The coins offer support of a different kind, in that inter-moneyer die-links occur but are still (at least in the well-studied cases of Winchester and Lincoln) irregular enough to suggest that sharing of dies took place only on an occasional basis. At Winchester, this contrasts sharply with commonplace sharing of dies after 1180, when it is known that the moneyers did share premises. However, evidence of this kind is not foolproof: Winchester's moneyers were fined in the 1160s for having produced coins in the same building – which at this date was evidently prohibited – but no inter-moneyer die-links have been recorded among *Tealby* pennies of the relevant period (Allen 2012b, 56–7).

Several hundred moneyers are named in total on late Anglo-Saxon coins. Valuable insights into their background can be gleaned from philological assessment of the inscriptions on the coins. Moneyers form one of the largest and best-recorded groups of individuals in late Anglo-Saxon England, and the coins of this period in particular have been analysed very thoroughly. An index of key data is provided in *SCBI* 21 and 41 (with Jonsson and Van der Meer 1990), while major surveys include Smart (1968; 1986) and Colman (1984; 1992; 2014). Conventionally moneyers' names are given in a normalised form, based on 'standard' late West Saxon for Old English names, and on thirteenth-century Old Norse for names of Scandinavian derivation (*SCBI* 21, ix–xvi). Normalisation clarifies relationships between disparate-looking forms of the same name, albeit at the expense of eliding significant variations in orthography. When studied in their original forms, moneyers' names provide important early, and relatively closely datable, evidence for linguistic changes not otherwise attested until significantly later, such as lenition of the inter-vocalic fricative in the name element *Æthel*, resulting in spellings such as *ÆGEL* or *ÆIEL* (Colman 1981). By-names (e.g. *ÆLFWINE MVS*, *ÆLFWIG SWENCEL*: **2044**, **2301**) also appear on coins from the reign of Cnut onwards, and may have been even more common than they seem, assuming they were perhaps only used when there was a danger of confusion between two moneyers of the same name (Smart 1990). Moneyers' names are also an index of the social identity of personal names current in a given location at a specific time. Naturally a name is not in itself evidence for the ethnic origins, language or cultural affiliations of the bearer; nevertheless, taken as a whole, names give some flavour of the prevailing trends in different parts of the country. Lincoln and York, for example, are marked out by plentiful names of Old Norse derivation, which account for up to 65 per cent of all moneyers at York, and 40 per cent at Lincoln, from Edgar's reform to the death of Æthelred II (Smart 1986). Moneyers with Old Norse names are encountered most commonly, but by no means exclusively, in the 'Danelaw'; names of more unusual origin include a few of Old Irish derivation, generally thought to represent men of Hiberno-Scandinavian background, and a small but widespread element of Continental Germanic names belonging to incomers from south and south-east across the Channel (Smart 1986, 174–6, 182–3).

It is notoriously difficult to trace moneyers in other sources, besides the Winchester documents mentioned above. For the huge majority of moneyers, nothing survives to indicate who they were

or what position in society they occupied: all that can be said is that most moneyers seem to have moved in different circles to the thegns, aristocrats and clerics more often recorded in charters and related texts. Those who occasionally impinge on the textual record were among the wealthier and more prominent members of urban society, generally those whose resources extended to substantial landed property: they probably lay at the social apex of the groups from whom moneyers tended to be drawn. At York, there were two moneyers (one under Æthelred II and one under Edward the Confessor: 2232) who explicitly indicated on the reverses of their coins that they were thegns (i.e. significant landowners holding specific duties and powers) (Smart 1990, 444–5). That this detail was included is in itself striking: at least in York, such status may have been unusual, and a search for parallels between moneyers and local thegns in eleventh-century London has likewise produced interesting but limited results (Nightingale 1982, 38–41). Lord Stewartby found only one possible case of a late Anglo-Saxon moneyer attesting contemporary documents: the south-western moneyer Hunwine, active in the late tenth and early eleventh century (Stewart 1988b). DB reveals a few possible cases of moneyers featuring among minor landowners, particularly those with interests concentrated in towns. Most famously, a high proportion of the lawmen named at Lincoln in DB for 1066 can be found among the moneyers (Hill 1948, 40). Minting was, except in major mint-places and/or at times of recoinage, probably not a full-time occupation, and it has long been believed that moneyers were commonly drawn from the ranks of goldsmiths (e.g. Dolley 1956b, 375; cf. Coatsworth and Pinder 2002). In the Winchester survey, for example, one Edwardian moneyer seems to be named in his capacity as an *aurifaber* (Biddle and Keene 1976, 404, 421). At London, the moneyers Algar and Deorman under Edward the Confessor may be ancestors of a prominent line of goldsmiths and urban magnates (Nightingale 1982). Goldsmiths could be men of considerable wealth and importance, and several of them were among the tenants-in-chief of DB (Nightingale 1982, 40). It would therefore be no surprise if, as moneyers, their role in minting was organisational rather than physical. A law-code of Æthelred II shows that moneyers were expected to have employees working for them (IV Æthelred, chap. 9.1: ed. Liebermann 1903–16, I, 236). Changing, as opposed to making, coin may have been a more prominent element of the role played by many moneyers. The Winchester moneyers were sometimes also referred to as *cangeor* ('changer') as well as *monetarius*, while in late Anglo-Saxon glossaries the word *mynetere* was often used to gloss *trapezeta* ('moneychanger') (Bosworth and Toller 1972 s.v. *mynetere*).

Analysis of the coins adds substantially to this picture. Some inter-mint obverse die-links, often between relatively nearby mint-places, connect reverses of moneyers with the same name (Brand 1984, 48; for an example see Dolley and van der Meer 1958–9), effectively confirming cases of moneyers moving between towns, sometimes in different shires. Moneyers for small mints, such as in the south-west and around London, were often also known at nearby large mints (Stafford 1978, 39–40; Freeman 1985). Without die-links, and in cases of moneyers with common names, such movements are difficult to trace, but a few with unusual names were surprisingly mobile, occurring in multiple towns and shires. These stand a higher chance of representing the same individual. A good example is provided by a moneyer named after the son of Weland the Smith, Widia – an extremely rare personal name, recorded in DB only once, in a completely different part of England (von Feilitzen 1937, 17). A moneyer with this name first appeared at Steyning in Cnut's reign, later resurfacing successively at London under Harthacnut, and then in Winchester in the same reign and in that of Edward the Confessor (Freeman 1985, 136–7; Stewart 1978b, 112–13). Coins also permit rough estimates of moneyers' longevity. Caution is needed,

as the surviving sample is far from complete, and new moneyers (or known moneyers in new types) still regularly come to light. Multiple men may have borne the same name, and if there is a lengthy gap between appearances of a name, the chances are that two different men were at work. However, more or less unbroken careers of impressive length can be pinned down for individuals with rare names, or who were active at small mint-places. At Winchester, a moneyer named Leofweald appeared in Æthelred II *First Hand* and continued into Cnut *Pointed Helmet* – a career of some forty years or more. This may have been surpassed by his younger contemporary at the same mint, Wulfnoth, who appeared in *Crux* and survived until Harold I *Fleur-de-Lis* (Lyon 2012, 9–10). Perhaps the most impressive of all is the Lincoln moneyer Ásfrithr, who is first known to have issued pennies in Æthelred II's *Long Cross*, and was still active in the middle of Edward the Confessor's reign (*Pointed Helmet*): a career of some fifty or sixty years, assuming this was the same man throughout. But most moneyers lasted less than half this time: among 330 moneyers active under Edward the Confessor surveyed by Anthony Freeman, 100 were only known for one type, and another 132 lasted for three or four types, and only 25 are thought to have lasted more than thirty years (Freeman 1985, 27–40).

3. Distribution of dies

The high level of unity in design achieved in each late Anglo-Saxon coin type is evidence enough for a potent system of making and circulating dies for moneyers to use in production. This must have been capable of receiving and circulating new designs remarkably fast, for several times it is apparent that a coinage was made over a wide area during a brief period. The entire coinage of Harold II, known from almost fifty mint-places, must all have been made in the course of ten months or so; the *Agnus Dei* coinage may have been the result of just a few days or weeks of production in late summer or autumn 1009. Evidence for how this was achieved comes in four principal forms.

1. Domesday Book. The Domesday survey provides the only written record of how dies were made and distributed in Anglo-Saxon England, albeit at the very end of its history. Specifically, the entry concerning the city of Worcester in 1066 states that *Quando moneta vertebatur quisque monetarius dabat 20 solidos ad Lundoniam pro cuneis monetae accipiendis* ('when the coinage was changed each moneyer would give twenty shillings at London for receiving coin-dies') (DB 1, fol. 172r); a similar statement is given for the moneyers of Hereford (DB 1, fol. 179r; part of the same circuit as Worcester), who apparently paid 18s. for receiving dies, though it is not specifically stated that this was handed over at London (Grierson 1985; Metcalf 1987d). A further payment of 20s. required from each moneyer fifteen days or a month after purchasing dies (DB 1, fol. 179r, 252r) may be an extension of this recoinage fee, possibly for the additional purpose of checking the quality of the first specimens of a new type (Harvey 2014, 146). The link with London is borne out by evidence of a high degree of centralisation in style during Edward the Confessor's reign (Talvio 2014, 184), and by the finds of dies discussed below.
2. Finds of dies. In addition to the well-known early tenth-century dies from York, three locations have produced archaeological finds of late Anglo-Saxon dies (cf. Allen 2012a, 108–9). These provide tangible, if rare, evidence for the different ways in which dies could be made and distributed to towns across the kingdom. At the corner of Flaxengate and Grantham Street

in central Lincoln, a reverse die of Æthelred II *Crux* type (Lincoln mint, moneyer Kolgrimr) was uncovered during excavations in 1975 (Blackburn and Mann 1995). It was found on a site in the heart of Anglo-Saxon Lincoln, in a domestic area with some signs of craft and metalworking, but may have been discarded as rubbish: hence its find-spot may not have been Kolgrimr's workshop. Another much less well-preserved die of late Anglo-Saxon or Norman date was found at Mill Lane, Thetford, in excavations in 1995, although not recognised as such until later. Its poor condition perhaps bespeaks a low-quality unofficial product, or one which had been repeatedly refurbished (Blackburn and Davies 2004). Perhaps the most revealing find of dies comes from the Thames waterfront in London, on the south side of Upper Thames Street, at what was known as the Thames Exchange site (formerly Three Cranes Wharf). Four dies were found in total, and although the general vicinity of their discovery is known, the dies only came to light in spoil from the site dumped in Kent in 1989–90; hence their exact context is unclear, and there is no way to know if they had been deposited together, or if others might once have been lost with them. All four dies are reverses: one is of Cnut *Short Cross* (Norwich mint, moneyer Thorulfr), and the other three are post-Conquest (William I, *BMC* VII, Wareham; Henry I, *BMC* III, Southwark; Stephen, *Pellet-in-Annulet* type, Northampton). None of the dies belongs to the local mint-place (although one is of Southwark, immediately across the river), and these four may represent dies held at a workshop where similar items were made and/or kept (Archibald *et al.* 1995; O'Hara with Pirie and Thornton-Pett 1994; O'Hara 1993). Presumably there was a degree of continuity at this workshop spanning at least a century, and it could have been responsible for the refurbishment of dies as well as their manufacture.

The three finds of possible or certain late Anglo-Saxon dies exemplify the two divergent trends in die distribution detectable by other means: one towards localisation, as at Lincoln; the other towards centralisation over long distances suggested by the exceptional finds from London.

3. Inter-mint die-links. As noted above, there are occasional examples of moneyers within the same town sharing obverse dies, but still more surprising are instances of coins apparently of different mints sharing the same obverse die. Inter-mint die-links were (especially in the 1950s and 1960s) rare enough to warrant special publication when first noted (e.g. Dolley 1955b; 1961e; 1966a; Dolley and van der Meer 1958–9; van der Meer 1960–1; Lyon 1962). They have recently been gathered together, and added to, by Bill Lean and Stewart Lyon, who count a total of 188 (199 if links to Dublin are included) inter-mint die-links or chains of links (sometimes extending to three or more mints). One die is even known to have been used at the three mint-places of Chichester, London and Winchester and two others at Chichester, Southampton and Winchester (Naismith 2012b, 585–7). It is difficult to be sure precisely how prevalent inter-mint die-linking was, for many examples have only been found through sheer good luck, or the extraordinary patience needed to compare vast numbers of coins. Doubtless the total number of observed examples is skewed towards the types which have attracted most attention, and many more wait to be discovered. But the likelihood is that just a small minority of obverse dies were used at multiple mint-places.

Based on Lean and Lyon's recorded die-links, inter-mint die-linking seems to have been most prevalent in Æthelred II's *Long Cross* and *Last Small Cross* types. London is certainly the most prominent mint-place among the recorded links, and Lincoln also stands out (especially in *Last Small Cross*). Die-links are most prevalent among nearby mints. Southampton and

Winchester enjoyed a close relationship manifested in several die-links; these proved important in making a case for assigning coins to Southampton instead of Northampton (Dolley 1955b). A few (usually short-distance) movements brought a die into the hands of the same moneyer at two mints, almost certainly travelling with him: such was the case with the moneyer Boga, who used the same obverse die at Dover and London in Æthelred II *Helmet* (Dolley and van der Meer 1958–9). Other mints closely related across multiple types included London and Southwark, the Kentish mints and those in the south-west. But there are also numerous examples of long-distance die-links: between Cambridge and Exeter in *Crux*, between York and Ilchester in *Jewel Cross*, and between Lincoln and Lewes in *Fleur-de-Lis*, to name but a few. Most dramatic of all are Anglo-Saxon dies which were used outside England. Several sets of dies ended up being used in Denmark or Sweden and some, especially for Cnut as king of the Danes, were presumably made under commission from English die-cutters (Blackburn 1983a; 1990b), and a total of eleven English obverses from mostly western mint-places were used in Dublin. The traffic of dies with Ireland was not entirely one-way: two moneyers at York in Æthelred II *Long Cross* and *Helmet* used dies produced by Dublin craftsmen (Blackburn 2008, 124 and references there cited).

Several explanations might lie behind these complex peregrinations of obverse dies. Those going from England to Dublin or Scandinavia must represent the result of international gift, commission, trading or raiding. Deciding between these possibilities is not always feasible, but dies used at Dublin of Chester and London style (in *Quatrefoil*) naming King Sihtric can only have been made by commissioning Anglo-Saxon die-cutters (Blackburn 1996a, 4–5; 2008, 124). Within England, movement of dies in the baggage of travellers is one possibility, even if the dies were not used by the same moneyer. Dies were difficult and expensive to manufacture, so it is not surprising that makers of coin sometimes eked them out through transfer between locations, including over long distances (Lyon 1970, 202–3). But the finds from London, and the frequency with which London, Lincoln and other major mint-places feature in inter-mint die-links, provide a clue to what may have been a larger force in creating inter-moneyer die-links: their circulation to and from centres of die-manufacture and refurbishment. If later medieval records provide any guide, obverse dies could be very durable, and it is apparent from the Cnut die found at London that the worn shaft could be cut down, or the hardened steel cap removed and attached to a new shaft (Archibald *et al.* 1995, 171–9; O'Hara with Pirie and Thornton-Pett 1994, 243–53). If a moneyer in one location for whatever reason terminated his duties, his serviceable obverse die(s) may well have been sent back to a workshop responsible for die production and distribution, repaired if necessary and then sent on to another moneyer at a different mint-place. Many of the long-distance die-links could reflect processes such as this, but more challenging explanations for inter-mint die-links are also conceivable. 'Inter-mint' die-links might be argued to result from moneyers and their reverse dies moving, rather than the obverse dies; in other words, coins may not always have been struck where the mint name on the reverse claims. Contamination between mints in this way presents a problem for the integrity of mint-studies, which are predicated on the reliability of the attribution on each coin. In this and other ways, the nature and full extent of the practices behind inter-mint die-linking remain to be determined.

4. Die-cutting style. This is the largest but also most subjective form of evidence for die distribution in the late Anglo-Saxon kingdom. The principle is that a limited number of workshops

(sometimes just one for all the kingdom) produced dies, normally serving a number of mints, and that the number and general location of these workshops can be identified through minute analysis of the dies' stylistic traits. These individual characteristics do not detract from the formidable level of typological unity achieved on a general level: main features such as the form of the bust and its enclosure, and the design of the reverse, normally remained identical at each and every mint. Minor, idiosyncratic details are therefore critical, revealing how a die-cutter rendered the design given him: a combination of small features, such as a bust's hair or drapery, or minor variations in the legend, might hold the key to distinguishing different sources.

Regional die-cutting has been recognised in the late Anglo-Saxon coinage since the formative years of Michael Dolley's research (early work includes Stevenson 1951; Dolley 1952–4c, 178), and was first elaborated in a seminal paper by Dolley on the *Last Small Cross* coinage of Æthelred II (Dolley 1958, 10–36). Details particular to individual coin types are outlined below (sections (i)–(l), pp. 260–71), but the general picture is that in the period from Edgar's reform to Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type there was often a significant degree of regionalisation in die-manufacture. A pattern found in several types in this period was to begin with relative unity in die distribution, presumably based on a principal workshop (or workshops) in Winchester or (later) London, before regional centres emerged later in the issue (for a summary of scholarship see Blackburn and Lyon 1986, 223–4; Keynes and Naismith 2011, 190–1; Lyon 2012, 10–12). *Last Small Cross* and *Quatrefoil*, however, both began with several distribution centres at work, and acquired more as time went on. Cnut's *Pointed Helmet* type saw a move towards greater centralisation: two styles were distinguished among coins from most mints across the kingdom, and only Lincoln and York drew most of their dies from local sources (Dolley and Ingold 1961a). This set a precedent for the next forty or so years down to the Norman Conquest. One or more 'national' styles predominate, although the two major northern mints often (but not always) looked to their own resources, and there was sporadic use of local dies at other mint-places across the rest of England too (Talvio 2014). DB's references to the central role of London indicate that it was probably the source of 'national' dies by 1066, and probably had been since at least *Pointed Helmet* under Cnut (Lyon 2012, 10–12; Naismith 2013c, 53–6). The attribution of national or regional styles of die-cutting to a specific source is otherwise speculative. Styles restricted to a single mint-place might with some confidence be identified as the result of local die production. By and large regional styles of die-cutting are assigned to the largest mint-town where the style was dominant. Regional styles can sometimes be pinned down to a specific town with more confidence when, for example, the area it supplies contracts over time: this is possible with some *Quatrefoil* styles, which lost out to new centres emerging over the course of the issue. Continuity of features between types provides a further clue, crucial in the assessment of *Agnus Dei* die-cutting styles. But what these attributions mean remains unclear. Die-cutters may or may not have been moneyers; they also may or may not have worked full time and in a single location. As with minting, the creation of dies required expertise but relatively little time or heavy, immobile equipment, and the possibility of mobile or itinerant die-makers, or manufacture and supply through mechanisms besides urban workshops, should be left open.

Efforts to draw links between the complex pattern of die distribution and political and administrative circumstances are also deeply problematic. An important study of die-cutting

under Æthelred II in relation to matters of high politics – the territory of ealdormen, the raising of tribute and the variable strength of royal authority – made many perceptive points (Stafford 1978, 41–51), even though it is no longer possible to accept the precise numismatic chronology on which it is founded. Patterns of die distribution changed very frequently, such that any match with ealdordoms, shires or other known units is transitory and perhaps coincidental; uncertainty about the boundaries of most administrative territories other than shires is a further difficulty. It should probably be accepted that much of the business involved in arranging for the production of dies, as well as setting weight standards and running the coinage in other respects, could vary considerably over time, perhaps in accordance with needs specific to the coinage. The principle of viewing the coinage as an integrated part of late Anglo-Saxon government remains a sound one, however; the difficulty is in finding the level or aspect of government to which die distribution was most closely related at any time. In 1009 difficulties in the initial supply of *Last Small Cross* dies could have been a result of Viking incursions in south-east England (Lyon 1998a, 22–7). Certainly the most persuasive link between die distribution and contemporary politics came during the *Jewel Cross* coinage, issued in the aftermath of Cnut's death in 1035 (see below, section (k), pp. 270–1): supply of dies of different styles closely shadowed the changing fortunes of Harold I and Harthacnut. Evidently there could be a connection between the seemingly technical procedures of die distribution and contemporary politics, and it is therefore worth being vigilant for other such cases, if at the same time resisting the temptation to interpret every change in this light.

These four criteria together furnish a highly detailed view of the techniques involved in the manufacture of the coinage and coining implements. They invite important questions about the forms of communication which must have accompanied every stage of the minting process from the king to die-cutters, moneyers and (eventually) customers. At the beginning of the process, the king and his advisers must have selected a new design and passed this on to the die-cutters. It is doubtful that this was done through written or even oral explanation, for such a system would surely have resulted in a less unified result: sample coins, dies, stamped weights or other objects bearing the new design presumably circulated. Occasional variant types could have been samples of this kind, essayed to consider new elements or designs: one such case is the famous and unique penny of Æthelred II from London with a pointed helmet, dating to the latter part of *Last Small Cross* (SCBI 65.1096; cf. Lyon 1970, 200–1) (Fig. 10); another may be a penny from Cnut's own *Pointed Helmet* type which carries a diademed bust similar to that of the next type (SCBI 68, forthcoming).

There can be no certainty that procedures for promulgating a new coinage remained static; indeed, there are traces of several different arrangements. The DB evidence for Worcester and Hereford suggests that moneyers were expected to drive the process by acquiring dies of a new type from London, seemingly on their own initiative. In contrast, some of the short-lived coin types of the late Anglo-Saxon period point to a more centralised policy of supplying the outer mint-places with new dies first, whereas larger ones, including those where the die-cutters themselves were probably based, were supplied later (Dolley and Elmore Jones 1960, 190; Keynes and Naismith 2011, 199–200). The *Agnus Dei* coinage of Æthelred II is known from only nine mint-places in an arc extending westwards from Stamford to Salisbury: it is absent from all major mint-places except Stamford, and even from the locations tentatively suggested to have been producing



Figure 10. *Pointed Helmet penny of Æthelred II* (University Museum of Bergen, Norway; photographs from SCBI 65.1096).

dies at this time. Also under Æthelred II, the *Intermediate Small Cross* coinage is known from a small number of western mint-places, though somewhat more combined obverse dies of this issue with *Crux* reverses. Shortly before the Norman Conquest, Edward the Confessor's very rare *Transitional Pyramids* type is known from only two parts of England: Kent and the west midlands. In the latter area it was used on some scale: Worcester and Droitwich are not known from any coins of the succeeding *Pyramids* type. These three coinages are all so rare that their production must have been discontinued after only a short period of time.

The various procedures for initiating a new coin type in turn raise the question of how mint names and moneyer's names were passed to die-cutters. The king's name shows rather more stability in orthography, with interesting aberrations in (for example) Edward the Confessor's *Sovereign/Eagles* type (see below, section (I), p. 275). DB shows that moneyers did have to go in person (or perhaps send a designated proxy) to London to pay for and collect dies, which would have provided an opportunity to pass on names to the die-cutter for inscription. However, it is likely that the orthography found on surviving coins often represents the taste of the die-cutter rather than the moneyer. The Lincoln moneyer whose name is normalised as Aslacr first appears in Cnut *Quatrefoil*, dies for which were made in Lincoln and normally render his name as ASLAC. In the succeeding *Pointed Helmet* coinage, dies for which were sometimes made locally and sometimes centrally (possibly at London), the spelling ASLAC still predominates, but is now combined with OSLAC, while from Cnut's third coinage, the *Short Cross* type (made with central dies), onwards OSLAC is used exclusively (Mossop 1970). No systematic survey has ever been conducted of the orthography of personal names in relation to die-cutting style, but there are certainly examples of moneyers with relatively unusual names or non-standard forms of spelling which persist across types, as well as of names which change their orthography in most or all types. The provisional assumption must be that the names of kings, mints and moneyers were communicated to die-cutters in a number of ways.

(g) METROLOGY AND FINENESS

1. Metrology

The seemingly slipshod weight standard of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage was a cause of great vexation to early scholars. Rogers Ruding recognised the wide range of weights in the pre-Conquest coinage, yet assumed that the Anglo-Saxons had always aimed at the standard of 1.46g which had become traditional by the thirteenth century, and that aberration from this norm was 'only on account of the carelessness or incompetency of the moneyers' (e.g. Ruding 1840, I, 6–7, 103). But Hildebrand's brief notes on his divisions of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage already included more

detailed comments on weight variation, implying a recognition that different types worked on different standards (Hildebrand 1846, 23–9). The first attempt to integrate and contextualise these changes came in 1905, when H. M. Chadwick proposed that there may have been deliberate and meaningful variation in metrology, especially in the coinage of Æthelred II (Chadwick 1905, 32–6). The remarkable resurgence of interest in the late Anglo-Saxon coinage which took place in the mid-twentieth century led to close attention being devoted to metrology, and it was soon realised that different types and even different regions or towns used distinct weight standards (Butler 1961; Dolley 1964a, 26). The issue has been pursued in great depth. Of critical importance are the tables of data assembled by Bertil Petersson (1969; 1990), as well as the various detailed mint-studies (Appendix 1, pp. 337–59).

The key point is that there was a change in weight between almost every type, and also variation within types. Early coins within a type were generally heavier than later ones, but there was a great deal of fluctuation among mint-places. This variation was most extreme in the period down to the middle of Cnut's reign, and indeed probably evolved from practices in the pre-reform coinage. The metrology of this preceding period has not been studied in the same degree of detail, yet there are signs in the issues of Æthelstan and the pre-reform coinage of Edgar of regional variation, and also of differences between coin types within mints (Naismith 2014f, 68–70; see also Chapter 9, section (h), pp. 193–5). A complex pattern of weight variation was also already apparent in Edgar's reformed coinage, at the inception of the late Anglo-Saxon monetary system. Specimens of Edgar's initial issue were on the whole slightly heavier than coins of Edward the Martyr, which were in turn generally heavier than those of Æthelred II's *First Small Cross* type (Jonsson 1987b, 95–100; Metcalf 1998a, 66–9). Subsequent coinages of Æthelred II followed a similar path. *Crux*, *Long Cross*, *Helmet* and *Last Small Cross* all exhibit heavier coins early in their duration and lighter ones late in the type (Lyon 1971, 106–10; Blackburn and Lyon 1986, 253–6). High weight has been taken as evidence for *Agnus Dei* lying at the beginning of the *Last Small Cross* type (Keynes and Naismith 2011, 188–9). The evidence of weight standards is also one point in favour of the *Hand* coinages all forming one whole. *First Hand* generally began quite heavy (c. 1.70g), while *Second Hand* picks up somewhat below where the earlier coins tend to tail off (c. 1.40g); the rarer *Benediction Hand* pennies, however, seem to return approximately to the standard of *First Hand* (Petersson 1990, 233): a development seen towards the end of a number of Æthelredian types, including *Intermediate Small Cross* at the end of *Crux* and a type with additional pellets added at the end of *Long Cross* (Stewart 1990, 471; Lyon 1971, 107–10). Late upturns of this kind presumably signify anticipation of a recoinage, and awareness that one of its features would be a rise in weight (Metcalf 1998a, 59–60). Other weight changes offer more ambiguous evidence for the relationship between two types. The heaviest coins of the *Helmet* type (c. 1.55g) are unusually light compared with others from the beginning of a new coinage of Æthelred II, which has been interpreted as one sign that it was in some sense a continuation of the *Long Cross* coinage (Brand 1967; 1984, 30–1) – yet there were many *Long Cross* coins of lower weight (Lyon 1981, 527).

Fluctuation could be geographical as well as chronological. Across the period as a whole, western mint-places tended to produce heavier coins than those in the east (Metcalf 1998a, 133). In Edgar's reform coinage there was already extensive variation among fresh coins from several mint-places: London tended towards heavier coins throughout, while Lympne (which also often used local dies) was generally on the light side. Some western mints retained a high weight standard through all the *Hand* types, but at several mints in the same area (and also at Lincoln and York)

there was more variation within each of the *Hand* types. Winchester pennies of *Long Cross* type are remarkable for their heaviness and also for their relative rarity and a high degree of inter-mint die-linking – symptoms of production being concentrated in a brief, early burst of activity (Lyon 2012, 13, 18). The best-studied case of weight variation is that of Cnut's first type, *Quatrefoil*, for which the weight of a large sample of coins has been assessed alongside analysis of the complicated regional production of dies (Blackburn and Lyon 1986, 253–6). There was a general tendency for weights to decline over the issue; at the same time, nearby mint-places could use substantially different standards at much the same time. London, for example, started the issue with coins of about 1.40g, and ended at around 1.00g, while at Dover the latest coins were substantially heavier (c. 1.10g).

Overall, after the time of Æthelred II and especially Cnut, weight standards became somewhat more uniform (Petersson 1990, 234). However, differences remained between types and mints, and to a lesser extent within types (cf. Pagan 2011, 34); also, specimens gradually become fewer, making it more and more difficult to trace metrology in detail (Metcalf 1998a, 56). From Cnut's *Short Cross* type a standard of about 1.08g broadly applied through the reigns of Harold I and Harthacnut, and the first four types of Edward the Confessor (Petersson 1990, 347; Lyon 2012, 19–20). The fifth type of Edward the Confessor, *Expanding Cross*, saw the single most dramatic mid-type shift in weight standard in the whole Anglo-Saxon period, which will be discussed below in relation to other questions raised by the type. It ushered in a period of generally higher weights (c. 1.30g) in the last decade or so of Anglo-Saxon coinage, broken only by the *Facing Bust* type, which was of about 1.07g – similar to coinages from early in the reign (Petersson 1990, 347).

The fact of weight variation is impossible to deny. Nor can it be put down to poor production standards on the part of Anglo-Saxon moneyers. Die-duplicate coins, presumably minted at more or less the same time, show a very high degree of similarity (80 per cent weigh within 0.10g of each other), implying that technical capability for measuring and controlling weight was as precise as in the later Middle Ages (Petersson 1990, 254; Lyon 1976, 216–17). Thus the practice can only be interpreted as deliberate and in some way meaningful. The only known acknowledgements of it in contemporary written sources are both somewhat allusive. A late Anglo-Saxon Old English translation of Genesis 23:16 rendered *argenti et probati monetae publicae* ('silver ... of common current money') as *be fullan gewihte seolfres* ('of full weight of silver') (ed. Marsden 2008, 50–1), suggesting that weight was one element of a coin's reliability; and the Old English version of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus includes a passage in which the translator discusses how the coinages of the Emperor Decius were allegedly organised by weight, his issues containing respectively 62, 60 and 54 pennyweights of silver (*penega gewihte seolfres*), the last 'even less' (*git læsse*) (ed. Magennis 1994, 46–7). As this text suggests, weight standards in later Anglo-Saxon England were presumably structured around the number of coins to be struck from a given quantity of metal such as a pound or ounce (Lyon 1976, 207–8); a possible 'mancus' weight approximating to thirty Edward the Confessor *Small Flan* pennies, which carries an impression of a reverse die of the appropriate type, could have been used for this purpose (Biggs 2013, 81).

The needs of different customers might also have affected the weight standard to be used (Metcalf 1998a, 68–9) – though this would not sit well with the general decline in weight standards seen at many mints in many types. The initiative probably lay with the producers, and reflects local rather than central decisions. Variations by weight could have been made on a shire by shire basis (Lyon 1971, 104, 112–13), though weight standards may often have been decided at

an even more local level, as seen in shires with several substantial mint-places such as Kent, Essex and Sussex which show clear metrological differences between mints in the same type (Metcalf 1998a, 60–2; for details Petersson 1990). Recognition that weights were monitored on the basis of individual towns comes from a text associated with Archbishop Wulfstan (d. 1023) referring to a bishop's duty to oversee both the *burghemet ælc wægpundern* ('borough-weight and pound-weight') (*Episcopus* chap. 6, ed. Liebermann 1903–16, I, 477; Bethurum 1966, 226–7; Loyn 1991, 246), and also from references in DB and the *Historia ecclesie Abendonensis* to weights and measures particular to individual towns, monasteries and rulers (DB I, 162a, 166b; Hudson 2002–7, I, 340–1). Standards of wider usage could have been those of prominent individual places. The importance of London and Winchester is shown by the prominence assigned to their weights and measures in law-codes of the late tenth and eleventh century (III Edgar 8.1, ed. Liebermann 1903–16, I, 204–5, though London appears only in one early eleventh-century version; Nightingale 1987; Naismith 2013c, 47–9).

There is as yet no compelling explanation for what variation in weight was meant to achieve. Its kaleidoscopic level of variation poses a problem for claims that specific recoinages were intended to match (or at least correlate with) Scandinavian or continental standards; if rulers did seek to bring their coins into line with a new and stable set of weight standards, the effort was surely only short-lived (*pace* Nightingale 1983; 1984; 1985; Harvey 2012). Hoards indicate that (at least within England) coins of the same type could circulate together regardless of weight (Metcalf 1998a, 56–7; Lyon 1971, 115), and there must have been many times when mints active at the same time employed substantially different weight standards for coins which would soon be used side by side (Stewart 1990, 470). It is therefore likely that the face value of a penny was not tied to its intrinsic silver value, which would have varied virtually coin by coin. The degree of this overvaluation may have been high, for if the value of silver in heavier coins surpassed the face value then users would have been able to profit from melting them down. Working on the basis that the variability in coin weight was in itself a form of taxation, implemented when owners of coin had to change over to a new type, Bertil Petersson argued for an overvaluation of 33 per cent (Petersson 1969), but there are some coins which differ in weight by more than a third and many others where the difference is much smaller (often a sixth) (Lyon 1971, 101–5; 1976, 205–8).

Most commentators have viewed weight variation as a device to bring in profit for the king and his agents, including the moneyers (e.g. Lyon 1970, 199). The way in which it may have done so is never expressed in any surviving text, and weight variation was only one potential way of drawing income from the coinage. Other opportunities would have come when coins were brought to the mint or returned from it (Stewart 1990, 469–71; Metcalf 1998a, 65–6), and the reminting of different kinds of silver (outgoing English types, older types, foreign coin or bullion) could have commanded higher or lower premiums (Lyon 1971, 114). In general it is constructive to separate the different variables at work, and also the agencies which had a stake in deriving income from the coinage. The proceeds of weight variation could have been kept separate and manipulated by the moneyers, for example, to cater to local levels of demand. Gradual decline in weight was perhaps one way to offer a better deal on reminting silver after the start of a recoinage; the general tendency towards lighter coins in the east may therefore have stemmed from its more vibrant monetary economy, which created more sustained demand. Profit from either minting rates or weight variation (or indeed both) could have accrued to the moneyer, which might explain why there was such variation in metrology according to mint-place in a coinage which

was strictly uniform in many other respects. Income for the king and his agents need not have been gathered in the same way, and indeed need not even have been as central a factor as is often assumed (see above, section (e), pp. 230–1). DB indicates a stream of income from moneyers paying flat fees for new dies when the coinage changed; no mention is made of income extracted proportionally from overall output (Naismith 2012c, 43–4; Grierson 1985; Metcalf 1987d; Harvey 2014, 136–46). However, DB also hints at another source of royal profit from the coinage: variable methods of reckoning value. Payments could be either by tale, by weight, by assay (i.e. melted and purified weight) or at 20 pence in the ora (see Appendix 2, section (a), p. 365). A famous passage in the section for Bosham, Sussex, reveals that £50 assayed and weighed was worth £65 by tale (DB I, fol. 16r): a difference of 30 per cent. Payments at 20 pence in the ora probably entailed a 25 per cent surcharge, and both were apparently associated with dues to the king (Harvey 1967; 2014, 136–46; Lyon 2006). Variable rates of payment to compensate for changes in weight and value could have originated with specific coin reforms, but become fossilised thereafter as a mechanism beneficial to the king and his agents (Harvey 1967, 226–7). Tellingly, the ASC E's poem on the death of William the Conqueror (s.a. 1087) lamented that he took payments by weight, contrary to older custom (Irvine 2004, 97). Various authorities (king, reeve, earl, Church) and different contexts (*gafol*, *heregeld*, tithe, private transaction) might have also commanded different rates of acceptance. Weight variation was, in short, probably only part of the extraction of profit from the coinage.

2. Fineness

The late Anglo-Saxon coinage was for the most part of high and consistent fineness – more so than most other western European coinages of the same period, and markedly more so than the English coinage immediately before Edgar's reform. Electron-probe microanalysis of a range of specimens in the 1980s and early 2000s clarified what had previously been an obscure topic (Metcalf and Northover 1986, 35; 2002). Edgar's reform coinage seems to have been quite uniform at about 96 per cent silver, with the remainder consisting largely of brass (copper and a little zinc), and trace amounts of other elements. The coinage of Edward the Martyr was comparable in quality, although some specimens from Lincoln and York slipped down to 93–95 per cent fine. Thereafter, 85–90 per cent of coins fall somewhere in the range 90–98 per cent fine. Fluctuation within this bracket varied more by mint-place than by type (Metcalf and Northover 1986, 37), implying that there was no policy of systematically altering the alloy between recoinages (*pace* Metcalf 1972a, 410). York and Lincoln were consistently at the lower end of the range of fineness, as initially was Exeter, but variation could also be highly localised: pennies of Lydford were of higher fineness than those of Exeter, and those of Wallingford were of exceptional purity, consistently a little better than those of nearby Oxford (Metcalf and Northover 1986, 39–40, 60–1). At many mint-places fineness fell below 90 per cent pure in the *Last Small Cross* and *Quatrefoil* types of Æthelred II and Cnut, particularly among the lighter (and probably later) specimens, a phenomenon which may stem from the remarkable burst of output in these types that perhaps precipitated shortages of bullion (Metcalf and Northover 2002, 224–6). Other groups of debased coins may still await detection. Within a mint-town moneyers tended to follow a common trend, though there is sufficient discrepancy between their coins to suggest that metal refinement was at least sometimes handled on an individual basis (Metcalf and Northover 1986, 40–1).

Trace elements in the coinage are generally not distinctive enough to furnish solid conclusions about the sources of late Anglo-Saxon bullion. A significant change in the source of silver in southern England can be detected soon after Edgar's reform, but it remains difficult to attribute this with confidence to the new Harz silver from Germany, which had a relatively broad range of trace elements (Kraume and Hatz 1961; Metcalf and Northover 1986, 50–1).

(h) TRIBUTE PAYMENTS AND THE NORTHERN HOARDS

A central question in interpretation of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage concerns the processes which led to the preservation of so many specimens outside England, in lands across the North Sea and around the Baltic. Study of the northern hoards has affected scholars' understanding of how and why the coinage was produced in England, particularly in connection with tribute payments of various kinds to Viking aggressors. This northern material, and the points it raises about the late Anglo-Saxon coinage more broadly, merits separate and dedicated treatment.

1. Tribute payments

When the Swedish scholar Johan Skytte arrived in England in 1617 seeking a loan from King James I (1603–25) for his former pupil Gustav II Adolf (1611–32), he reminded the British ruler of the 'heaps of wealth and such huge treasures of money which Britons brought into the kingdom of Sweden and Gothia many spaces and cycles of centuries earlier' (*divitiarum acervos et quam ingentes pecuniarum thesauros Britannici homines in regnum Sueciae ac Gothiae ante aliquot centenorum annorum spatia et curricula importarint*), and stated that these 'immense hoards of British coins' (*imensi nummorum Britannicorum cumuli*) were now being dug up in Sweden by farmers (Skytte 1618, 36; quoted in *SCBI* 40, ix). This is the first known reference to the remarkable accumulation of Anglo-Saxon coins found in Scandinavia and the lands around the Baltic. Altogether, this amounts to some 65,400 recorded coins (information supplied by Kenneth Jonsson, September 2013) – more than is held in museum collections in all of the UK. Islamic and German silver coins are even more numerous, climbing into the hundreds of thousands. Gotland has provided by far the highest concentration of coins – almost half of the entire total (23,400 of 57,000 English coins counted in 1981) – and Denmark a respectable portion (13,600); mainland Sweden, Norway and the lands on the east and south side of the Baltic have also each furnished thousands of coins (all based on Blackburn and Jonsson 1981, 149).

Even the huge quantities of English coin found in Scandinavia and the Baltic region in modern times presumably stand for many more which originally made the journey only to be removed or melted down, begging the question of how and why English silver crossed the North Sea in the first place (for an earlier review see Hatz 1974, 150–7). The *ASC* and related texts at first glance seem to provide an explanation with their sequence of references to tribute handed over to the Viking armies in England. These are laid out in Table 18.

There is no guarantee that the record is complete; local exactions in particular may have slipped through the net (Lawson 1984, 737; Stafford 1978, 46). Even so, the sums of which mention survives add up to at most £309,647 (£279,647 if one excludes the dubious 1016 payment and the 1012 ransom for Archbishop Ælfheah). If paid entirely in pennies, this would amount to some 73.6 million coins. The total number of English pennies found in the northern lands makes up only 0.1

Table 18. *References to tribute and related payments to Vikings in England.*

Date	'National' <i>gafol</i> /tribute	'Local' <i>gafol</i> /tribute	<i>Heregeld</i>
991	£10,000 (ASC CDE)		
994	£16,000 (ASC CDE); £22,000 (II Æthelred: Keynes 1991b, 103–7)	c. £2,000 each from archbishop and two ealdorman (Keynes 1991b, 100)	
1002	£24,000 (ASC CDE)		
1004		East Anglia: uncertain sum (ASC CDE)	
1007	£36,000 (ASC CDE)		
1009		East Kent: £3,000 (ASC CDE)	
1012	£48,000 (ASC CDE)	(?) Ransom for archbishop: £3,000 (pledged but not paid in full) (Osbern, <i>Vita S. Elphegi</i> , ed. Wharton 1691, 2, 138)	Institution of payment to employ 45 ships (ASC CDE)
1013	Uncertain sum (ASC CDE)		
1014			£21,000 (ASC CDE)
1016		(?) London: £15,000 for Queen Emma and £12,000 for bishops (Thietmar of Merseburg, <i>Chronicon</i> vii.40, ed. Holtzmann 1935, 448–9)	
1018	£72,000 (ASC CDE)	London: £10,500 (ASC CDE)	
1040			62 ships at 8 oras per rowlock (ASC EF)
1041			£21,099 and £11,048 for 32 ships (ASC EF)
1051			(Temporary?) end of payment (ASC D)

per cent of this, and estimates suggest that tribute of this order – if paid entirely in coin – might have taken up 25–33 per cent of all Anglo-Saxon coin output, and up to 55 per cent or more of some individual coin types (Metcalf 1978b, 180–1; cf. Allen 2006, 496–501). The tributes of 991–1018 were immense: nothing of the same magnitude was seen in England again until the late thirteenth century (Gillingham 1989, 375), and the reliability of the ASC's account has been hotly debated – particularly the scale of the last, huge payment of 1018 (Gillingham 1989; 1990; Lawson

1989; 1990). There is no doubt that the chronicler's figures for the reign of Æthelred II have a suspicious level of symmetry to them (Gillingham 1989; Keynes 1991b, 100), perhaps derived from multiplication of a rate of payment rather than the total figure actually handed over (Corbett 1900, 220–2; cf. Lawson 1989, 390–1). But the much more precise numbers from around 1040 command greater confidence (a point going back to Maitland 1897, 6; cf. Lawson 1984, 787–8; 1989, 385–6; Campbell 1987, 202), and it may be that the larger payments, especially that of 1018, were spread over an extended period (Lawson 1989, 398–9). There are other good reasons to take the sums offered by the *ASC* seriously. Circumstances had conspired to place England's kings and magnates in a situation in which they faced deadly and voracious enemies, but also had the means to offer the Vikings the soaring tributes they wanted; there were even incentives to encourage ambitious English landowners to pay (Keynes 1991b, 100–2; Lawson 1984; 1989). For present purposes, however, the central point is how these renders were collected, and what their impact may have been on the monetary system.

The payments instituted in 991 and after can be broken down into two principal groups: *gafol* ('payment' or 'tribute') and *heregeld* ('army money'; later known as *Danegeld*). The presumption is that most *gafol* payments were drawn by the king from his dominions as a whole but areas affected by an invasion perhaps shouldered more of the burden (especially their elites), and some *gafol* payments were explicitly drawn just from a single city or region (Stafford 1978, 46–7; Keynes 1991b, 101–2). *Heregeld*, in contrast, was a distinct form of taxation raised by the king in order to meet the costs of a standing army of Scandinavian mercenaries from 1012 until at least 1051 (cf. Gillingham 1989, 378–9). It was suspended in the latter year, though probably reinstituted soon after (Keynes 1980, 221–4; 1991b, 98–102; 1997b, 78; Barlow 1997, 106 n.). DB indicates that by the later eleventh century the *heregeld* (by then known simply as *geld* or as *Danegeld*) was based on hidage assessments of non-demesne land alone (Pratt 2013): this or a similar arrangement could go back to the origins of the tax in 1012. Those who could not pay the shire-reeve the required tribute may have had to forfeit their right to the land in question in favour of anyone who could (Lawson 1984, 723–5, 731–4). An important result of the demands for tribute, therefore, was probably intensification of monetised exchange as kings sought cash and subjects strove to gather enough to satisfy them. Most levels of society would have felt the effects, but they are best recorded in the case of landowners. One charter of 1014 shows how the bishop of Sherborne was forced to sell an estate to Ealdorman Eadric Streona in order to drum up his due share of a tribute (S 933). Leofric, abbot of St Albans, in 1005 sold land to the king in return for £200 of gold and silver towards a tribute payment (S 912). Earlier, in Kent in 995, another charter shows a more *ad hoc* arrangement whereby the archbishop of Canterbury sold land to the bishop of Dorchester in return for money to pay off an (otherwise unknown) Viking invasion menacing Canterbury (S 882) (Naismith 2013d, 293–4). Importantly, some of these documents state the media in which tributes were paid. Two charters specify that payment consisted of gold as well as silver, and a treaty drawn up in connection with the 994 settlement with the Vikings states that the £22,000 tribute payment was to be given in gold and silver (Keynes 1991b, 103–7). Most vivid of all is a grim account from the church of Worcester stating that when, in 1013–14, the community had to pay its share of tribute, 'almost all the ornaments of this church were removed; the altar coverings, adorned with silver and gold, were despoiled; books lost their covers; chalices were broken up; crosses melted down; and the lands and villages were denuded of every last penny' (*omnia fere ornamenta hujus ecclesie distracta sunt, tabule altaris, argento et auro parate, spoliatae sunt, textus exornati, calices confracti, cruces conflatae, ad ultimum etiam terre et villule pecuniis distracte*

sunt) (Hearne 1723, I, 248–9). Assuming this report is reliable, the tribute was exorbitant enough that regular supplies of coin were insufficient, and the monks turned in desperation to other items, especially of gold and silver. Parcels of coin in northern hoards which are fresh from England (characterised by internal die-links, geographical and typological homogeneity, and absence of peck-marks) therefore stand the best chance of representing tribute (cf. Jonsson 1987c, 124). Yet alternatives are conceivable even in these cases, and it is unlikely that all assemblages of cash to pay Vikings took the form of tranches of fresh silver coin. Tribute payments did not consist solely of recent English pennies: gold and silver objects were handed over too, and the *ASC* (CDE) in 994 and 1006 adds that provisions as well as tribute were given to the Viking army.

A question mark also hangs over the fate of *heregeld* once it had been handed over to the Vikings. After receiving tribute some Viking armies, or at least their leaders, are known to have returned home: Olaf Trygvasson is said in the *ASC* to have sworn in 994 never to return in hostility, while – more revealingly – the army paid off in 1012 ‘dispersed as widely as it had been collected’ (CDE: *toferde ... wide swa he ær gegaderod wæs*). Some Scandinavians may well have stayed in England, perhaps as part of the standing army established by Æthelred; others took their loot to places other than Scandinavia, as did a group of Vikings who raided Kent and Essex in 1048 and then sailed to Flanders to sell their winnings (*ASC* E s.a. 1048). Coins taken in tribute could very well have ended up returning to English purses (Metcalf 1981b, 357–8; cf. Metcalf 1981a, 57–8). There is, however, no doubt that some Vikings did take their share of the *geld* back to Scandinavia. At least four runestones in modern Sweden were erected in memory of warriors who had returned home from England having divided up *geld* or received it from a named leader (Jansson 1966, 12–14; Moesgaard 2006, 390; key runestones include SR Sö 166, U 194, U 241 and U 344).

It would thus be disingenuous to deny the tribute payments any impact whatsoever on the Scandinavian and Baltic finds. The peak period of Anglo-Saxon coin output and of imports to the northern lands (Æthelred II *Cruix* to Cnut *Pointed Helmet*) falls within the period of the *geld* payments (Blackburn and Jonsson 1981, 153). Moreover, the geographical spread of English mints contributing to the northern hoards at this time is remarkably broad, and includes a large contribution from London and the south. In this period, tribute payments augmented an already vibrant undercurrent of exchange which propelled many coins across the North Sea, albeit following a rather different pattern: before *Cruix*, and again in *Expanding Cross* and after, Lincoln, York and other Danelaw mints are disproportionately well represented in Scandinavian and Baltic finds (Blackburn and Jonsson 1981, 154; Metcalf 1990b; 1994; Metcalf 2006b, 367–72; Gullbekk 1995; though cf. Sawyer 1986, 195–6). This north-eastern area was, for geographical and perhaps historical reasons, a closer trading partner with Scandinavia than the rest of England, and Byrhtferth of Ramsey, writing in the 990s, remarked that York was ‘filled and enriched by the treasures of merchants, who come there from everywhere, and most of all from the people of Denmark’ (*repleta et mercatorum gazis locupletata, qui undique anueniunt, maxime ex Danorum gente*) (Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* v.3, ed. and trans. Lapidge 2008, 150–1). Peaceful ties could move large quantities of wealth, alongside military intervention and tribute, and some features of the overall chronology point towards the impact of this trade. English coin finds in Scandinavia started to pick up in the 970s, rising further in the 980s, before any raids on Æthelred II’s or Edgar’s kingdom are recorded (Blackburn and Jonsson 1981, 154; Metcalf 1990b, 214–16). Coins also continued to be brought into Scandinavia in bulk into the later years of Cnut, which is difficult to reconcile with a direct correspondence between coin finds and tribute payments. So too is the internal evidence of the

critical *Quatrefoil* type, which must have been current during the huge 1018 tribute payment. It is true that this coinage was produced on an unprecedented scale overall, but there were sharp regional fluctuations in its output, and the finds from Scandinavia are not particularly weighted towards earlier specimens of the type – indicating either that its manufacture and import continued some time beyond 1018 or that the whole type was effectively concentrated into just two or three years (Blackburn and Lyon 1986, 258; Metcalf 1990a). A number of hoards dominated by English coin also contain appreciable numbers of Hiberno-Scandinavian pennies, similar in appearance to their Anglo-Saxon models but unlikely to have been included in newly assembled tribute payments (e.g. the List hoard: Blackburn and Metcalf 1981a, 495).

Comparison with the German material is also highly instructive. Ottonian and Salian chronicles record very few Viking raids on Germany (for the few exceptions see Blackburn and Jonsson 1981, 156), yet far more German coins than English entered Scandinavia and the Baltic, and the chronology of their importation is also broadly similar to that of the English coins (Metcalf 2006b, 381–2; Jonsson 1993; Blackburn and Jonsson 1981, 164–5). This and other parallel developments in the English and German element of the northern currency suggest that factors besides military and political developments in England impinged on the circulation and preservation of Anglo-Saxon coins in Scandinavia, including a large element related to trade (Metcalf 1981b, 330; cf. Sawyer 1986). Debasement in Frisia in the 1030s, persisting into the second half of the eleventh century, may have reduced confidence in silver coin and hence led to a general decline of circulation and hoarding on Gotland, with serious effects for the surviving record of English coin (Jonsson 2014, 550–1; Potin 1990, 271; Blackburn and Jonsson 1981, 164–5). In Denmark and Norway, the middle part of the eleventh century also saw the gradual development of more exclusive monetary economies modelled on those of England, in which foreign coin was not permitted to circulate (Blackburn and Jonsson 1981, 157; Brand 1984, 7; Gullbekk 2009, 29–42). Prior to this, the high degree of intermingling of English and German coins indicates that monetary exchange in Scandinavia and the Baltic had become very dynamic. It has been suggested that this mixing occurred in Germany itself (Blackburn and Jonsson 1981, 173; Jonsson 1993), but there are almost no English finds from there to suggest the presence of millions of pennies circulating intensively with German Pfennige (Metcalf 2006b, 362–3; 1994). Conversely, there are enough instances of probable ‘parcels’ in northern hoards of currency preserved more or less intact after leaving England to cast doubt on an extra stage of transmission (Metcalf 1994; 2006b, 365, 369–72; Moesgaard 2006, esp. 392–4), and the evidence of peck-marks indicates that German coins generally underwent longer and more intense circulation, possibly because of their more diverse appearance and metal quality, or because they took a less direct route to Scandinavia than English pennies (Sawyer 1986, 128–9).

The salient point is that the northern hoards do not solely represent current English coin handed over in tribute and packed off wholesale to Scandinavia in the knapsacks of returning raiders (cf. Blackburn 1991a, 164–6). The piecemeal nature of most Viking armies, their varied fates and the suggestive evidence of other coins all indicate a diverse range of interactions. There must have been a constantly shifting balance of different kinds of tribute – large and small, *gafol* and *heregeld* – as well as peaceful exchange, some carried out by dedicated merchants, some by raiders or soldiers taking advantage of their position and resources to indulge in profitable trade. In the period c. 990–1020 it is likely that tribute payments played a relatively more prominent role (Sawyer 1982, 124–30; 1986, 194–9), but the boundary between all kinds of payment must often have blurred to the point of obfuscation. One Viking’s tribute, to put it bluntly, was another’s start-up fund: as in the early medieval

Table 19. *Principal publications of northern European finds including English coins.*

Denmark	Skovmand 1942; <i>SCBI</i> 4, 7, 13–15, 18, 22; Steen Jensen 1992; Wiechmann 1996 (Schleswig–Holstein); von Heijne 2004 (single-finds as well as hoards, including southern Sweden)
Bornholm	Galster 1980
Estonia	<i>SCBI</i> 51; Molvõgin 1994
Finland	<i>SCBI</i> 25; Lagus 1900; Alcenius 1901; Nordman 1921; Talvio 2002
Germany	<i>SCBI</i> 36
Latvia	<i>SCBI</i> 45; Potin 1967; Urtāns 1977; Berga 1988
Norway	Skaare 1976; <i>SCBI</i> 65–6
Poland	<i>SCBI</i> 37; <i>PSW</i> ; Bogucki <i>et al.</i> 2013
Russia	<i>SCBI</i> 50, 60; Kluge 1981; Potin 1967; Bauer 1929–30; 1935
Sweden	CNS; <i>SCBI</i> 40, 52, 54; von Heijne 2004
Gotland	CNS; Stenberger 1947–58
Stockholm	Hildebrand 1846; 1881
systematic collection	

Mediterranean, pirates and raiders interspersed attacks with commerce (Horden and Purcell 2000, 154–9). Room should also be made for booty simply taken by Vikings without going through the orderly process of tribute gathering (see, for a slightly later example, *ASC* E s.a. 1070), for gifts made to Viking leaders and warriors in England (such as those the *ASC* says were given to Olaf Tryggvason in 994) and for funds and treasures sent in connection with Christian missions to Scandinavia (Abrams 1995a; 1995b). With just a few exceptions (such as the List hoard: Blackburn and Dolley 1979), it is impossible to state what first brought a specific collection of coins to the north. Trade and peaceful exchange, however, should certainly not be discounted despite the far thinner documentary traces (Metcalf 1981a, 58–9; 1981b, 330, 340; Blackburn and Jonsson 1981, 184; Metcalf and Lean 1993, 220). Vibrant circulation in much of the northern lands quickly dissolved most parcels of cash brought in by various means, and there are hints of an economy in which canny traders could use their silver to great advantage (cf. Sindbæk 2011).

2. Scandinavian and Baltic material

Knowledge of the fate of Anglo-Saxon coins after they arrived in the northern lands depends entirely on analysis of modern finds. Principal publications of northern finds by modern country or region are listed in Table 19; critical surveys taking account of the material as a whole include Blackburn and Jonsson (1981) and Jonsson (1987c).

The northern finds include a very small number of specimens of the pre-reform coinage of the tenth century and earlier (*SCBI* 65, 12–68; Blackburn and Jonsson 1981, 149–52); the quantity of finds begins to pick up with Edgar's reform, and increases further still with the *Hand* types of Æthelred II but the bulk of the material belongs to the period *Crux*–Cnut *Pointed Helmet* (Blackburn and Jonsson 1981, 152–4). With the last type of Cnut's reign (*Short Cross*), however, the rate at which English (and also German) coins entered Scandinavia began to decline, and after Edward the Confessor's *Small Flan* and *Expanding Cross* it dwindled virtually to nothing (Jonsson 2014, 552–3). As might be expected, finds from different regions in Scandinavia and the Baltic show variations in their composition (surveyed in Blackburn and Jonsson 1981; von Heijne 2004; Leimus *et al.* 2014, 577–82). The balance of English and German coins in particular differs between regions (Metcalfe 1998c, 352–61): generally, it is about 1:1 in Norway, 1:1.6 in Denmark and Skåne, and 1:2.4 in Sweden (Jonsson 1993, 207; Metcalfe 1994; 2006b, 369–72; Gullbekk 1995), reflecting the probable western approaches English coins took into Scandinavia (Blackburn and Jonsson 1981, 171–3). Regions could also be distinguished by the presence or absence within them of individual types, implying shifts in the scale of importation and circulation over time. Æthelred II's *Crux* and *Long Cross* types, for example, appear in bulk in Danish hoards around the time they were used in England, but disappear quickly thereafter; the same types only begin to circulate substantially in Gotland later, and survive for a long time in hoards (Moesgaard 2006, 391). Denmark comes across as a major pivot in the northern zone of coin circulation: fresh coins continued to arrive there and in Norway into the mid-eleventh century at a much more substantial rate than in Russia and Sweden (except Skåne, at that date part of the Danish kingdom) (Leimus *et al.* 2014, 582–5), and western imports into Estonia began to decline from about 1020, though they continued longer there than in many other regions after 1066 (Molvögin 1993). This makes it all the more surprising that so few hoards have been found in Denmark dating to the period c. 1013–20 (Blackburn and Jonsson 1981, 169–71).

The quantity of peck-marks – small, crescent-shaped cuts on the surface of a coin made to test purity – has been used as a gauge for the velocity of circulation within the northern lands. Peck-marks are found on more coins and in greater number in Sweden and Gotland than further west, although the patterns are sometimes more complex (Metcalfe 2006b, 369–70; also Metcalfe 1985b; 1998c, 361–3; cf. Gullbekk 1991; Kilger 2006). Statistical approaches to the voluminous late Viking-Age northern material have also shed light on how coins circulated after arriving in this huge area. The large majority of hoards are mixed, in that they include both English and German elements (and often native 'Anglo-Scandinavian' imitative issues as well as older Islamic dirhams); they also normally include a number of English coin types, for in Scandinavia there was no enticement to give preferential treatment to the current type (Metcalfe 2006b, 349). Many hoards in Gotland contain coins from a long period, with peaks every two or three decades; these have been argued to represent the savings of a family, added to by several generations (Jonsson 2014, 551–2). They were, in other words, 'passive' assemblages, which do not provide a reliable picture of the circulating medium (Odebäck 2009; Persson 1999) – though there was always the possibility of liquidating old hoards, and indeed a long chronological 'tail' remained common even in small hoards. For this reason those few hoards which consist all or nearly all of one English type, or show a striking geographical preponderance, are especially important: these indicate parcels which survived more or less intact after leaving England, hinting at the different paths importation could follow. The English element in the Valdarve hoard from Gotland (CNS 1.3.32), for example, was dominated by the *Last Small Cross* type, with about 300 specimens: 66 of these came from the tiny Devon

mint of Lydford (more than from London), and nearby Exeter was also unusually well represented, with 48 coins (Metcalf 2006b, 365). Similarly, the Store Frigård II hoard from Bornholm contained 205 coins, 166 of the *Crux* type, among which London and Southwark were disproportionately well represented (Moesgaard 2006, 396–404). Finds from Finland have attracted special attention because of the exceptional rate of die-linking in their Æthelred II *Long Cross* pennies, spread across a number of hoards of widely divergent dates: a result, probably, of a single large tranche of these coins entering a territory where the intensity of circulation was relatively low (Talvio 1985; 2002; 2006, 471–5; Stewart 1981; Blackburn and Metcalf 1981a, 517–19). In short, the channels by which coins entered Scandinavia and the Baltic were diverse and changeable, implying that their hoards of English and other coins were subject to local pressures as well as the vagaries of production in England itself.

(i) THE REFORM COINAGE (EARLY 970S–c. 980)

Late in the reign of Edgar, it is apparent that a major change came over the coinage. Previously, different parts of the kingdom had used distinct designs as well as varied standards of weight and fineness (see Chapter 9, section (h) and (n), pp. 193–5 and 207–10). In the new coinage, all mints across the kingdom began to use the same design, featuring on the obverse a left-facing bust of the king surrounded by an inner circle outside which lay a standardised title (+EADGAR REX ANGLOR[*um*]); on the reverse was a small central cross surrounded by the name of the moneyer responsible for the coin and of the mint-place where he worked. The metallic quality of the coinage was also raised and homogenised, to about 96 per cent pure (see above, section (g), pp. 252–3), and the weight increased, although there remained significant regional variations.

Edgar's new coinage (1764–70) was not the first to introduce these features: the design, for example, is closely comparable with that of Æthelstan's Bust Crowned coinage, especially specimens from Winchester which used an extended title and placed the royal bust inside an inner circle (Naismith 2014f, 80–3). However, Edgar's coinage differed from others in enforcing the new design universally, as a powerful statement of royal authority and unity (Molyneux 2015, 117–23). Both were major concerns in the latter part of Edgar's reign, which was marked by monastic reform (including the imposition of a common rule for all Benedictine houses in England), a second coronation at Bath and a formal submission by subordinate British kings in Chester (Keynes 2008a). It is therefore all the more surprising that this reform of the coinage has left so little mark on the written record. The only apparent reference to it comes from the thirteenth-century chronicle of Roger of Wendover. It simply reads 'then [Edgar] ordered that there should be a new coinage throughout England' (*deinde per totam Angliam novam fieri praecepit monetam*) (Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Coxe 1841–4, I, 415–16), and explains the reform with reference to clipping: this is almost certainly a later addition, for other sources suggest that this was a concern of the thirteenth but not the tenth century. The coinage reform is mentioned in an annal dated 975 but including some events known to have taken place a few years before. It follows that the traditional date of 973 assigned to the reform has little more to recommend it other than the fact that it suits the 'sexennial thesis' and coincides with some of the other key events of Edgar's reign (Dolley 1979c; Brand 1984, 9–17; Stewart 1990, 459–63). Some time in the early 970s seems likely (and 973 is not impossible), but there is nothing to permit identification of the specific year in which the reform took place.

The new coinage continued in Edgar's last years, through the short reign of his elder son, Edward the Martyr (1773–82), and into the first years of his younger son, Æthelred II, as his *First Small Cross* type (1784–5). With very minor exceptions (see above, section (d), pp. 224–6) it is the only late Anglo-Saxon coinage to span the reigns of multiple kings. All three rulers' coinages have been studied in detail by Kenneth Jonsson (Jonsson 1987b). He has noted the complexity already apparent in this first of the late Anglo-Saxon coin types. Die-cutting, for example, began with quite strong centralisation, and was probably based in Winchester, which supplied the great majority of dies for the whole kingdom (though some mint-places, such as Lympe, already looked to local sources for many of their dies). The same Winchester die-cutter continued under Edward the Martyr to supply a much-reduced range of mints, but at this time his work was supplemented by a number of regional die-cutting centres. A different large-scale supplier, possibly associated with London rather than Winchester, was responsible for a significant proportion of Æthelred II's *First Small Cross* dies at all known mints, again with a substantial degree of localisation in die production (Jonsson 1987b, 87–95; cf. Dolley 1955–7d). This fast-changing situation might be argued to reflect the troubled political situation of Edward the Martyr's reign (Stafford 1978, 42–4), or more generally the difficulties inherent in setting up and maintaining an ambitious new coinage. Importantly, there is no obvious signal that regular or frequent coin reform was intended by Edgar from the outset (*pace* Dolley and Metcalf 1961, 152). Continuation of the same type under multiple kings and gradual decline in weight had both been features of the pre-reform coinage of the tenth century as well as the later Anglo-Saxon coinage (Jonsson 1987b, 95–100; Stewart 1990, 463; Metcalf 1998a, 66–9). Although widely known as the reform type, therefore, it is far from clear that Edgar's new coinage was specifically intended as the first of many periodic recoinages, and in many ways it followed earlier monetary practice rather than that of the eleventh century.

The coins of Edgar and Edward the Martyr, and especially the *First Small Cross* pennies of Æthelred II, are rare relative to other late Anglo-Saxon coin types, as they date to a period before the Scandinavian hoards become substantial. British hoards – particularly Chester/'Pemberton's Parlour' (*Checklist* 174) and Oakham (*Checklist* 175) – therefore loom large, as does the growing record of single-finds. The number of single-finds of this type is high, suggesting an already richer level of coin-use than in the pre-reform period – though in circulation the reformed coinage remains more localised than its later counterparts (Naismith 2014f, 66–8).

(j) ÆTHELRED II (978–1016)

Æthelred's reign, from the institution of the *Hand* types onwards, is at the heart of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage system (cf. Dolley 1978b). It saw the fullest development of systematic recoinage, as well as several anomalous types which shed light on the workings of the currency more generally. Yet these small types also emphasise the fact that Æthelred's coinage was still a complex and evolving entity. Its impressive sequence of type-changes only came into being after a period of trial and improvement, especially in the early part of the reign.

1. The *Hand* types, c. 980–late 980s

The *Hand* types ushered in one of the main features of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage: a pattern of frequent type-change and associated reminting, essentially replicating the process which had taken

place towards the end of Edgar's reign. In this and other respects, they stand comparison to the reform issue as a highly experimental coinage.

Three principal divisions can be distinguished within the *Hand* type as a whole (a valuable catalogue of all surviving specimens is Jonsson 1987c, 62–103). Largest and earliest is the type traditionally known as *First Hand* (1786–807). This retained the draped and diademed bust of the reform coinage, though it now faced right, and on the reverse the small central cross was replaced with the eponymous hand of God, flanked by alpha and omega. A second, later type was designated by Michael Dolley as *Second Hand* (1808–14). It is noticeably rarer than *First Hand*, though still substantial: in the very large and broadly representative sample analysed by Bertil Petersson, 650 *Second Hand* pennies were counted, alongside 1,021 of *First Hand* (Petersson 1990, 214–15). *Second Hand* is differentiated visually from *First Hand* by relatively minor changes: the addition of a sceptre in front of the bust on the obverse, and of additional pellets and curls on either side of the hand of God on the reverse. The third and rarest variant, *Benediction Hand* (1815), differs hardly more from *Second Hand* than the latter did from *First Hand*. It carries on the obverse an angular instead of pelleted sceptre and omits the diadem on the bust, while on the reverse the alpha, omega and pellets are omitted from around the hand, and two of its fingers are raised in blessing. Petersson's sample included only 87 specimens; with other coins and subsequent additions the type is now known from about 180 specimens divided between twenty-two mint-places (Bornholdt Collins and Screen 2007).

Hildebrand (1881, 26–7) and Nordman (1921, 22), *inter alios*, recognised these three divisions, but as sub-types of a larger whole (though Carlyon-Britton 1921–2, 15–16 saw *Benediction Hand* as a separate substantive type). Dolley, however, insisted tenaciously on separating *First* and *Second Hand* into two full six-year coinages (e.g. Dolley 1966b, 23; 1978b, 121–2). In support of *Second Hand* being a distinct recoinage type he pointed to moneyers at Canterbury and Rochester adapting their old *First Hand* dies to resemble those of *Second Hand* (Brand 1965; Dolley 1966b; 1967), to slackening of Viking attacks reducing the representation of the type in Scandinavian hoards (hence explaining away its relative rarity) and to a small number of hoards in England and Scandinavia consisting wholly or very largely of *Second Hand* pennies (Dolley 1978b, 121–2). Two more English hoards containing only *Second Hand* pennies have in fact come to light since Dolley first made his case: Chelsea Reach (*Checklist* 181) and possibly Rotherfield Greys (Williams 2009a).

There are, however, other points which indicate strongly that, whatever *Second Hand* was, it was not a recoinage of the same form as some later issues of Æthelred (see in general Brand 1984, 18–25; Stewart 1990, 471–4). Most *Second Hand* pennies are noticeably lighter than those of *First Hand*, with *Benediction Hand* moving back towards the higher weight associated with *First Hand*. It should be added that there were mints and regions which evince different patterns: at Lincoln and York, for example, there was much weight variation within *First Hand*, spanning the whole range covered by *Second Hand* in the south (Petersson 1990, 233). Production of *Second Hand* was heavily circumscribed geographically, being concentrated in East Anglia and the south-east; London alone accounts for some 40 per cent of all surviving coins. Remarkably, the major northern mint-towns of Lincoln and York are virtually unknown in the *Second Hand* type (only a handful of coins survive from York, possibly just one from Lincoln), and several other mints in the north and west midlands are known from very few specimens (Jonsson 1987c, 84–5). It is unlikely that these mint-places simply issued no coins at all for several years. At Lincoln the rate of continuity of moneyers from *First Hand* into *Crux* (ten of fifteen moneyers in Mossop 1970) is high by regular standards,

and surprisingly high if there had been a hiatus of several years. Most probably Lincoln's *First Hand* issues occupied the same duration as *First* and *Second Hand* elsewhere. *Benediction Hand* is much rarer overall than *Second Hand*, but is again virtually unknown in the north except through mules with *Crux*. More surprisingly, it is also absent in the south-west, but better represented than *Second Hand* at Chester and Shrewsbury (Dolley and Elmore Jones 1961b; Jonsson 1987c, 99; Bornholdt Collins and Screen 2007, 272–3). The rarity of *Second Hand* in Scandinavian and Baltic hoards is also now matched by rarity among English single-finds: as of 2010, thirty-eight *Second* and *Benediction Hand* finds were recorded, as opposed to seventy-nine of *First Hand* (Naismith 2013b, 205). Another difficulty is that all three coinages look very much alike – an obvious problem if users were supposed to be able to tell distinct types from one another at a glance (Petersson 1969, 81–2; Stewart 1955–7b, 109).

The complexities of the *Hand* types are perhaps best explained within a framework which allows greater flexibility in the definition of 'main' types, and for gradual evolution in the monetary system (Lyon 1976, 200). *First*, *Second* and *Benediction Hand* emerged at a time when there was no precedent for repeated recoinages, and they seem to have had as much in common with earlier (pre-reform) practice as the later issues of Æthelred. The closest comparisons for *Hand* are the Circumscription and Bust Crowned types of Æthelstan, or the Circumscription coins of Edgar, which achieved widespread but not total acceptance. Aspects of die distribution are certainly compatible with this interpretation. *First Hand* is known from eleven different regional styles, most apparently at work from the inception of the coinage, and some probably continuing from the earlier *First Small Cross* type (Dolley and Talvio 1977a, 58–64; Jonsson 1987b, 88). *Second Hand* and *Benediction Hand* are, however, remarkably unified stylistically, implying that virtually all dies were made centrally (Dolley 1966b, 22). If all three of the *Hand* types together made up a single coinage, it must have been of relatively long duration – almost certainly more than six years in total, though *Second Hand* was very probably shorter in duration than *First Hand* (Metcalf and Lean 1993, 212). This in itself might explain the occurrence of hoards consisting entirely of the later variant, especially as the English examples are all relatively small: they represent assemblages of what was, for a time, the design in most widespread production and circulation. The heavier *Benediction Hand* coins might even represent the first (discontinued) steps towards a new major sub-type, this time distinguished by higher weight as well as slightly varied design (Blackburn 1991a, 160).

Much remains unclear about the interrelationship of the *Hand* coinages. Less amenable to an explanation deriving entirely from die production is the clear attempt by a few Kentish moneyers to adjust their *First Hand* dies to look like *Second Hand*, for example: evidently there was some motivation for them to keep up with changes in design in the rest of southern England. It may be that the status of different types and the supply of dies were still in flux, and that the north-eastern part of the kingdom simply did not adhere to every part of the system at first, as had often been the case for decades before Edgar's reform. However, the most productive approach to the *Hand* types seems to be to view them as a single large entity which, like the reform coinage before it, shows signs of experimentation and evolution: Æthelred, his advisers and those responsible for implementing the new issue probably did not approach it with the specific model of later recoinages in mind. The development of the *Hand* coinage may have owed something to the influence of St Æthelwold, who had championed ecclesiastical conformity and regnal unity under Edgar (cf. Yorke 1988a, 84–6; Molyneux 2015, 189–92; Naismith 2016, 128).

2. *Crux and related issues, late 980s–mid-990s*

The *Crux* type (**1816–66**) is the first late Anglo-Saxon coin type preserved in very large quantity from Scandinavia. In the northern lands it had a correspondingly dramatic impact: the first issues of named rulers in Denmark, Dublin, Norway and Sweden are all modelled on *Crux*. Collectively, these strongly suggest that the type was probably being produced in the mid-990s (Dolley 1978b, 124; Brand 1984, 26–9). The voluminous *Crux* coinage seems to be the result of a genuine step-up in production within England: output increased at most mints (Metcalf 1980, 33–4; Metcalf and Lean 1993, 210; Lyon 2012, 46–7) and a number of new locations opened, including some of quite substantial size such as Southwark and Colchester. These and other mints in the vicinity of London were particularly active in *Crux* (Lyon 1976, 197). Single-finds of this type are numerous (101 from England in 2010), comparable with all of the *Hand* types put together (117) (Naismith 2013b, 205). The still greater proportional increase in Scandinavian and Baltic hoards has been argued to indicate that a larger share of the coinage was being exported as tribute payment (Metcalf 1981a, 56, 64), though as stated above there is good reason to be cautious about the forces driving English silver into hoards across the North Sea.

In terms of design the *Crux* type departs clearly from the *Hand* types. Its obverse design is different from that of *Second* and *Benediction Hand* in having the bust face left rather than right; as before, a sceptre is placed before it (though this is rounded, unlike the angular *Benediction Hand* sceptre) (Nordman 1921, 22). On the reverse, the inner circle is now divided into four by a cross, with the letters *CRUX* disposed in the quarters. The religious meaning is inescapable. Several minor variants have been identified, which collectively have helped clarify how the coinage developed. There is a relatively substantial group of very early coins struck from *Second* and *Benediction Hand* obverses (or obverses of *Crux* type with some earlier features) combined with *Crux* reverses (Stewart 1971; Dolley and Elmore Jones 1961b), including some from mints such as York where regular *Benediction Hand* pennies were never actually produced. Other variants belong towards the end of *Crux*. Nonetheless, the type as a whole gives the impression of evolution in the monetary system. New types or recoinages would henceforth be comparatively stable for most of their duration, if still with a tendency towards experimentation in the run-up to and aftermath of a changeover.

Variant Crux types

The *Crux* issue has not been studied in as much detail as others of Æthelred's reign. Quite unified die production and distribution early in the type became somewhat more localised over time; a local style has been identified at York (Blackburn 1982) while London and the Kentish mints each issued dies for a rare, late group of coins of distinct style struck on smaller flans of generally lower weight (the *Small Crux* type, **1867–9**; Stewart 1955–7a, though already noted in Hildebrand 1846, 26).

Again, there was apparently some experimentation when, late in the *Crux* type, a new coin type began to be considered. A new style of obverse appeared, the bust of which had a different arrangement of drapery and hair represented through a series of short straight strokes, sometimes also omitting the diadem and sceptre usual for *Crux*; reverses of the same rare coins (all from Winchester and the south-west) replace the formula *M–O* joining the moneyer's name to the mint name with *M^ΩO* – all characteristics which would resurface in the *Long Cross* type (*Transitional Crux*, **1870**; Dolley and Elmore Jones 1955–7a, 81–2; Dolley 1958–9f).

Closely related to this late variety is the rare *Intermediate Small Cross* type (**1871**) (now known from at least thirty-seven specimens: Jonsson 1987c, 108). This resulted from a short-lived return to a small cross type, similar in its reverse design to *First Small Cross* and *Last Small Cross*, although the bust is more comparable with that of *Long Cross*, and the distinct epigraphy of both obverse and reverse is closer to *Crux* and *Long Cross* than either the *First* or *Last Small Cross* coinages (Dolley and Elmore Jones 1955–7a, 75–81). Like *Transitional Crux*, *Intermediate Small Cross* is confined to a few western mint-places. Rather more mints, including some major eastern centres like London and Stamford, received *Intermediate Small Cross* obverses but combined them only with *Crux* reverses (**1872–3**); these were sometimes clearly of irregular, local manufacture (Dolley and Butler 1960–1), indicating that regular *Crux* reverses were perhaps no longer available (Stewart 1968, 17–18). Most likely this rare issue was essayed as a possible new coin type, reverting to that issued at the start of the reign, but supply and use of dies was discontinued at an early stage (Dolley 1978b, 123–4) in favour of more *Crux* pennies (some reverse dies were in fact altered to resemble *Crux*). Evidently consideration of a new coinage did not automatically mean that such a step had to be fully followed through, as would have been the case if a strict timetable were being adhered to (Stewart 1990, 476).

3. Long Cross and Helmet, mid-990s–late 1000s (1009?)

The attractive *Long Cross* type (**1874–923**) carries a bareheaded bust facing left, with characteristic hair formed with a series of close-cut lines. For the first time since Edgar's reform, the bust extends to the edge of the coin and breaks the legend, without being enclosed by an inner circle. The reverse shares this feature: a long voided cross ending in small crescents or omegas divides the legend into four quarters. Winchester was possibly responsible for the origins of the design, for it is the largest town among the small western group known to have used dies with busts of a similar style towards the end of *Crux* (Lyon 2012, 11). Most of the coins of the mainstream *Long Cross* issue were produced using dies of one of two principal styles, possibly associated with Winchester and London (Blackburn 1981, 38), or representing early and later phases of die-cutting (Talvio 1990b, 328–9). The early/Winchester dies are somewhat rarer and more geographically restricted, being concentrated in mid-Wessex. Winchester itself is poorly represented in *Long Cross*: most of the coins are heavy (c. 1.80g) and of early date (as, it must be noted, are a high proportion of all surviving specimens of the type), with an unusually high proportion of inter-mint obverse die-linking (Lyon 2012, 13, 18). Winchester dies commonly have a longer royal ethnic (ANGLOX); the later/London dies also begin with relatively long inscriptions, and shorter forms of ethnic are associated with lighter coins and may belong even later in the type (Dolley 1961e). Half a dozen or so additional regional styles of die-cutting emerged later in *Long Cross*, which thus followed the same path of central production gradually giving way to regionalisation as seen already in the reform type and *Crux* (Smart 1965; Stafford 1978, 48 (citing Mark Blackburn); Blackburn 1981, 38; Talvio 1990b).

It is clear that *Helmet* comes after *Long Cross* (**1924–45**), and may have been introduced in 1003 or shortly after (see above, section (e), pp. 231–2). It bears another artistically accomplished design, which has much in common with that of its predecessor. The bust again extends to the edge of the coin, and has a similar profile to *Long Cross*, although in this case Æthelred wears a helmet and suit of armour copied from Roman coins of the late third or early fourth century (Kent 1961, 14). This

image gives the (perhaps aspirational) impression of a king on the warpath, taking the fight to the Vikings (Archibald 1984, 178). On the reverse is the double-barred long cross ending in omegas of the previous type, now with additional ornamentation in the quarters, for which reason Bertil Petersson refers to this issue as the ‘Ornamental Cross’ type (Petersson 1969, 73). Connections between *Long Cross* and *Helmet* also extend beyond the visual. Whereas *Long Cross* includes many coins of 1.70–1.75g (Petersson 1990, 233, 346; Brand 1965), *Helmet* is, like *Second Hand*, notable for its lighter weight profile: the heaviest pennies weigh about 1.40–1.50g. On the other hand, only a minority of mint-places show variation below 1.40–1.50g in their *Helmet* coins, and it should be noted that there are many lighter *Long Cross* pennies (Lyon 1981, 527). *Helmet* pennies are noticeably rarer than other late types of Æthelred II (Brand 1984, 30–1). In the Scandinavian hoard material analysed in Petersson 1990, *Helmet* accounted for 1,979 specimens, *Long Cross* 5,906 and *Last Small Cross* 4,251; in England, only 33 single-finds were known in 2010 – fewer even than *Second Hand* – while *Long Cross* was represented by 124 and *Last Small Cross* by 51 (see above, Fig. 9, p. 235; cf. Metcalf 1980, 26–7). Only one British hoard is known of *Helmet* pennies alone, from Penrice (Glamorganshire) in Wales (*Checklist* 203).

On balance, the *Helmet* type, like *Second Hand*, benefits from a sensitive interpretation of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage: it seems to fall short of some neighbouring types in its scale and metrology, but is clearly more than a late variant of *Long Cross*. *Helmet* pennies are known from slightly fewer mint-places (fifty-two) than *Long Cross* and *Last Small Cross* coins, and are absent only from small centres where sheer chance plays a large role in the survival of representative specimens. Its internal structure of die-cutting has not been studied in detail, but preliminary comments indicate a pattern similar to the large types: one in which central supply in its early stages probably gave way to more local activity later on (Blackburn and Lyon 1986, 224). There are also sub-types within *Helmet*, one of which placed the letters CRVX in the angles of the reverse cross (Dolley 1978b, 126–7). A limited or secondary recoinage type is perhaps the best reading of *Helmet*.

4. *Agnus Dei*, autumn 1009?

Only twenty-one specimens of this exceptional coin type are known to survive (1946), along with two mules combining an *Agnus Dei* obverse with a *Last Small Cross* reverse (Keynes and Naismith 2011, 210–23, with one additional find). Instead of the bust and cross which had been customary since the 970s, this coinage bears on the obverse a haloed Lamb of God, with a tablet and banner, and a soaring dove on the reverse. These are highly charged religious images, extensively paralleled in manuscript, sculpture, brooches and other forms of art in the tenth and eleventh centuries: the lamb was invoked in contemporary liturgy as a redeemer of sins and giver of peace (cf. John 1:29, 1:36, and Isaiah 40:1–2), and the dove – the form in which the Holy Spirit descended at Christ’s baptism – was renowned for its meekness and peacefulness (John 1:32) (Dolley 1971; Keynes 2007, 191–3; Keynes and Naismith 2011, 180–1, 203–4). A more assertive reading would be to see the lamb as that of the Book of Revelation (Rev. 5:6–13), breaking the seals of the scroll and triumphing over evil, while the bird could be the eagle of Isaiah 40:29–31, symbolising the power of hope in God (D. Woods 2013).

Such a departure from the established canon of numismatic imagery constitutes a clear and resonant plea for divine support, and is suggestive of a very particular set of circumstances (cf. the suggestion that the type was actually medallic in nature: Parsons 1910a, 285–7). A powerful case can

be made that the context of the coinage was the crisis of 1009 (first proposed by Michael Dolley c. 1960; Dolley 1971). On the basis of its moneyers and epigraphy, *Agnus Dei* can be seen to fall between the *Helmet* and *Last Small Cross* types (Keynes 2007, 193–5; Keynes and Naismith 2011, 179–80): the changeover between these was probably at some point late in 1009 (see above, section (e), pp. 231–2), the same year in which the ASC (CDE) described *se ungemetlica unfriðhere* ('the immense raiding army') under Thorkell the Tall arriving in Kent just after Lammas (1 August). Because of dissent and disorganisation within the Anglo-Saxon leadership, this force met no effective military resistance. Æthelred and his counsellors, from Bath, therefore issued a command for the whole kingdom to pray, do penance and give alms, in the hope that God would deliver the English from their foes (VII Æthelred) (Keynes 2007, 179–89). These desperate propitiations provide a very compelling context for the *Agnus Dei* coinage. Its extreme rarity indicates that it was produced for just a brief period, under complex arrangements. Only nine mint-places are represented, all (with the exception of Stamford) middle-ranking to minor, but they are spread in an arc from the Danelaw through the west midlands into the West Saxon heartland, embracing several different political and administrative divisions. Between two and four die-cutting centres seem to have supplied these mint-places, potentially the same ones that produced the earliest *Last Small Cross* dies (Dolley 1971, 338–9; Keynes 2007, 195–8; Keynes and Naismith 2011, 190–5).

Some features of the issue are suggestive of a recoinage, on the model established by the three or four major types already produced under Æthelred II (Dolley 1955–6, 70; 1971, 339; Dolley and Talvio 1977b, 133; 1979, 124; Leimus 1990, 161; Lyon 2012, 11). *Agnus Dei* pennies are heavy (c. 1.80g), much more so than *Helmet* pennies but comparable with the earliest examples of *Last Small Cross*. They also show innovations in the obverse and reverse inscriptions: for the first time the former reads *ANGLORVM* in full, and the latter replaces *M-O* with the Old English preposition *ON* – a feature which was eventually to become standard (Keynes and Naismith 2011, 188–90). If it was intended as a recoinage, *Agnus Dei* (like *Intermediate Small Cross*) never came to full fruition, and was presumably halted very soon after its inception. Yet the novelty and complexity of the coinage's design are not in themselves a convincing explanation for its discontinuation: there are other complex late Anglo-Saxon designs, and the Lamb of God and Holy Dove would certainly have been familiar to eleventh-century Christians. These devices are so consonant with the tone and circumstances of late summer/autumn 1009 that *Agnus Dei* makes more sense as a form of special type, one which was only meant to be produced during a brief period as part of the desperate measures taken to secure divine support against the Vikings (Stewart 1990, 477–9; Keynes 2007, 197–9). Reform of the coinage was, by this time, a familiar part of moral rhetoric, which would explain why a new and special issue might be expected to bear some of the hallmarks of a major type, and also constitute the opening part of a larger-scale recoinage (Keynes and Naismith 2011, 196–201). Although exceptional in so many ways, therefore, the *Agnus Dei* type offers a precious insight into how the ideals and mechanisms of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage could intermesh, and how the monetary system could adapt in a suddenly emerging time of crisis.

5. Last Small Cross, 1009?–1016

Coins of Æthelred II with a small cross on the reverse baffled scholars for generations, as some of them clearly had affinities with issues from the early and middle part of the reign, others with

later types and the coinage of Cnut (see above, section (b), p. 217). Alexander Parsons and Carl Axel Nordman eventually fastened on the point that there had been two distinct small cross issues, and that by far the larger of the two came from the end of the reign (1947–81). The latter could be distinguished by use of the conjunction ON between the moneyer and mint names in the reverse inscription, and by a (usually) shorter form of ethnic on the obverse. Michael Dolley, in a pioneering study, subjected this type to stylistic analysis, pinning down nine regional ‘schools’ of die-cutting, already in operation at the start of the issue, and in his view representing ‘deliberate decentralization in the face of the great Danish attacks’ (Dolley 1958, 34). Styles associated with Lincoln and East Anglia were subsequently explored by Mark Blackburn (Blackburn 1990b; 1995a), and Stewart Lyon reviewed the type as a whole (Lyon 1998a): his survey indicated as many as twenty different styles linked to ten different centres, of which three were in operation at the beginning of the reign – possibly the same three as supplied *Agnus Dei* dies. Remarkably, London seems at the beginning of the type to have drawn its dies not from a local centre but from one later associated with western England. This, and the absence of *Agnus Dei* pennies from the south-east, could be a result of the disruption caused by the presence of Thorkell’s army in the environs of London around 1009–10 (Lyon 1998a, 21–2; Stafford 1978, 49). The effect of Viking depredations can be felt in several other ways in the *Last Small Cross* coinage. An attack on Oxford and Wallingford at the very beginning of 1010 may have curtailed minting at those centres, and provides a clue that the type was introduced late in 1009 (see above, section (e), pp. 231–2). Debasement became more common, and the number of recorded mint-places reached a peak for the reign in this type (sixty-two), largely on the back of a number of small locations named in the south, among them ‘emergency mints’ at South Cadbury and Cissbury; other mints first appearing in this type include Bristol, possibly Hockwold-cum-Wilton and the unlocated ‘OCO’ (Appendix 1, pp. 350–1).

Last Small Cross in many respects followed a similar course to earlier issues. Its design harked back to the days of Edgar and Edward the Martyr, both revered by the English later in the reign of Æthelred II (Stafford 1978, 49; Keynes 2012b; Keynes and Naismith 2011, 187–8). The weight began high at many mints (c. 1.60–1.75g), gradually declining thereafter (Lyon 1998a, 21; Blackburn 1990b, 64–6). There are also several local variants late in the type. A right-facing bust was used in East Anglia (Blackburn 1995a), and in London some late, light coins bear a bust which extends to the edge of the coin (Lyon 1962, 49–51). Probably most remarkable is a unique coin with a regular *Last Small Cross* reverse of London, but on the obverse a helmeted bust (see above, section (f), p. 248). It is also very likely that *Last Small Cross* pennies in the name of Æthelred II continued to be made through the brief reigns of Swein Forkbeard (late 1013–3 February 1014) and of Æthelred’s son Edmund Ironside, who succeeded to the throne after his father’s death on 23 April 1016 and subsequently partitioned the kingdom with Cnut after 18 October before dying himself on 30 November. A small number of coins of *Last Small Cross* type are known in the name of Cnut, however, made either after Swein’s death, or in the immediate aftermath of Æthelred II’s and/or Edmund’s death in 1016. These include specimens entitling Cnut REX DANOR[um] which were made by Lincoln die-cutters for use in Denmark (Blackburn 1990b), as well as others which may be of Scandinavian origin (Lyon *et al.* 1960–1), and some which genuinely seem to be English products, struck from at least one Lincoln-made die used in Norwich (Lyon 1998a, 33–7).

(k) CNUT AND HIS SONS (1016–42)

1. *The reign of Cnut (1016–35)*

Cnut, born in a Danish kingdom only recently converted to Christianity, took England by force, but left intact most of the administrative machinery set up under his West Saxon predecessors. His English coinage is thus very much in keeping with earlier Anglo-Saxon tradition, and was itself deeply influential on the developing currency in the Danish kingdom (Malmer 1974; Jonsson 1994, 223–30). Cnut's English coinage consists of three principal types, known as *Quatrefoil* (1982–2016: 1016/17–early 1020s), *Pointed Helmet* (2017–38: early 1020s–mid-/late 1020s) and *Short Cross* (2039–58: mid-/late 1020s–1035). It has generally been assumed that each occupied a roughly equal share of his reign, with *Quatrefoil* conventionally seen as commencing in 1017 or conceivably 1018, though both dates were influenced by Dolley's wish to arrange the coinage into sexennial chunks (Dolley 1968, 117; Blackburn and Lyon 1986, 256–9; Jonsson 1994, 199–200; Lyon 1998a, 36). However, there is no compelling evidence for the absolute date of any coinage within the reign. Even the massive tribute payment of 1018 (allegedly amounting to £82,500) had an ambiguous effect on the coinage. *Quatrefoil* is very well represented in Scandinavian hoards – the second best-represented type overall – and coincides with a peak in the number of mints, moneyers and (where measured) output at many English mints, suggesting a surge in productivity which may plausibly be linked to the payment of tribute. Yet there are also mint-places where the type seems not to have seen an increase in activity, such as Lincoln and some south-eastern mints (Metcalf 1990a, 169–75; Lyon 2012, 46–7). Moreover, the Scandinavian finds are not noticeably clustered in the early part of *Quatrefoil*, and neither are they dominated by late specimens of *Last Small Cross* (Blackburn and Lyon 1986, 258).

Later in the reign hints at chronology are even fewer: a Swedish imitation of Cnut's *Short Cross* type entitling him 'king of the Swedes' (REX SW[*eonum*]) is, despite claims to the contrary, inconclusive evidence for the date of the issue (Malmer 1974, 19–20; 2006, 440–3; Jonsson 1994, 228–9), and in the same way it is not possible to place any great weight on the link drawn between the deposition of the Dronningens Gate 10 hoard (SCBI 65, pp. 40–3) found in Trondheim in Norway (including some *Short Cross* pennies) and the nearby battle of Stiklestad in 1030 (Blackburn and Lyon 1986, 257; SCBI 66, 9). English single-finds are perhaps the most telling source, for there is a massive disparity between the three types: *Quatrefoil* and *Pointed Helmet* were known from 57 and 53 finds respectively in 2010; *Short Cross* from 182 (see above, section (e), p. 235) – by far the most of any single late Anglo-Saxon coin type. Increased volume of finds at this time could represent coins continuing to be made and/or used after Cnut's death, or possibly more intense use of coinage in England as exports to Scandinavia started to decline, but neither factor is likely to have produced such an impact by itself, and the most straightforward explanation is that *Short Cross* simply lasted significantly longer than the two earlier types (Naismith 2013b, 209; cf. Metcalf 1998a, 142).

There are also striking differences in some aspects of the organisation of Cnut's three coinages. *Quatrefoil*, for example, inherited the elaborate and highly devolved structure of die distribution seen in *Last Small Cross*: around nineteen centres seem to have been responsible for almost thirty distinct local styles (Blackburn and Lyon 1986). *Pointed Helmet* and *Short Cross* veer in the opposite direction. In the former, two main workshops (or possibly just one) supplied most mint-places all over the country; York and Lincoln seem also to have employed local die-cutters, though even they used the main 'national' agencies to some degree (Dolley and Ingold 1961a; cf.

Lyon 1960–1, 198). *Short Cross* has not been subjected to a detailed stylistic study, but the general impression appears to be that it is very homogeneous: local variants which have been identified consist of only a few dies, some of them substituting a lance, banner or crozier for the sceptre before the bust (Dolley 1963; Blackburn 1989c; Jonsson 1994, 204–5). One important illustration of regional practice was the gouging of some reverse dies in an area extending from Leicester to Cambridge, which seems to be connected with the debasement of silver in *Last Small Cross* and *Quatrefoil* (though debased pieces struck from ungouged dies are known from other mints) (Eaglen and Grayburn 2000; Metcalf and Northover 2002, 219–20). Metrology remained complex in the two later types, but notably less so than in *Quatrefoil* (Petersson 1990, 234; Metcalf 1998a, 140, 142; cf. above).

Cnut's reign thus occupies a pivotal position in the development of the late Anglo-Saxon monetary system. His coinage moves from the highly decentralised and metrologically complex *Quatrefoil* into the more tightly structured and homogeneous *Pointed Helmet* and *Short Cross* issues, which set a model in these respects for other issues down to the Norman Conquest.

2. Harold I and Harthacnut (1035–42)

The complex events of the seven years following Cnut's death are vividly reflected in the coinage, above all in the *Jewel Cross* type (1035–late 1030s). With the exception of one or two *Short Cross* pennies in the name of Harold I (2059: SCBI 40, 1; cf. Blackburn and Lyon 1986, 257 n.), this was the first type issued after Cnut's death. There is no absolute evidence for its date, though another coin type (*Fleur-de-Lis*: 2072–85) was also produced before Harold I's death on 17 March 1040 (probably late 1030s–1040), and they may have been of similar duration. More *Fleur-de-Lis* pennies have been found in Scandinavia than *Jewel Cross* (1,486 as opposed to 1,166 in Petersson 1990, 214–15), but *Jewel Cross* is more common among English single-finds (66 to 40 in 2010: see above, Fig. 9, p. 235). *Arm and Sceptre* (2091–6), the one type of Harthacnut as sole ruler, can satisfactorily be dated to his brief reign in 1040–2 (for hints at internal chronology see SCBI 40, p. 3). Michael Dolley identified these coinages as the first clearly to use a shortened chronological structure, proposing that they worked on a two-year cycle and that *Short Cross* pennies continued for a year after Cnut's death to accommodate the last of their six allotted years (Dolley 1968, 117; 1976a, 359), though in practice one doubts that the complex, fast-changing political situation lent itself to plans of this sort. *Fleur-de-Lis* was therefore perhaps introduced once Harold I's position as sole king was firmly established in 1037, rather than to conform with a specific timetable of recoinage. Rare pennies of *Fleur-de-Lis* type in the name of Harthacnut (e.g. SCBI 40, 1569) probably belong to the very earliest days of his reign, with some being Scandinavian imitations.

Jewel Cross is remarkable for its politicised production arrangements (Talvio 1986; Metcalf 1991; cf. Hill 1981, 95; Dolley 1964a, 28). At the outset of the type, specimens were issued for both Harold I and Harthacnut (2060–71, 2086–90). The coins of the latter included some in the name of 'Cnut' which for a long time muddled the chronology and classification of Cnut and his sons' coinages (Dolley 1952–4a, 269–70). Harthacnut's *Jewel Cross* pennies were mostly struck at mints along and south of the Thames (with the notable exception of Gloucester) from dies with a right-facing bust and distinct features to the drapery and diadem. Conversely, the early, chronologically parallel, *Jewel Cross* pennies of Harold I come largely from mints along and north of the Thames, and are struck from the dies of three different agencies, two covering all territory north of the Thames

and one generally restricted to Lincoln, all of which used a left-facing bust. A later variety of the widespread left-facing styles has a different form of diadem; it is found exclusively in the name of Harold I, and from mints south as well as north of the Thames. These patterns of die distribution seem to relate directly to the political fortunes of the two claimants to the throne in the mid-1030s. At first, Harthacnut had a significant amount of support in Wessex, focused on his mother Ælfgifu/Emma's stronghold in Winchester (which was quite possibly the source of his dies). The growth of Harold's coinage can probably be associated with the political success of his followers. In 1036 the *ASC* (CD) explained that powerful magnates had prevented the ætheling Alfred from reaching his mother, Ælfgifu/Emma, because 'feeling was veering much towards Harold, although this was not right' (*hit hleoþrade swiðe to Harolde, þeah hit unriht wære*), and the following year the *ASC* (CD) began 'Harold was chosen as king everywhere' (*man geceas Harald ofer eall to cinge*) (Keynes 1998a, xxix–xxxviii). Such clear polarisation of the coinage between two rival candidates for the kingship, even extending down to the very technical level of die distribution, is unprecedented. It has implications for the interpretation of other types, though not every permutation of the coinage necessarily reflects high politics in this way.

(1) EDWARD THE CONFESSOR AND HAROLD II (1042–66)

The central survey of the coinage of Edward the Confessor is the doctoral dissertation of Anthony Freeman (Freeman 1985), though his firm views on the classification of mint-places depending on their number of moneyers have been queried (Metcalf 1987c). A similarly thorough investigation of Harold II's coinage has been carried out by Hugh Pagan (Pagan 1990).

1. *The early types of Edward (to Expanding Cross), 1042–early/mid-1050s*

The earliest coins of Edward are a tiny number of *Arm and Sceptre* pennies which bear the name of Edward instead of Harthacnut (Pagan 2011, II, 24). In some cases the king's name is blundered, but two specimens from Southwark and Stamford are clear. These must belong to the very first days of Edward's rule, following the death of his half-brother on 8 June 1042. As under other kings, there was apparently a sense that a new reign should bring a new coinage, and Edward's first substantive type (*Pacx*, 2100–8, recently studied in Pagan 2011; cf. Dolley 1966c) had a design reminiscent of Cnut's *Short Cross*, except that the cross on the reverse usually extended to the edge of the coin (as on Æthelred II's *Long Cross*), and had the letters PACX in its angles. This proclamation of peace through the king's first coinage set a precedent that would be followed by Harold II and William the Conqueror (Keynes 1978b); the word PAX was also placed on the reverse of coins from Trier in 1027–39, and had been common on Roman coins (Talvio 1990a, 490).

In terms of design the next four coinages of Edward's reign (*Radiate/Small Cross* (2110–17), *Trefoil Quadrilateral* (2119–33), *Small Flan* (2134–59) and *Expanding Cross* (2161–83)) were also quite conservative: they featured crowned, helmeted or diademed busts facing left (with a sceptre before on *Pacx*, *Trefoil Quadrilateral* and *Expanding Cross*), with a cruciform reverse, all paralleled among earlier coinages from the time of Æthelred II onward (Talvio 1990a, 490–1). Die distribution remained relatively homogeneous, with one or two workshops (presumptively located in London) undertaking most of the work. York and Lincoln relied on their own resources to a limited degree. At the former, virtually all reverse dies throughout the reign (of both local and

central manufacture) had an annulet added in the field. Detailed analysis has indicated other possible regional variations, such as the placement of additional pellets at the end of the arms of the cross at western mints in *Pacx* (Talvio 2014, 177–8; Stewart 1967b; Pagan 2011, 20–33; for other variants see Dolley 1973; 1974). The first five types also share similar weight standards, all but *Small Flan* (and of course the heavy portion of *Expanding Cross*) averaging about 1.08g overall, and perhaps aiming for a standard of c. 1.15g (Petersson 1990, 347). But there was still room for marked difference between mints, in *Pacx* (Pagan 2011, 33–4; cf. Dolley 1966c; 1977) and especially in *Small Flan*, where the average weight of London specimens was 0.94g (though with a clear two-peak distribution, at c. 1.15g and c. 1.00g), as opposed to 1.07g at Lincoln and most of western England, where there is much less variation (Metcalf 1998a, 156–7). *Small Flan* also presents an obvious departure from previous practice in its remarkably small, thick module, leading many early commentators to identify specimens as halfpennies. The type effectively demonstrates the technical capabilities of Anglo-Saxon moneyers, who could retain quite consistent weight standards even when making coins of markedly different size, implying careful control of thickness. The change in module may have been an attempt to help distinguish a new type, though if so the practice was not repeated, save possibly in the next type.

The relative scarcity of surviving specimens, and plentiful mules linking multiple types, created much difficulty in discerning the order of Edward's early types (see above, section (b), p. 217), although the order given here is now generally accepted. There is, however, precious little evidence for their absolute chronology. The dates assigned by Michael Dolley were built around his conviction that the sudden and dramatic shift in weight in the *Expanding Cross* type reflected the cessation of the *heregeld* in 1051 (ASC D) (Dolley 1964a, 29; cf. Seaby 1955–7, 128–9). Hence the first four types were fitted into the same two-year cycle that he saw in the coinages of Cnut's sons, arriving at *Expanding Cross* in 1051. This type is, quite uniquely in the late Anglo-Saxon period, divided sharply into light (2161–8) and heavy series (2169–82), the former averaging 1.09g overall, very similar to Edward's earlier types (save most of *Small Flan*), the latter averaging 1.66g and probably predicated on a standard of c. 1.70g (Petersson 1990, 347). There was as usual some variation between mints: York ran heavy in both groups (averaging 1.12g and 1.69g respectively), London a little light (1.02g and 1.63g) (Petersson 1990, 295, 346; cf. Metcalf 1998a, 160). Flans for the heavy coins tend to be larger, and also have a different style of bust (Talvio 2014, 180–1; Lyon 1998a, 427; Archibald 1984, 184).

Until the discovery of the Appledore (Kent) hoard (*Checklist* 239a) in 1997–8, it had generally been assumed that the light series came first, and that the increase in weight was caused by a surfeit of bullion in royal and private coffers once the king's Viking warriors no longer had to be paid (e.g. Barlow 1997, 183–4; Lyon 1976, 204). But the Appledore find has prompted fresh consideration of their sequence (Williams 1998b). The hoard consisted of 502 coins, all but seven of them heavy *Expanding Cross* pennies. A substantial proportion of these came from the local mints (Canterbury in particular), but altogether the hoard includes specimens from no fewer than thirty-four mint-places (more than half the total recorded for the type). Of the seven earlier coins, five belong to Edward's first types, one to Harthacnut and one to Cnut, but no light *Expanding Cross* pennies were in the hoard at all. In other words, for the light coinage to have been earlier, the Appledore hoard's owner would have had to remove all light *Expanding Cross* pennies, but leave seven older pennies. On the face of it, this points towards the heavy coins being earlier. But a discontinuous assemblage of periodically added parcels is by no means unprecedented, and it is also possible

that the owner sought to escape loss from dealing in light coins of the current type (Lyon 1998b, 427–8), though in other English hoards of the late tenth and early eleventh century there is little sign of users systematically avoiding light coins. Other evidence for the order of heavy and light is ambiguous. The light coins include some relatively debased specimens, as other types since the latter part of Æthelred II's reign had done, but the heavy coins do not, and in this respect they conform with later types of Edward (Metcalf and Northover 2002, 230–2). At York the style of light obverse dies is noticeably closer to earlier types, and light pennies are more numerous among Scandinavian and Baltic hoards, at a time when the number of English hoards was in general decline. The light coinage was similar in weight to *Pax*, *Radiate/Small Cross* and *Trefoil Quadrilateral* – but the *Small Flan* type had already essayed a substantial change in format and (to some extent) weight immediately before *Expanding Cross*, creating a recent precedent for sudden leaps in format to mark new types. Slightly more moneyers appear to have ended in the heavy *Expanding Cross* coinage and started in the light (eleven and thirteen) than vice versa (four and nine), but the heavy pennies are thought to be better represented among surviving coins, so the significance of this point is uncertain (Lyon 1998b, 427).

At present, it is most prudent to withhold judgement on the context behind the weight change in *Expanding Cross*. It could have served a primarily technical and monetary function, distinguishing major segments of a larger coin issue, as had been done with Edward's *Small Flan* type and Æthelred II's *Second Hand* and possibly *Helmet* types. Like aspects of the design of Edward's coinage, it could have been an attempt to reach back to the practices of his father's day, when several coin types were struck at high weight standards. From this it follows that even the link with the political events of the early 1050s is not secure. Support for association with the end of *heregeld* payments in 1051 has traditionally been seen in the pattern of exports of *Expanding Cross* to northern Europe (e.g. Hildebrand 1881, 424), yet there are grounds for uncertainty (cf. Brand 1984, 6–7). Although it is true that the *Expanding Cross* type is the first known from fewer than a hundred Scandinavian and Baltic finds, it is just one step in a gradual decline beginning in the 1030s and continuing throughout the 1040s and beyond (Leimus *et al.* 2014, 583–5). *Radiate/Small Cross* presents a small and temporary resurgence, while *Small Flan* shows a more marked drop than *Expanding Cross* if one discounts the Vanneberga hoard (CNS 3.4.46) which contains most surviving examples (Jonsson 2014, 553). Another possible connection with the political upheaval of 1051 has been discerned in the two weight standards of *Expanding Cross*, which have been argued to reflect correlations with the weight standard of Flanders (light) and Boulogne (heavy): the shift from the former to the latter would stem from the Godwine family's closer ties to Flanders, and Eustace of Boulogne's (instigator of the 1051 crisis) to his own county (Harvey 2012). But there was variation in the standards of English mints as well as in issues of Flanders and Boulogne, which would make any precise correlation fleeting, and furthermore monetary co-ordination with northern French principalities is, if possible in principle, unparalleled in practice. Finally, Michael Metcalf has suggested that the resolution of conflict between the king and Earl Godwine in 1052 might have inspired the production of a heavy coinage 'as the monetary equivalent of a huge sigh of relief' (Metcalf 1998a, 158–60). But it is not clear that raising the weight standard was a boon to the populace at large: one might argue that a reduction of weight might have multiplied pennies much more effectively, while an increase could have appealed to landowners whose income was based on fixed rents. Moreover, if the change in minting policy was politically motivated, it is puzzling that there was no outward change in iconography or titulature.

Disconnecting *Expanding Cross* from the events of 1051–2 has the advantage of loosening the chronology of Edward's coinage. Types could very well have varied in length: without definite events with which to associate any of them it is impossible to say by how much, but both *Small Flan* and *Expanding Cross* are represented by relatively numerous single-finds which, taken with their more complex metrology, may indicate a longer duration than other types (Metcalf 1998a, 158; Pagan 2011, 34 (albeit with caution); Naismith 2013b, 209; see above, section (e), pp. 233–5). Certainly there is no need to adhere to the proposition of four two-year types followed by six three-year types (the last split between Edward, Harold II and William I).

2. *The later types of Edward (Pointed Helmet to Pyramids) (early/mid-1050s–1066)*

Edward's later coinage moved sharply away from the traditional designs of his earlier years. The king is shown bearded on all five substantive later types, in a more naturalistic-looking manner than before (cf. Barlow 1997, 254). Other attributes such as drapery and sceptre were more in keeping with previous practice. The greatest iconographic departures came in the *Sovereign/Eagles* (2206–32) and *Facing Bust* (2277–316) types. The former is (apart from *Agnus Dei*) unique in dispensing with a bust, replacing it with a full-length representation of the king enthroned in majesty, holding a staff and globe. This impressive new design has strong affinities with that of Edward's seal, and can be traced back through Ottonian and Salian royal or imperial seals to representations of Christ in several different media, and also to images of enthroned figures on sixth-century Byzantine coins (Dolley and Elmore Jones 1961a; Bedos-Rezak 1984; Talvio 1990a, 492). The reverse of this type presented another innovation, with birds in the quarters of the cross, perhaps eagles rather than the 'martlets' sometimes described in older literature (Dolley and Elmore Jones 1961a). *Facing Bust*, as the name suggests, kept the royal bust but had it facing straight ahead (the first late Anglo-Saxon type to do so). This design was similar to German coins of the first half of the eleventh century (though again derived ultimately from Byzantine models), even down to small details such as the *pendilia* hanging from either side of the king's crown (Talvio 1990a, 493). Closely related to this type is its short-lived successor, traditionally known as *Transitional Pyramids* (2317). This rare sub-type confined to Kent and the west midlands shows a shoulder-length facing bust holding a sceptre, with the same reverse cross design as the *Pyramids* type (2318–31). It may have been discontinued because of its similarity to the obverse of the previous type, although at some of the western mints it was apparently the sole type produced in the last years of Edward's reign, implying that the dies supplied in the early stages of the type fulfilled the needs of the moneymakers for its duration (Stewart and Blunt 1978). This is one of several types to shed valuable light on the means by which new dies were initially distributed (see above, section (f), pp. 243–8). In the same way, *Pointed Helmet* (2185–204) began with a short-lived variant bearing a left-facing bust, used at London and a few more distant mint-places mostly in the west midlands and the south-west, and local left-facing dies were used at Lincoln (Dolley and Elmore Jones 1960).

German influence is a recurring feature of Edward's later designs (Archibald 2004). Visitors from the empire appeared ever more frequently in England during Edward's reign (Bihrer 2012, 138–9). Numerous ecclesiastics from Lotharingia rose to prominence through royal patronage (Barlow 1979, 63, 77, 81–4, 156–8; Keynes 1988), and a small number of moneymakers with continental Germanic names are known (see above, section (f), p. 241). Particular interest has attached to Theodoric the goldsmith, whose name strongly suggests German origins (Dolley and Elmore

Jones 1961a, 220–1). According to DB, Theodoric held several pieces of land in Surrey, Berkshire and Oxfordshire from Edward and Earl Harold. He was described in the Waltham Chronicle as the greatest goldsmith in London under Edward (ed. Watkiss and Chibnall 1994, 62), and retained his favoured position into the reign of William I (Bihrer 2012, 139; Baxter and Blair 2006, 42; Keynes 1997a, 247). The date of Theodoric's arrival in England is unknown, although it is entirely plausible that he or similarly prominent German craftsmen had a hand in designing the elegant later coinages of Edward.

However, the dies of these types cannot all be the work of a single master craftsman, and sometimes the complex details of the new designs were executed in different ways by the die-cutters of the central workshop or workshops which supplied most mint-places across the kingdom, resulting in a number of small variations. In the *Pointed Helmet* type there were a number of permutations: the sceptre in particular was sometimes lis-shaped, sometimes an angular cross (and mules of both variants with reverses of the next type suggest they were in use simultaneously). In *Sovereign/Eagles* minor variants can be detected in the form of the king's regalia on the obverse and the birds on the reverse (Dolley and Elmore Jones 1961a, 222). An unusual feature of this type, perhaps inherited from an original design conceived by a continental craftsman more familiar with Latin than Old English orthography, is that the king's name is occasionally rendered as E(A)DVVEARDVS rather than EADWARD or similar, as had been customary on previous types (**2223**, **2229**). Several minor but widespread variants in the makeup of the crown and sceptre have been identified in *Hammer Cross* (**2236–76**) (Dolley 1960–1b, 81), together with a small group concentrated in south-west Mercia and Wessex on which the king's name is spelt with two diphthongs (EADWEARD) (Robinson 1982). There is especially marked diversity among *Facing Bust* obverse dies: one large group features a small bust with large *pendilia* and several folds of drapery shown with a line of pellets (**2277–93**, **2306–7**, **2309**); another carries a small bust with no *pendilia* and complex drapery but no pellets (**2302–3**); and a further group is characterised by a large bust with no *pendilia*, sometimes an unenclosed, whisker-like beard and drapery made up of a single long line of pellets (**2294–6**, **2300–1**, **2304–5**, **2310–16**). This last variant is prevalent at Lincoln and York, but also occurs further south at Stamford, Thetford and even Rochester.

In terms of die distribution, most mint-places used the products of a cluster of workshops which supplied dies across the kingdom, with the partial exception of Lincoln and especially York (Talvio 2014, 184). Cambridge (*Pyramids*: **2319**), Chester (*Pointed Helmet*: SCBI 54, 1188), Malmesbury (*Facing Bust*: EMC 2009.0372), Stafford (*Pyramids*: **2325**) and other locations also used dies of unusual style from time to time, presumably made locally. Metrology in Edward's later types was likewise comparably homogeneous. The average weight for most types except *Facing Bust* was about 1.30g, and the standard aimed at was in the vicinity of 1.35g. By and large standards at western mint-places were heavier and more uniform, eastern ones more variable, with distinct local peculiarities (Metcalf 1998a, 164): London tended to be slightly lighter than others, York slightly heavier, and Winchester was noticeably lighter than most mints in *Pyramids* (Metcalf 1998a, 164; Petersson 1990, 295, 344, 346–7). Unusually, *Facing Bust* reverted to a standard similar to that of the early coinages of the reign, averaging 1.07g (Metcalf 1998a, 171; Petersson 1990, 347). In most respects, the overall impression is of a coinage which remained under effective central control. The network of mint-places was still very extensive and even gained some new additions in Edward's last years: *Hammer Cross* pennies name more mint-places (sixty-three) than any other type since Cnut's reign, including new ones at Droitwich and Pershore (Appendix 1, pp. 337–59). There are

no decisive links with contemporary events by which to date the later coinages of Edward to specific years (*pace* Curwen 1959). Neither is there any need for all of them to have been longer than Edward's earlier types; they may very well have varied in length, though two or three years remains a reasonable hypothesis. *Pyramids* in particular, which Dolley identified as covering the first few months of a triennial cycle starting at Michaelmas 1065 and stretching across the Norman Conquest, should perhaps be accorded a longer duration (Dolley 1964a, 29; cf. Pagan 1990, 203; Metcalf 1998a, 172). It shows as much variation in weight both between and within mints as other types (Petersson 1990, 234, 347), includes a number of coins of unusual style implying that regular dies were not available in some localities, and is also respectably represented among single-finds – although its presence in hoards is skewed by the finds associated with the Norman Conquest.

3. *Harold II*

The pennies of Harold II (2332–53) are one of the best reflections of the administrative capacities of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom during its final days. In the ten-month period between Edward's death and Harold's own at Hastings in October 1066, at least 48 places and 146 moneyers issued pennies in the name of Harold. The issue's brevity means that the picture of it is largely governed by the unbalanced representation of the hoards associated with the Norman Conquest and its aftermath, leaving some areas (such as the west midlands) poorly represented among modern finds. Except at London, Wilton and a few other mints in the central part of southern England, it looks as though most of the six hundred or so surviving coins were the product of just one or two dies per moneyer, which would be consistent with a relatively small output (Pagan 1990, 200). Interestingly, however, single-finds are quite numerous, being comparable in quantity with Edward's later types and more common than William's early issues (see above, section (e), p. 235). It may well be that the pool of coin entering circulation was largely produced in the first months of a recoinage, and so was issued before the end of Harold's reign (Naismith 2013b, 209–10).

The coins of this momentous reign carry hallmarks of 'conscious innovation' in design (Pagan 1990, 180). On the obverse the king's bust faced left instead of right, and its delicate neck musculature recalled certain pennies of Offa and Roman coins of Claudius (Talvio 1990a, 494), while the reverse – following the precedent of Edward's first coinage but with a new twist – placed the word *PAX* ('peace') across the field, eschewing the usual cruciform design (Pagan 1990, 180). The invocation of peace is surprising given the events for which Harold's reign is most famous, but these of course would not have been known to those responsible for instituting the coin type: as already recognised by E. A. Freeman (Freeman 1867–79, III, 631–2), the word carried general connotations of stability and prosperity, and was seen as particularly appropriate for the beginning of a new reign (Keynes 1978b). In physical terms the coins were rather more conservative, however: they follow *Pyramids* and other late types of Edward very closely in weight, averaging 1.31g (though again with variations between individual mint-places), and the distribution of dies apparently relied largely on one central workshop, presumptively located in London. As in Edward's later types, the innovative design left some room for interpretation of details: four variants of the king's crown can be picked out, some of which also omit the sceptre before the bust. However, there is little geographical rhyme or reason to the distribution of these variants, and the likelihood is that most mint-places relied on central supply, with some northern and midlands mints (including York, but not Lincoln) employing local dies more frequently (Pagan 1990, 181–3). The usually minor

mint of Wilton enjoyed a remarkable burst of activity in Harold's coinage. As remarked by Hugh Pagan and Gareth Williams (Pagan 1990, 187; Williams 2012b; cf. Metcalf 1998a, 175), Wilton's three moneyers used an unusually large number of dies, among them all known specimens of a crude local style represented only in specimens found in the Soberton hoard (*Checklist* 263), which post-dates the Conquest; the three moneyers also all disappeared after Harold's reign, Wilton being one of the very few mints in the kingdom to experience a clean sweep of moneyers after 1066 (Allen 2012b, 58–9). It is possible that the local dies were used to strike a posthumous coinage, issued in haste during the brief interval between Hastings and William's consolidation of power, under the auspices of Edward the Confessor's widow, Edith (Harold II's sister), who was patroness of Wilton and a frequent visitor there after her husband's death (Williams 2012b, 162–9; cf. Keynes 1997a, 243–5; Stafford 1997, 109–10, 145, 257–9, 269–70).

THE ANGLO-VIKING COINAGES

(a) HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

‘In us is fulfilled what once the prophet foretold: “from the north evil breaks forth, and a terrible glory will come from the Lord”’ (*in nobis impletum est quod olim per prophetam praedictum est: ‘ab aquilone inardescunt mala et a Domino formidolosa laudatio veniet’*) (Alcuin, *Epistola* 19 to the abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, ed. Dümmler 1895, 55, trans. Allott 1974, 40). In the view of the great Northumbrian scholar Alcuin (d. 804), the Viking raids which struck England at the end of the eighth century were an unforeseen and terrible affliction, hinting at fulfilment of divine prophecy and testing times to come for the English. The raid on the monastery of Lindisfarne on 8 June 793 which prompted Alcuin’s letter was among the first of many. The Vikings returned to Northumbria the following year, and attacked Portland in Dorset at some point during the reign of Beorhtric (786–802). Ireland and the Frankish Empire also fell prey to Viking raids at much the same time.

These depredations mark the beginning of the ‘first’ Viking Age (Sawyer 1969): a period of about a century and a half during which Scandinavian raiders, traders and settlers moved across the North Sea, exerting a profound effect on the peoples of Britain and Ireland. At roughly the same time other Scandinavians ventured eastwards across the Baltic and into Russia, and south into what is now France and the Low Countries (see *inter alia* Sawyer 1971; 1982; 1997; Helle 2003; Christiansen 2006, 214–35; Brink and Price 2008; Williams *et al.* 2014). The sobriquet Vikings applied to Scandinavians of this period, especially when they appeared abroad as aggressors, is essentially a modern invention: victims referred to their attackers as pagans, Northmen (in the Frankish world), ‘foreigners’ (in Ireland) or (in England) as Danes, lumping together the complex range of local identities current within Scandinavia (Abrams 2012; Christiansen 2006, 87–167). ‘Viking’ first appears (as *wicing*) in the *ASC* in the ninth century (Fell 1986; 1987) and later in Old Norse texts (as *víking*) referring to either an overseas expedition or (as *víkingr*) a man who went on such an expedition (Brink 2008, 6). Its etymology remains debatable: it could refer to a specific or more general place of origin (Viken in Norway; a *vik*, ‘bay, inlet’; or *wic/vicus*, ‘(trading) settlement’); to the act of withdrawing, travelling or making camp (cf. the ON verbs *víka* or *víkja* and OE *wician*); or to alternations of oarsmen on a long voyage (from the ON verb *víka*) (Heide 2005; Brink 2008, 6). If the word is thought to describe an act or occupation rather than an ethnicity then viking rather than Viking is more correct: this interpretation is increasingly prevalent in recent scholarship

(e.g. Jesch 1991, 8; Dumville 2002b, 209), though the capitalised form is used here for the sake of consistency with earlier volumes in the series. In any case, Viking in the sense of raider or pirate only covers some of the roles Scandinavians played in early medieval Britain, Ireland and Europe. This chapter's title refers to 'Anglo-Viking' coinage only in order to avoid confusion, for the (in some respects preferable) label Anglo-Scandinavian is generally associated with eleventh-century imitations of Anglo-Saxon coinage produced in Scandinavia.

The Scandinavian 'diaspora' of the Viking Age gains much from being studied as a whole (Abrams 2012), beginning with the complex and still hotly debated reasons for the quite sudden eruption of raiders and settlers from Scandinavia (Barrett 2008; Sindbæk 2011). In the context of Britain and Ireland, Viking fleets ranged freely across territorial and linguistic boundaries, and some of the most stimulating modern scholarship follows suit (e.g. Smyth 1975–9; Dumville 2002b; Crawford 2003; Holman 2007; Downham 2007b; Hadley 2009a; 2009b), though here the focus will be on the experience of the Vikings in England (for which see in general Brooks 1979; Keynes 1997b; Hadley 2006). There, the first raids at the close of the eighth century were followed by a respite until the 830s, when Ecgberht of Wessex faced a Viking army at Carhampton in 836 and a combined force of Vikings and Cornish in 838 at Hingston Down. Attacks continued throughout the 840s: Southampton was attacked in 840, and London and Rochester in 842. A Viking army is first recorded as overwintering in England (specifically the Isle of Thanet) in 850/1, though it is entirely possible that earlier forces had moved between Britain, Ireland and continental Europe over the course of several years. Armies in the 850s gained in size and ambition (Keynes 1997b, 52; G. Williams 2008b, 195), but in the 860s an altogether new phase of aggression began with the arrival of what the ASC called the *micel here* ('Great Army') in 865/6. This large Viking war-band remained active in England for more than a decade, though it probably evolved in its composition and leadership during that time. It ranged across the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms: speed and mobility seem to have been some of its main advantages. The 'Great Army' killed two competing kings of Northumbria at York in 867, and Edmund of East Anglia in 869. Client kings seem to have been chosen for both in subsequent years (McLeod 2014, 177–81). Mercia and Wessex also came under severe pressure. Mercia lost one king in 874 and accepted a Viking-chosen candidate in his stead, but Alfred the Great was able to rally the West Saxons against the Vikings and defeat them at Edington in 878. Before retreating to East Anglia, the vanquished Scandinavian leader, Guthrum (d. 890), agreed to a treaty that included his own baptism (under the new baptismal name Æthelstan), with Alfred standing as his godfather.

The 870s saw the Viking armies settle down in the territories they had conquered in Northumbria, East Anglia and eastern Mercia. An impression of the extent of Viking authority is conveyed by a treaty between Alfred and Guthrum which describes the frontier between their lands running roughly north-west from the east of London and then along the length of Watling Street (Dumville 1992, 1–23; cf. Kershaw 2000). A number of indices convey the intensity of Scandinavian influence within this area. Old Norse place names, for example, are plentiful in the east midlands and Yorkshire, with smaller numbers in Norfolk and Suffolk. Heavy Old Norse influence on personal names is apparent in pre-Conquest documents and in Domesday Book, as well as among moneyers' names (see Chapter 10, section (f), p. 241). Some categories of archaeological material of Scandinavian character are also concentrated in eastern England, including stone sculptures, heavily influenced by Scandinavian artistic styles, though stone sculpture as a craft was not customary in pre-Viking Scandinavia itself (Bailey 1980; Stocker 2000; Kopár 2012), as well as brooches and

other metal items of Scandinavian forms intended for female use (Kershaw 2009; 2013; see more generally Hadley 2006). These indicate significant numbers of women as part of the initial Scandinavian settlement, feeding into a long debate about how large the incoming element would have been to effect such changes (Stenton 1970, 136–65, 298–313; Sawyer 1969; 1971, 148–76; Lund 1981; Keynes 1997b, 68). The zone of Scandinavian settlement and cultural influence in eastern England is generally known in scholarship as the Danelaw, although the term *Dena lage* did not appear until the early eleventh century (i.e. well after the English conquest) and territorial definitions of the Danelaw only in the twelfth century (Abrams 2001b, 28–33; Holman 2001). Among the legal distinctions of the Danelaw was organisation of local government into wapentakes (from ON *vápnatak*) instead of hundreds, while in DB some areas of Danish settlement had an unusually high proportion of sokemen or free peasantry (Stenton 1910; 1969; Townend 2014, 172–3).

This large area had as many regional distinctions as common features, however, and its society blended Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian and other traditions (cf. Hadley 2000; 2002; 2006; also the essays in Hadley and Richards 2000 and Graham-Campbell *et al.* 2001). Unfortunately, the internal structure of eastern and northern England in the time of Viking rule is highly obscure. Christianity spread rapidly, if for the most part silently (Whitelock 1941; Abrams 2001a), while secular organisation seems to have varied. In East Anglia Guthrum's heirs may have included a king Eohric (ON *Eiríkr*), who was killed in battle at the Holme in 902, and possibly another unnamed king killed in 917; no other Viking kings of East Anglia are known subsequently, but under English rule it retained a distinctive, unitary character (Hart 1992, 25–113; Marten 2008). There was a string of kings based in York (for whom the coins are in fact one of the best sources) who possessed close ties to their cousins in Dublin, and for much of the late ninth and tenth century the same dynasty founded by a mid-ninth-century raider named Ívarr ruled in both cities (Smyth 1975–9; Woolf 2002; Downham 2007b, 71–99). It should be stressed, however, that the 'kingdom of York' is a modern construct; contemporary sources commonly refer to contemporary Viking rulers as kings of the Northumbrians, although York and the men of York were clearly prominent within the kingdom (Williams 2013e, 478–80; cf. Hall 1994; Aird 2009, 305–8; Townend 2014, 17–22). Elsewhere, rule seems to have been vested in armies associated with individual towns, including Bedford, Cambridge, Derby, Leicester, Northampton and Stamford (Hart 1992, 6–24; Abrams 2001b, 134–6).

Alfred the Great's son and successor Edward the Elder (899–924) went on the offensive against the Vikings in the second half of his reign, collaborating with his sister Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians. Their armies forced back the Vikings through a combination of pitched battles and sieges until, in 918, the ASC stated that all the inhabitants of Mercia (Danes and English alike) accepted Edward as their lord. Lincolnshire may still have been outside Edward's control (see below, section (j), pp. 302–3), but York was the major surviving Viking centre. Its rulers had prepared to submit to Æthelflæd before her death in 918, and King Ragnald went so far as to accept Edward as his lord in 920 – but after the latter's death it still lay outside English control. Conquest of York came early in the reign of Edward's successor, Æthelstan (924–39). Sihtric, king of the Northumbrians, met with Æthelstan in 926 at Tamworth and returned home with one of Æthelstan's sisters as his bride. After Sihtric's death the following year, Æthelstan went with an army to York and secured the submission of the Northumbrians, driving out Olaf Sihtricsson/Cuarán (d. 981) and the Irish King Guthfrith in the process (Foot 2011, 18–19; Townend 2014, 62–3, 72).

Political takeover by the English of course had little impact on the hybrid society of northern England; neither did it mean the end of Viking ambitions to control York and restore the

traditional link with Dublin. In 937 Olaf Guthfrithsson (d. 941), king of Dublin, together with Constantine II (900–43), king of Alba, and Owain, king of Strathclyde/Cumbria, launched an attack on Æthelstan at the unidentified site of *Brunanburh* (for a recent account of possible locations see Foot 2011, 169–83). The English won the day, but shortly after Æthelstan's death two years later another expedition from Dublin, led again by Olaf Guthfrithsson, returned to try its luck in York once more. Events in Northumbria between 939 and 954 are difficult to piece together, for at various times both English and Viking rulers had the upper hand, and several different readings of the scant sources have been suggested (the traditional account is Beaven 1918; see now Downham 2003; 2007b, 112–20; Townend 2014, 70–84; Williams 2010b, 86–103; Sawyer 1995; Woolf 1998; Hal-loran 2013). What is clear is that Olaf Guthfrithsson seized not only York and Northumbria but also the east midlands, reversing the conquests of Edward the Elder and Æthelstan. Olaf died in 941 at the height of his power, being replaced by a nephew of the same name, Olaf Sihtricsson/Cuarán. The Anglo-Saxons eventually recovered from the blow of 939/40: in 942 Edmund retook the east midlands, and struck a deal the following year after a counter-attack by Olaf Sihtricsson/Cuarán. In 944 Edmund resumed his campaign against the Vikings and drove them out of York. This fast-changing political scene posed a challenge to those who wanted to retain influence despite changes of regime: Wulfstan I, archbishop of York (931–56), for example, was appointed by Æthelstan but supported Viking leaders at York, and was treated with caution by subsequent English kings (Keynes 2014c).

The last few years of Viking rule in Northumbria are especially obscure and complicated. A king named Eric may have briefly held power there at the end of Edmund's reign, and again in the years 947–8 before Eadred, king of the English, restored his rule. After two more years, Olaf Sihtricsson/Cuarán (now installed as king of Dublin) returned to seize power in 950. The North-umbrians rejected him in 952 in favour of Eric, the same king as in 947–8. Old Norse sources suggest that this was Erik Bloodaxe, a member of the Norwegian royal family (the traditional identification, defended in Williams 2010b, 79–103; Townend 2014, 74–84), though an alternative case has been made that he was an otherwise unknown member of the Dublin royal dynasty (Downham 2004). Finally, Eric – whatever his origin – was driven out by Eadred in 954, and probably killed at Stainmore soon after.

The end of Scandinavian rule in England was held by Peter Sawyer (1969) and others to mark the conclusion of the 'first' Viking Age, which was followed in the 980s by the beginning of the 'second' Viking Age: raids on England escalated in scale and ambition, culminating in the conquest by Swein Forkbeard and Cnut in 1013–16 (see Chapter 10, section (a), pp. 212–13). Politics of at least partial Scandinavian heritage also still existed in Orkney, the western isles of Scotland and Dublin. Within England itself, there was an abiding legacy of Scandinavian influence, apparent throughout the wealthy eastern part of the country: its major towns, its language and the character of its society all owed much to the period of Viking rule in the ninth and tenth centuries.

(b) LITERATURE

Since the beginning of numismatic study in Britain, collectors and scholars have known that some silver pennies were the work of Viking rulers. Sir Robert Cotton had several such pieces in his collection (Archibald 2006, 193), and specimens of Viking types were found and published in the

Harkirke hoard of 1611 (*Checklist* 92). Interpretation of these coins was a challenge to the historical ingenuity of scholars. One penny of Olaf Sihtricsson, issued by the moneyer Farman, was read by Edward Thwaites in the early eighteenth century as a product of a mint on the island of Farne, issued at the time of the king's baptism by the local bishop (Thwaites in Wotton 1708, 'Notae in Anglo-Saxonum nummos', 4). William Nicolson interpreted the triquetra design on other pennies of Olaf as an emblem of the king's tripartite kingdom (Ireland, Northumbria and the Isle of Man) and an early forerunner of the Manx triskelion (Nicolson 1724, 156–7). The rarity of relevant coins, and the pioneering state of historical and numismatic scholarship, left little to go on, at least until the discovery of the Cuerdale hoard in 1840 (*Checklist* 87). Its sudden outpouring of Viking and related coins stimulated research for decades to come. Edward Hawkins deduced that the hoard included pennies of Guthrum under his baptismal name, Æthelstan (Hawkins 1842–3, 8–10), though he had to be corrected by Rev. Daniel Haigh (1843, 111–12) on the attribution of the York regal coins, which Hawkins believed to be Frankish (Hawkins 1842–3, 67–90). Some years later, Haigh published a lengthy and influential article in which he carefully laid out the numismatic and historical sources in systematic fashion (Haigh 1876, esp. 21–46). Close reference to the historical and archaeological sources has since become a hallmark of the study of Anglo-Viking coinage, for surviving sources all pose difficult problems of interpretation and benefit from being considered together. Sir Charles Oman showed how effectively these materials could be combined in 1934, and came close in his conclusions to the arrangement of the coins which is now generally accepted (Oman 1934, esp. 20–1).

Oman's summation of the evidence is the best written before systematic assessment of the extensive post-Cuerdale hoard material. Michael Dolley used this to revolutionise understanding of Anglo-Viking coinage (Dolley 1957–8). He showed with great assurance which coinages belonged before 939 and which after: a difficulty which had vitiated earlier assessments of the coinage (Dolley 1957–8, 63–7). Although focused on the final period of Viking rule, Dolley touched on earlier phases of the coinage, and demonstrated techniques of analysis which could be applied to them in more detail. He also poured scorn on the many imaginative yet misguided opinions ventured by earlier scholars based primarily on interpretation of iconographical features; in his words, 'no issues have been more exploited by the numismatic crank' (Dolley 1957–8, 15). Dolley was soon joined in renewed research on the Anglo-Scandinavian coinages by Christopher Blunt, Stewart Lyon and Lord Stewartby. The first phase of the York coinage was surveyed in impressive detail by Lyon and Stewartby in 1961 (Lyon and Stewart 1961), while Blunt addressed the St Edmund Memorial coinage in 1969 (Blunt 1969). Detailed work by the same scholars on the St Peter coinage and associated types appeared somewhat later (Stewart and Lyon 1992), as did a fresh survey of the 939–54 Viking issues of York (*CTCE*, 211–34). In the 1960s it was also becoming apparent that the earliest Viking coins were imitations of Alfredian pennies (Dolley and Blunt 1961, 89–91; Dolley 1965, 11, 16–18). This completed the outline of Viking coinage in England, and in the process simplified assessment of Alfred's coins.

Subsequent research has been driven by three principal concerns: the exact chronology and attribution of specific Viking coinages; the evaluation of new finds (both hoards and, latterly, single-finds); and the place of coinage in a 'bullion economy'. The popularisation of metal-detector use since the 1980s has multiplied the volume of new material (Williams 2014a). Gareth Williams has produced an important series of papers on the 920s in light of the Vale of York hoard of 2006 (*Checklist* 111a) (Williams 2008c; 2009b; 2011a), alongside broader assessments of the contemporary

economy (Williams 2011c; 2013e; 2014a). Similarly, Mark Blackburn was led by the Ashdon hoard (*Checklist* 84) to reassess the early imitative phase of Viking coinage (Blackburn 1989a; 1989b; 2005), and by the Thurstaston hoard (*Checklist* 109a) to a new interpretation of the east midlands in the 920s (Blackburn 2006a).

Dialogue between numismatists and scholars in other disciplines has also remained productive. Coins featured prominently in the wide-ranging historical survey by Alfred Smyth (Smyth 1975–9), and more recently in the work of (*inter alios*) Clare Downham (Downham 2003; 2007b) and Matthew Townend (Townend 2014). Numismatic research is closely integrated into conferences and survey volumes on Viking studies more generally. Nonetheless, historians and archaeologists are frequently reluctant to challenge the conclusions of numismatists, even when those conclusions are founded on outmoded or disputed historical interpretations: there remains a need for historians and archaeologists to become more at ease in handling numismatic material directly, and for numismatists to keep abreast of new research in related areas.

(c) BULLION AND COINAGE

A large number of hoards and single-finds from the Scandinavian-influenced areas of England have been associated with the ‘bullion economy’ (see Appendix 4, s.v.): the extensive use of gold and silver in uncoined form for exchange and storage of wealth, on the model of practices which grew up in ninth-century Scandinavia (see Chapter 1, section (f), pp. 18–22). Other finds from outside areas of Scandinavian settlement (such as the Croydon hoard, for which see further below, section (f), pp. 287–8) can be convincingly associated with known Viking movements, in part because of their bullion content (Graham-Campbell 1995; 2001a; 2001b; Williams 2009b; 2013c; Sheehan 1998a; 2000). Bullion continued to form part of the contents of a cluster of hoards from around Chester after its use had declined elsewhere in England. Chester stood at a crossroads of Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, Irish and Welsh interests, and operated as both a major mint-place and a trading emporium with links to the Irish Sea and inland (Thacker 2003; Williams 2009b, 78–80, 83; Griffiths 2001; 2009, 16–21).

Chronologically, the earliest relevant sites and hoards are those reflecting the movements of the ‘Great Army’ in the early 870s (Williams 2014a, 21–4). Some reveal interaction between ‘bullion’ and ‘monetary’ economies. The very extensive finds of hack-metal, dirham fragments and diverse other coins from Torksey point to frequent exchange at the site by means of weighed silver (Blackburn 2011a, 229–36; Williams 2015), as do the numerous weights in lead and copper alloy; debased coins of local origin from Torksey and other Viking sites of this period tend to be intact, however, as these may still have been acceptable among the English in their normal state (G. Williams 1999; Archibald 2011, 54; Blackburn 2011a, 236–41; for the Scandinavian comparanda see Pedersen 2008). Hoards of mixed character were deposited in northern England across the early tenth century. They contain a relatively consistent mix of coin types and forms of object, suggesting that there was no significant regional variation in the handling of silver (Williams 2009b, 78–80; 2013c, 478–81; though cf. Townend 2014, 17–18). South of the Humber, evidence of Scandinavian-style bullion handling depends more heavily on single-finds than hoards (Naismith 2005; Blackburn and Rogerson 1993; Blackburn 2001a, 134). A rare and important hoard which breaks this rule comes from Thurstaston in Leicestershire (*Checklist* 109a); dating to the early or mid-920s, this and other finds from Mercia and Wessex as well as eastern England provide evidence that Viking coins and

silver-handling traditions were still current in areas under English political control (Blackburn 2006a, 209; cf. Kershaw 2015).

The effective end of extensive bullion circulation in most of England seems to have come by approximately the later 920s (Blackburn 2004, 345–6). Greater familiarity with coin meant that pecking had already become less common (Williams 2011b, 69–70), but the most immediate reason for the swift decline in bullion relative to coin was the political takeover of eastern and northern England by the West Saxon dynasty, which brought with it firmer emphasis on the coinage of the ruling authority (Williams 2009b, 81–2; 2011b, 70). However, parts of what is now north-west England have also produced relatively late finds of mixed hoards (Kershaw 2014), such as a recent find from Furness in Cumbria containing ingots, hack-silver, dirhams and English coins from as late as the mid-950s (PAS LANCUM-80A304). The famous Chester (1950) hoard (*Checklist* 144), concealed in the reign of Edgar at a major trading centre with ties to the Irish Sea region, also included silver ingots.

(d) MINTING, KINGSHIP AND AUTHORITY IN VIKING ENGLAND

The Anglo-Viking coinage was produced in kingdoms which had long been familiar with coined money. However, even when copying or adapting English models Viking rulers did not slavishly follow the blueprint set by earlier precedents. Choosing to issue coins at all was a statement of identity and authority, in a context where exchange could easily be carried out with recourse to bullion and other commodities: minting showed that the makers sought to identify with neighbouring cultures characterised by coin-use, in this case the Christian Anglo-Saxons and Franks (Williams 2007b, esp. 180–4). The Vikings' coins therefore help demonstrate the emergence of a dynamic local culture, blending Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian custom, and also elements of Frankish practice. In addition, the coins highlight the variation there could be within the large area labelled in later times as the Danelaw. This is especially apparent in the representation of kingship. Recognition of the name and title of the king had been universal on coins across England and Francia since the mid-eighth century. Among the Vikings, priorities seem to have been more variable. Most of the coin issues of the 'imitative' period (beginning c. 880) copied Alfredian coin designs, including the name of the West Saxon king in more or less recognisable form. At this stage, emulation of a successful and trusted coin design was the principal aim. But some of these coins replaced Alfred's name with that of a Viking ruler already in the 880s and 890s: specimens exist in the name of Guthfrith (see below, section (g), pp. 289–90) and more commonly Guthrum, under his baptismal name of Æthelstan (2354–9). Almost as soon as Viking kings had become established within England, they began to place their names on the coinage, in the manner of their Christian Anglo-Saxon counterparts. In East Anglia, however, this overt royal element in the coinage was to prove short-lived, for most of the subsequent pennies issued there under Scandinavian rule refer only to the moneyer and to St Edmund (see below, section (h), pp. 290–2). This is a clear signal of the profound penetration of Christianity in Viking territory (Abrams 2001a), though it leaves the position of local rulers enigmatic. A widely revered royal saint perhaps served in lieu of a generally accepted regional leader. After Guthrum's death in 890 relatively little is known of Viking rulers in East Anglia. Other than King Eohric, killed at the Holme in 902, no kings are known, and Eohric's name never appears on coins; moreover, at least one non-royal local ruler in (probably) East Anglia placed his name and title (COMES SITRIC, 'Earl Sihtric/Sigtryggr') on coins in the 890s

or 900s (see below, section (g), p. 289). There was evidently potential for some royal issues, and for widespread unity of design implying high-level oversight, but overall a loose relationship between coinage and political authority prevailed in the southern and eastern regions of Scandinavian rule.

The royal connection in York is generally more explicit, and kings in Northumbria had a sustained association with the local coinage from the time of its inception in the 890s (**2526–611**). The extent of their power is not generally stated on the coins, but the homogeneity of hoards from across Viking-Age Northumbria hints at some measure of cultural affinity (Williams 2013e, 478–80). Royal titles on coins virtually never extend beyond Latin *REX* or (after 939) Old Norse *CVNVNG*, and although some coins of the period 947–54 apparently carry *REX EB[o]R[aci/o]* or similar, the same title is applied to English rulers of York as well (e.g. **1526**). *EBR* should therefore be read in these cases as a mint name or at best a locative rather than an ‘ethnic’ element of the royal style (‘king in York’, not ‘king of York’) (Dolley 1957–8: 77; *CTCE*, 224–7; Woolf 2007, 73–4). There were also cases in York of two kings’ names appearing on the same coin (**2575**), or (later) of two or three kings sharing multiple types in succession, while other pennies of the so-called St Peter coinage carried no king’s name at all (**2587–94**), probably for years at a time, even when kings are known from historical sources to have been active in York and placed their names on coins issued south of the Humber (**2597–602**: see below, section (j), pp. 302–3). The link between royal identity and coinage was thus enduring (Williams 2013b, 52–3), but it worked in a more flexible way than in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. Royal rule was not necessarily exclusive, and neither did it need to be stated directly at all times (Williams 2011b, 45). As in East Anglia, the York and associated east midland coinages often proclaimed religious devotion more prominently than the name of the king. Some rulers (like Guthrum) may have used the coinage to advertise their baptismal name: Æthelstan for Guthrum and possibly Charles for King Ragnald I (**2595–6**) and Louis for Sihtric I (Dolley 1965, 22; Stewart 1982, 114; Blackburn 2004, 331, 334–5), thereby combining statements of Christian and royal power. The well-known secular and potentially pagan symbols found on the coinage (e.g. **2593–4**, **2604–6**, **2611**) are restricted to just a few periods, and are dwarfed by the quantity and complexity of equivalent Christian symbols (Sonne 2013).

Adaptation of numismatic tradition was not restricted to representations of religious and secular authority. New mint-places appeared in significant number during the decades of Viking rule, mirroring a simultaneous development of new mint-places in English territory (see Chapter 9, section (g), pp. 189–93). In addition to the revival of the long-established mint-place of York, at least five locations were named on Anglo-Scandinavian coinage between the 880s and the 920s which had never been recorded as a mint-place previously (Great Shelford, Leicester (**2369**), Lincoln, possibly Norwich and the unlocated *Horiva/Roriva castrum*), and there were probably many others at work as well: finds of metal objects associated with minting at Torksey, for example (**1168–9**), suggest it may have seen the production of gold and silver coins during its brief but intense period of Viking activity (Blackburn 2002, 93–4; 2011a, 241–2). This realignment of minting accompanied broader changes to the political and economic map of later ninth-century England: regions which had previously relied mostly or entirely for coins on York, Ipswich and the south-east could no longer do so, and local rulers began looking to the symbolic and financial advantages of minting as new focal points of power and exchange emerged in Viking territory. References in the *ASC* emphasise the importance of fortified strategic sites (Abrams 2001b, 134–5), not entirely unlike the *byrg* of contemporary Wessex and Mercia (Blackburn 2009, 54–5; Williams 2013d, esp. 135–40). Also like Anglo-Saxon *byrg*, many of these Viking fortresses had a prior history as a site of secular

and/or ecclesiastical importance, and some went on to become significant towns (Hall 2001; Ayers 2011, 76–9). Mint-places recorded on Viking coins also include some locations which did not form the core of a later town, such as Great Shelford. Production at places such as these was probably driven by the needs of local demand: that of the Viking army as a whole at Torksey, and of Earl Sihtric at Great Shelford. Yet in the early years of settlement in Viking territory, there was probably little separating sites of elite or military character from others of later ‘urban’ character (Williams 2014b), including Leicester, Lincoln and Norwich: defensibility and perhaps a central position in local settlement hierarchy were the outstanding priorities, with urban development occurring later if at all.

York and (to a lesser extent) Lincoln emerge as special cases in the developing Viking monetary system of the late ninth and tenth century. Multiple coinages state the mint-place prominently, or obliquely through reference to the patron saint of its leading church (St Peter at the former (2587–94), St Martin at the latter (2604A)). London is the most obvious comparison from English territory, and indeed the earliest mint-signed Lincoln coinage was modelled on the London Monogram issue of *c.* 880 (1253–60). Repeated emphasis on the identity of the mint-town suggests that special prominence and status attached to these two places, both of which were evolving swiftly into important centres of population and trade as well as ecclesiastical and secular power (Hall 1994; ten Harkel 2013a; 2013b). There is also no evidence as yet for sustained production of coins anywhere north of the Humber outside York. Its primacy as the sole mint-place in Northumbria originated in the period of Anglo-Saxon rule, and persisted until after the Norman Conquest.

(e) HOARDS AND SINGLE-FINDS: TOWARDS A MONETARY ECONOMY IN VIKING ENGLAND

Coins made by the Vikings in England were far from the only component of the currency circulating in their territory. There was close interaction between coins and bullion, including use of foreign coins based on their weight and silver content; exchange also took place based on other commodities (see above, section (c), pp. 283–4). But the manufacture of numerous coins of closely controlled weight and appearance in itself suggests an expectation that the resultant pennies would serve an economic function, and be distinguished from other means of exchange (Blackburn 2004, 345). A multi-tiered system of exchange and social organisation allowed for use of bullion in some contexts, but probably also specified coins in others (cf. Kershaw 2014).

Knowledge of early Viking coinage is still dominated by the Cuerdale hoard of 1840 (*Checklist* 87; Graham-Campbell 2011), but the number of other hoards and especially single-finds available for research has increased significantly since the 1980s (Williams 2009b; 2011a; 2011b, 64–7; 2013c; 2013e; Graham-Campbell 2001a, 50–1; 2001b). The north and midlands of England are substantially richer in tenth-century coin hoards than the south. Recent analysis by Megan Gooch (Gooch 2012, 166–208) has shown that coins of York also circulated widely in the east midlands and to some extent in East Anglia, while St Edmund Memorial coins have also been found in the east midlands and on a limited scale north of the Humber. English coins could be found in this area, along with Arabic dirhams (usually cut or broken) and (especially in earlier finds) Carolingian coins; however, Viking coins and other ‘foreign’ pieces did not enter circulation in English territory on any significant scale (Naismith 2014f, 56–8). In short, a ‘Viking’ currency sphere can be identified, in which coins of similar weight standard were interchangeable, though with clear

regional trends towards the dominance of local currency in Northumbria and East Anglia, alongside bullion-based use of foreign coins and other objects based on their weight and metallic purity. The east midlands were more heterogeneous, and local issues were always scarce. Certain hoards and other finds point towards closer management of the currency in some areas. In and around York itself, the city's coinage was much more dominant than it was in Northumbria as a whole (Blackburn 2004, 345), while in East Anglia the Manningtree and 'Baldwin' hoards illustrate the prevalence of the later St Edmund Memorial coinage (*Checklist* 98a, 98b).

(f) PRELUDE: VIKING SITES AND HOARDS IN ENGLAND (c. 860–80)

The earliest stages of Viking involvement with coinage in England preceded minting under Scandinavian authority, and can be seen in disruption to the existing English pattern of coin and precious metal use (Williams 2014a, 21–2; cf. *SCBI* 8, 15–31). The end of local coinage in Northumbria, or at least the end of legible royal coinage, and the subsequent appearance of southern coins in the kingdom have been viewed as consequences of the Viking campaigns of the 860s and 870s (Blackburn 2005, 23; cf. Chapter 5, section (g), pp. 119–27). In East Anglia too the defeat and death of St Edmund in 869 led to a sudden and severe curtailment of the local coinage, which persisted on a much-reduced scale in the name of two obscure local rulers, Æthelred and Oswald, who may well have been Viking quislings (Blackburn 2005, 23–5, 28–30). Viking armies have also left traces of their own exchange activities at a number of sites. The most famous of these are the 'camp' sites of Repton, Torksey and (possibly) a riverine site in North Yorkshire (Williams 2011a, 68; 2011b, 73). At all of these, a mix of coins and metalwork has been found, in the case of Repton alongside impressive structural and other archaeological remains (Biddle *et al.* 1986a; 1986b). The Fitzwilliam now holds a large selection of finds from Torksey, including metalwork and Islamic dirhams as well as the Anglo-Saxon coins included in this catalogue (Blackburn 2011a). These were found spread across a large site close to the river Trent which may once have formed an island. Torksey could also have been, like Repton, an important estate centre, raising the possibility that high-profile sites were targeted by Vikings as nodes in local networks of power and distribution (Williams 2014b). The *ASC* specifically mentions the presence of the Viking army at Repton and Torksey, in 872/3 and 873/4 respectively: in combination with the exceptional and (in the case of Torksey) characteristically Scandinavian assemblages which these sites have produced, it is possible to assign these sites with some confidence to the period of the Great Army's presence. Connections of this kind are less apparent for other hoards, although there is in general a remarkable surge in the number of hoards which can be assigned to the period of most intense Viking military activity in England: about thirty-seven hoards can be identified from the period c. 865–900 as opposed to twenty-eight from the whole preceding century. Some among these hoards could well have been hidden, or failed to be recovered, as a result of Viking aggression, having been deposited either by the raiders themselves or by their victims (Brooks and Graham-Campbell 2000, esp. 87–91; Graham-Campbell 2001a, 54–5; 2001b). The best case for a Viking-deposited hoard has been made for the Croydon find of 1862 (*Checklist* 67) in connection with the Viking attack on London in 871/2 (Brooks and Graham-Campbell 2000). The presence of Lunettes pennies in the name of Burgred, Æthelred I and Alfred is a notable feature of Croydon and other contemporary hoards, for pennies of this debased type were quite effectively demonetised in the mid-870s and largely excluded from later hoards. These coins are hence important in

constructing a chronology; their presence also probably stems from interaction between Vikings and locals who were still accepting these debased pennies as the royally sanctioned currency.

On the whole, the picture of England is like that of contemporary Francia (Armstrong 1998): increased occurrence of hoards at this time is most likely related to the uncertainty and disruption caused by the Viking threat, although associations of individual finds with recorded incidents must be weighed on their own merits and are frequently inconclusive.

(g) IMITATIVE PHASE (c. 880–95 OR LATER)

The earliest Anglo-Scandinavian coinages were modelled closely on the coins with which their makers had had closest contact: English pennies. This pattern was by no means unique to the Vikings in England. The first minting operations in Scandinavia itself looked to Carolingian coins (in the ninth century) and Anglo-Saxon coins (in the late tenth and eleventh century) for inspiration, and indeed other societies from ancient times onwards began minting coins by imitating trusted and familiar types from neighbouring territories. In this way it was possible for an incipient local currency to profit from the authority which attached to well-known coinages (Blackburn 2005, 20; Williams 2013b, 48–9).

In the case of Viking England, the initial coinages of this form were for the most part modelled on coin types of Alfred (the English originals of which are discussed above: Chapter 8, section (e), pp. 170–2; cf. **1253–80**) (Williams 2007b, 199; 2014a, 24–7). Some copied the legends of the originals with more or less success (and for a long time these imitative coins created problems in assessing the structure of Alfred's coinage); others retained the design of Anglo-Saxon types but replaced the name of Alfred and/or the moneyer with that of local authorities. Among these imitations, the Horizontal/Two-Line type was by far the most influential (**2369–441**). It was the sole imitative type represented in the Ashdon hoard (*Checklist* 84), which suggests that – contrary to what might be expected of a tentative early foray into minting – the imitative coinage came to constitute a large and precociously organised entity, potentially issued on a large scale, which may have largely succeeded in excluding other coins from circulation (Blackburn 1989a, 27; 2001a, 128–32; 2005, 21–2, 32). Other hoards show that patterns of circulation could vary significantly by location, or depending on the original owner of the hoard: the Stamford hoard, for example, included a mixture of regular Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian coins, with an unusually large number of halfpennies (*Checklist* 85; Williams 2011b, 67).

A small proportion of Viking imitations were based on other issues of Alfred (Blackburn 2005, 20) (see above, Chapter 8, pp. 165–73). Some Horizontal/Two-Line coins derived from a very late variant from Canterbury which placed an abbreviated form of mint-signature in the obverse legend. The London Monogram issue was also copied extensively (**2360–2**), while the Oxford OHSNAFORDA coinage of Alfred, which placed the mint name in two lines, with that of 'Alfred' sandwiched between, was imitated on such a large scale by Anglo-Viking moneyers (normally with the inscription ORSNAFORDA) that the originals are badly outnumbered and were only identified as authentic English pennies in relatively recent times (**2366–8**: Lyon 1970, 196–7). One coin also copied the celebrated Two Emperors type. A minority of Viking coins imitated other types besides those of Alfred. Some of the earliest coins to bear the name of a Viking king – those of Guthrum (who used his baptismal name Æthelstan on coins) – picked up an East Anglian taste for the Carolingian Temple type (based on a distinct form of temple design only used after the

mid-850s). Guthrum's 'Temple' coinage is known from a highly literate trial-piece struck in lead, as well as from a larger group of pennies with more corrupt legends, some struck with what appears to be a regular reverse die from the Carolingian mint of Quentovic (Blackburn 2005, 26–8).

Guthrum is the Viking ruler known from most surviving coins of this early phase (more than forty: **2354–9**). These were issued alongside imitations of Alfred, and the two groups are connected by at least two die-links (Blunt 1952–4; Dolley 1965, 17; Blackburn 2005, 32). Three other rulers are represented by far smaller numbers of coins, and there are three or four small groups with legible mint-signatures (Blackburn 2005, 21). One Horizontal/Two-Line penny is known in the name of a king Guthfrith (Blackburn 1989a, 18–20): this may be the ruler of that name recorded in York, who died in 895 (Smyth 1975–9, I, 43–4; Downham 2007b, 75–8), though the coin has been argued to belong to the east midlands, implying considerable extension of York's authority. Several pennies exist apparently in the name of a king Halfdan (ALFDEN). One of these copies the Two Emperors type on one face and the London Monogram type on the other. At one time this gave rise to the belief that Halfdan had pioneered one or both of these types (Haigh 1870, 27–30; *BMC LXVI*; Brooke 1950, 33–4, 47), assuming that he was to be identified with the leader of the 'Great Army' and ruler of that name who died in Ireland in 877 (Smyth 1975–9, I, 18–20; Downham 2007b, 68–71). However, it is now recognised that this coin must be a somewhat later imitation (Dolley and Blunt 1961, 82–3, 89–90), utilising a design which cannot have been current until at least c. 880 in the case of the London Monogram type; and indeed the other two coins of Halfdan both copy the late Horizontal/Two-Line type. Another Halfdan must therefore be responsible for these coins (conceivably the one killed at Tettenhall in 910), if indeed the name is not simply a corruption of Alfred's (*MEC* I, 319; Williams 2011b, 47–8).

Two pennies (modelled on the Ohsnaforda type, or on its Viking interpretation) are remarkable for naming a ruler who is not a king: *SITRIC COMES* ('Earl Sihtric'). These remain the only Viking coins which clearly cite a non-royal secular ruler, and are important for demonstrating the flexibility which prevailed during the earliest phase of minting (Williams 2011b, 48; Blackburn 2001a, 132–3). The Sihtric pennies are doubly unusual for also including a mint name: *SCELDFOR*. Cyril Hart has argued that Great Shelford, Cambridgeshire is the location named on these coins, for some later sources show it to have been an important estate centre (Hart 1995) – though there is another Shelford in Nottinghamshire, and the possibility of a lost place of the same name cannot be ruled out (Haigh 1843, 117; Williams 2011b, 48). Other mint names include Leicester, represented by a single halfpenny in this collection (**2369**), and Lincoln, which is named on a very rare adapted version of the London Monogram type (see below, section (j), pp. 301–2).

The limited evidence available suggests that the fineness of Viking imitations was similar to that of English originals (Blackburn 1989a, 27). This was not a coinage meant to deceive, and it was marked by a number of features which allow most imitations to be distinguished from Anglo-Saxon issues with confidence (Blackburn 2001a, 128–32). Some imitations are of a distinct style (though others replicate the originals extremely faithfully), and the degree of literacy in particular was highly variable. About thirty moneyers can be associated with the Anglo-Viking imitations (Blackburn 2005, 21), a few of whom persist into other English or Viking coinages. A significant number of these moneyers had names of continental Germanic derivation, and continental designs and dies were also occasionally used, foreshadowing the much larger role of such individuals in the St Edmund Memorial coinage (Smart 1986, 174–7; Blackburn 1989b, 345–7; 2005, 30–3). The most diagnostic feature of Viking issues, however, was their weight standard.

Viking coins adhered to a noticeably lighter weight than those of Alfred: *c.* 1.35g as opposed to *c.* 1.60g (Blackburn 1989a, 17 2001a, 129–30; Blackburn 2005, 22). The Viking standard matches that of earlier East Anglian and Mercian coinages from before *c.* 880 (Pagan 1982, 53). This weight had the advantage of familiarity in the conquered areas, and in East Anglia in particular formed part of a continuous tradition of minting from King (later St) Edmund's own coinage of the 860s, to a rare but important coinage of the 870s by Edmund's moneyers in the names of otherwise unknown local kings (see Chapter 7, section (g), pp. 163–4), to the coinage in the name of Guthrum/Æthelstan (Blackburn 2005, 33–5).

The earliest phase of Viking coinage was thus dominated by imitative issues, with sporadic types in the names of local rulers from a very early stage. At least three separate Viking mint-places were named, but it is likely that several more were active (Blackburn 2005, 30–3). The derivative nature of these coinages makes reconstructing their chronology and attribution highly problematic. Virtually all Viking imitations are based on coins produced in or after *c.* 880, while two other major series appear to have begun in Viking territory around the same time in *c.* 895. However, imitative coinage did not come to a halt with the introduction of native designs in York and East Anglia. Specimens of both these new coinages were sometimes struck from reverse dies modelled on coin types of Quentovic and Alfred respectively. Moreover, the models on which some of the Viking imitative issues were based are likely only to have been issued around 895 or after, such as the Orsnaforda imitations and the Canterbury Horizontal/Two-Line pennies. There was undoubtedly some continuation of imitative coinages beyond the 890s (Williams 2013b, 49), perhaps concentrated in the east midlands (Blackburn 2001a, 131–2; 2006a, 215). Later in the course of the tenth century there were other extensive issues of imitative coins which have in many cases not been assigned a convincing regional origin. A substantial coinage with blundered legends and types modelled on Edward the Elder's portrait coins from London was struck (on the Viking rather than English weight standard) in Norfolk late in Edward's reign and probably the early part of Æthelstan's (*CTCE*, 52–3; Blackburn 2006a, 205–8). Another group of Horizontal/Two-Line coins used the regular English weight standard but carried garbled inscriptions mostly naming Edward or occasionally Æthelstan: these were well represented in the Morley St Peter hoard (*Checklist* 107), so probably come from an area bordering on East Anglia (*CTCE*, 207). Smaller groups of imitative coins can be identified for most kings down to Edgar: their attribution remains unclear, but they may include some from formerly Viking-ruled areas of England (*CTCE*, 208–10).

(h) ST EDMUND MEMORIAL COINAGE

The principal coinage to emerge in East Anglia and the east midlands after the end of the imitative issues took inspiration for its design from one of the best-known rulers in East Anglia: St Edmund, martyred by the Viking invaders in 869 (for his original issues see **943–52**; see Chapter 7, section (g), pp. 163–4). Several elements of the design of the new coinage were reminiscent of Edmund's pennies, above all the large central A surrounded by the king's name and title, which now had the significant prefix SCE (*sancte*, in the vocative) (**2454–525**). Edmund was clearly therefore viewed as a saint by the authorities responsible for this coinage, which constitutes an important signal of the advancement of Christianity in Viking territory, and probably of the influence still wielded by the Anglo-Saxon population (Williams 2014a, 28). No current king is ever named on the obverse, conceivably because no single ruler emerged to take over the role of Guthrum/Æthelstan following

his death in 890, and the memory of St Edmund provided a common rallying point for Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians and others in eastern England (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 1–2; Williams 2013c, 53). The East Anglian interest of the coinage is evident from the design, and Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire were apparently the heartland of the coinage; one coin even seems to carry on the reverse the mint name of Norwich (*SCBI* 17.100), though it could also be a moneyer's name (Smart 1985, 86). Some of the moneyers named on the reverses of St Edmund Memorial pennies who survived into Edward's and Æthelstan's reigns can be associated with mint-places slightly further afield, in the east and south-east midlands and perhaps as far south as Hertford and Maldon (*CTCE*, 101–2). It is also possible that a few St Edmund pennies carry a corrupt version of a York mint-signature (Pagan 1975), though this probably signals imitation of York coins rather than actual minting at York (*CTCE*, 101).

The coinage can be dated to the period after the end of most of the Viking imitative issues, probably beginning in *c.* 895. The imitations do not copy the last issues of Alfred, while St Edmund Memorial coins are not present in the Stamford or Ashdon hoards of the early 890s; on the other hand, a penny of Alfred and Archbishop Plegmund was overstruck on a St Edmund Memorial penny, confirming they were in circulation by 899 (Banks and Purvey 1967). Christopher Blunt, in a seminal study of the St Edmund Memorial coinage (Blunt 1969, 242, 253), placed the beginning of the type before 892 on the strength of coins which closely imitate those of Alfred with the mint name *DORO[bernia]* (Canterbury) in the obverse inscription, believing that Canterbury had ceased minting in 892 (2454). However, further research into the Anglo-Scandinavian imitative coinage has indicated that these rare pieces must have been made in East Anglia, to the local weight standard. Put together, these points build to the conclusion that the St Edmund Memorial coinage began in the mid-890s (Blackburn 1989a, 25), though it need not have been adopted immediately in all the mint-places of eastern England. The coinage is presumed to have continued until the conquest of East Anglia by Edward in 917/18. It is now believed to have consisted of about three phases, during the second of which the Cuerdale hoard was deposited (*CTCE*, 100–1); it is possible that there was more complexity within these phases, including multiple different chronological sequences for different mints and/or regions (Williams 2011a, 43). What seem to be the earliest St Edmund Memorial pennies, struck by a group of five moneyers, were of careful and literate workmanship; these five were soon joined by several other moneyers issuing coins of slightly poorer quality, but on the whole the first phase of the coinage remains comprehensible, with readily legible moneyers' names (2456–82) (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 3). Like the preceding imitative coinages, the St Edmund Memorial pennies generally adhered to the weight standard of Edmund's own pennies (*c.* 1.30g).

The second (or intermediate) phase of the coinage is represented in Cuerdale, but also continued into the 910s (2483–6). It saw deterioration in the literacy of the coinage, and legends in general became shorter; the letters thickened and no pellets or other ornaments were placed around the central motifs (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 5). However, at this stage the weight and flan size of the coinage remained stable (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 6–8): deterioration in weight only came in the later, clearly post-Cuerdale segment of the coinage. The latest coins (2487–523) are more difficult to interpret, for only rarely do they carry legible inscriptions, and even those may be imitative rather than meaningful; others simply have the same garbled obverse legend repeated on the reverse, and it is possible that these represent imitations of regular St Edmund Memorial pennies (*CTCE*, 100–1; Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 3–4; Williams 2011a, 43). The late phase of the

coinage remains comparatively poorly known, for it was not represented in the Cuerdale hoard, although more recent hoards such as Ashdon and Manningtree (*Checklist* 84, 98b) have provided some clarification. Surprisingly, they indicate a comparatively homogeneous currency, with few pennies of other Anglo-Saxon or Viking types, or even earlier St Edmund Memorial specimens, still in circulation. The implication is of a dynamic monetary system, in which the wastage of coin was high enough for recent issues to predominate (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 8–10).

Numerous moneyers issued the earlier St Edmund Memorial coinage: more than seventy in total, almost certainly striking in multiple mint-places. A remarkably high proportion of these moneyers had names which are probably or certainly of continental Germanic origin; a minority had Old English names and even fewer had names which may be of Old Norse derivation (Smart 1985). These continental Germanic names may have belonged to craftsmen from Francia whom Vikings forced or encouraged to migrate to England; alternatively, Viking settlers who had come to England via northern Francia may have adopted local names or given them to their sons (McLeod 2014, 132–58).

(i) THE ANGLO-VIKING KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBRIA

York was the largest and longest-lasting of the Anglo-Scandinavian mints in England, and the sole known mint active north of the Humber. Its output spans about sixty years, from the 890s to its final conquest by Eadred in 954 (**2526–611**). As elsewhere, the coinage consisted very largely of silver pennies, along with some halfpennies (no issues in gold are known). It is possible that some imitative pennies of the 880s and early 890s belong to Northumbria (and, if so, most likely to York), but none can at present be attributed there with any conviction (Blackburn 2004, 283–5; Williams 2011b, 48); a lone possible exception is a penny found in the Ashdon hoard in the name of a king Guthfrith (potentially the Northumbrian king of that name who died in 895), although on stylistic grounds it has more convincingly been assigned to the east midlands than York. Pre-Viking Northumbrian pennies of the final, irregular phase could also have been produced under Viking suzerainty after the end of the native line of kings in 867 (see Chapter 5, section (g), p. 120).

The main run of Viking coins from Northumbria, however, can be divided into three principal phases: the regnal coinage (c. 895–905) (**2526–86**), the St Peter coinage and associated issues (c. 905–27) (**2587–604**) and the final phase of diverse coins issued between 939 and 954 at times when Viking rulers held control over the city (**2605–11**). A small number of York-influenced coins can be attributed to mint-places in the east midlands, probably while these towns were under the control of Northumbrian Viking rulers. These are discussed in a separate section below (see below, section (j), pp. 301–4).

1. *The regal coinage, c. 895–905/10* (**2526–86**)

Assuming there was no imitative silver coinage at York in the 880s or early 890s, the Anglo-Viking issues mark a sharp break with earlier Northumbrian monetary history. The new coins were broad silver pennies of high fineness, comparable in weight (c. 1.30g) to the imitative coinages from the south, and to the St Edmund Memorial coinage. This first segment is by far the best known of the Anglo-Scandinavian coinages from York, for some three thousand specimens from forty or so different type-combinations came to light in the Cuerdale hoard (*Checklist* 87; Williams 2011b,

43–7); other finds of coins of this period are very rare. The whole series has been the subject of a careful die-analysis by Stewart Lyon and Lord Stewartby (Lyon and Stewart 1961), who devised a numerical system for referring to the numerous combinations of types and inscriptions which have been registered (Lyon and Stewart 1964). Two kings are frequently named, Cnut and Sigferth (the latter appearing as either SIEFREDVS or SIEVERT on the coins), together with two other individuals, ALVVALDVS and AIRDECONVT, both known from a much smaller number of coins which are less extensively die-linked into the main series (Stewart 1987, 348–9; Williams 2012a). The first two have been identified with Viking raiders and rulers: Sigferth (ON Sigfrøðr) with a leader who attacked the Devon coast in 893–4 and who may also have been active in Ireland (Lyon and Stewart 1961, 115–16; Smyth 1975–9, I, 32–6; Williams 2011b, 47) (**2526**, **2528–9**, **2573–5**, **2577**); Cnut (ON Knútr) (less confidently) with a Danish leader of that name who is said in much later Icelandic sagas to have attacked northern England around 900 (Smyth 1975–9, I, 47–9; *CTCE*, 103; Downham 2007b, 78–80; Williams 2011b, 47–9) (**2530–72**, **2575**, **2582–5**). Both identifications are well entrenched in the scholarship, but remain tentative (Gooch 2012, 48–9; Townend 2014, 47–8). ALVVALDVS (**2576**) has plausibly, if surprisingly, been equated with Æthelwold, a nephew of Alfred the Great and pretender to the West Saxon throne who was accepted as king by the Vikings of York in 899/900 and killed in battle in 902 (Haigh 1843, 115; Blunt 1985; Stewart 1987, 348–9; Downham 2007b, 80–2; Lavelle 2009). AIRDECONVT (probably equating to ON Hǫrðaknútr), known from a single coin, might be identical with Cnut, or be a separate, otherwise unknown ruler, conceivably related to the Danish royal dynasty (Williams 2012a, 265–73; 2014a, 30). Many of the coins of Cnut carry on the other face an enigmatic inscription, CVNNETI, which has defied interpretation ever since the Cuerdale hoard was found (**2536–72**). Explanations have included a place name, possibly in the genitive case (Haigh 1843, 112; Lyon and Stewart 1961, 113–14), though the tightly die-linked group of which these are part includes a significant proportion naming York (Williams 2011b, 43); a corrupt form of Quentovic, a Frankish mint which was imitated by some of the York coins of this period (*BMC* I, 210); a Celtic personal name (Haigh 1876, 58–9); or (doubtfully) a Latinised form of the Old Norse name Hundi or Hundr (Haigh 1876, 58–60; Stewart 1987, 348; Blackburn 2004, 286–7; Williams 2011b, 43–5). Given the collocation with Cnut but not Sigferth, it is perhaps most convincingly read as a patronymic or epithet, if still of obscure meaning (Williams 2011b, 43). A further (and potentially related) obverse legend of difficult interpretation occurs among the coins of King Sigferth, which places a c before the king's name and title. It is found only in conjunction with reverse dies reading EBRAICE CIVIT. The c found with Sigferth could also signify CVNNETI, but the matter awaits definitive resolution (Lyon and Stewart 1961, 114–15; Blackburn 2004, 286).

The four rulers' names are combined with several other inscriptions besides the problematic CVNNETI. Some give the title, REX, complementing the name found on the other face. Two are clearly mint names: EBRAICE CIVITAS for York (**2526–35**, **2578**, **2581**) and QVENTOVICI (**2586**). This reference to Quentovic, an important trading centre and mint in northern France, led to the belief that some or all of this coinage was a Frankish issue (and the York coins products of Evreux) (Hawkins 1842–3, 76, 91–3; Lyon and Stewart 1961, 93). The Quentovic coins are on the weight standard of Anglo-Viking issues, so are unlikely to be Frankish (Haigh 1843, 116), but although they use designs and 'Cnut' inscriptions of the York regal coinage, they are cruder in style and are not die-linked into the main series: they probably represent an imitative group produced somewhere in eastern or northern England (*MEC* I, 322; Blackburn 2004, 328). Other inscriptions

on the mainstream York series are explicitly religious in nature. These include $D[omi]N[u]s D[eu]s$ ($O[mnipotens]$) REX ('the Lord God (almighty) [is] king', reminiscent of the invocation of God in liturgical formulae; Pfaff 2009) (2576–8) and MIRABILIA FECIT ('He has done marvellous things', from Psalm 98:1) (2579–85). The inscriptions of the regal coinage are found in a kaleidoscopic variety of combinations. Some coins bear both kings' names, and may indicate a period of joint rule, based on a more flexible concept of kingship than was current among the Anglo-Saxons (Stewart 1987, 347–8; Williams 2011b, 45). Others do not name a king at all.

The strong die-linking within the Cuerdale parcel suggests a relatively compact coinage, and translating this into an absolute chronology depends on the date assigned to the Cuerdale hoard. Assuming it was deposited *c.* 905–10, this would place the regal coinage in the decade or so after the death of Guthfrith, a Viking king in Northumbria, in 895 (Downham 2007b, 75–8). The non-exclusive principle of kingship may also allow for some overlap between Guthfrith and one or both of the two main rulers in the York regal coinage (whose identification with known, datable individuals remains highly provisional: Downham 2007b, 78–82), pushing the potential inception of the coinage back even earlier (Williams 2012a, 266). The internal chronology of the regal coinage depends on evaluation of the die-study carried out by Lyon and Stewart (Lyon and Stewart 1961; Williams 2012a, 266), backed up by the level of pecking found on different types in the Cuerdale hoard (Archibald 2011, 60). These criteria provide a good overall sense of the sequence of types. Those of Sigefrith are early, while those of Cnut include an early element produced in conjunction with Sigefrith but others which are later and constitute the most recent element in the Cuerdale hoard (Lyon and Stewart 1961, 105–8). EBRAICE CIVITAS was seemingly used on some scale throughout the coinage (Lyon and Stewart 1961, 107).

ALVVALDVS/Æthelwold's rare pennies are difficult to place in the Cuerdale sequence because of their rarity and anomalous character (Stewart 1987, 349). The same is true of the one AIRDECONVT penny, which came to light only in 2011 in the relatively small Silverdale hoard, otherwise similar in composition to Cuerdale. One of the other two Northumbrian pennies in the hoard was a rare specimen of ALVVALDVS, raising the possibility that these two rulers' coins belong to an early segment of the coinage which had been largely superseded by the time Cuerdale was assembled (Williams 2012a, 267–8); though other coins of Cnut and especially Sigefrith seem to belong relatively early, so additional factors may be behind the absence or rarity of these two rulers' coins in the Cuerdale hoard. Either way, it is now apparent that, despite its great bulk, the Cuerdale assemblage of Northumbrian Viking coins does not represent the entirety of the series. Some earlier portions could have dropped out of circulation, and the coinage is so poorly represented outside the Cuerdale hoard that the possibility of a later, post-Cuerdale phase cannot be ruled out. Lord Stewartby has called attention to a small number of coins from later finds which may represent the final period of the regal coinage: these carry blundered legends, and are struck from dies not represented in Cuerdale (Stewart 1987, 346).

The York regal coinage offers a valuable insight into the representation of authority in the Viking kingdom of Northumbria, and is the most substantial contemporary source of native origin for the kingdom's history. It shows a flexible and potentially non-exclusive form of kingship, which could accommodate multiple Viking rulers simultaneously and also make room for a claimant to the West Saxon throne. At the same time it indicates a sophisticated expression of Christian belief, especially considering the Vikings' relatively recent settlement. The range of religious vocabulary placed prominently on the obverse and reverse has been noted above (cf. Blackburn 2007a, 197–8;

Gooch 2012, 53–7), and is complemented by rich and diverse cruciform iconography. Multiple rare and elaborate forms of cross appear, including a cross-on-steps, usually taken to indicate the cross of Golgotha; a cross-crosslet, symbolising the five wounds of Christ; a patriarchal cross; and a Chi-Rho (Blackburn 2007a, 181–95; Gooch 2012, 49–53). Remarkably, the name and title of Cnut were arranged on some coins to make the sign of the cross as marked out in blessing (top, bottom, left, right): a feature which at first posed some difficulties in interpretation (Hawkins 1842–3, 74–6; first deciphered in Haigh 1843, 110–11; Blackburn 2007a, 196–7; Gooch 2012, 54–5). These sophisticated religious elements of the York regal coinage are exceptional in a numismatic context. The archbishop of York may have had a hand in the design and execution of the coinage, and influenced religious life in the city more widely (Blackburn 2007a, 200) – but the strong royal element should not be forgotten, and was probably the driving force behind the coinage (Blackburn 2004, 329–32).

In many respects the York coinage was thus quite distinct from other contemporary coinages of the Anglo-Saxons, Franks and Vikings, though it drew elements from all these traditions. Anglo-Saxon coinage was closest to this issue in using a range of cruciform motifs, and some early York types imitated aspects of the Horizontal/Two-Line design of Alfred (though this was also current elsewhere in Viking territory) (Blackburn 2004, 331). Features comparable to Carolingian practice include the absence of moneys' names but inclusion of the mint name, and, on a few dies, the presence of a *Karolus* monogram used for successive Frankish kings named Charles across the ninth century (2535: Lyon and Stewart 1961, 99); there were also some Carolingian precedents for religious formulae and certain letter forms (Blackburn 2007a, 198; Gooch 2012, 57–8). Features shared with Viking coinage elsewhere in England included the weight standard (Blackburn 2007a, 178), as well as a general tendency towards explicit religious invocations: the St Edmund Memorial coinage from East Anglia is an obvious contemporary parallel (Blackburn 2001a, 135–6), and the complex pattern of royal representation on the York coinage might also be compared with the St Edmund Memorial coinage's lack of any direct reference to a king.

2. *The St Peter coinage and Ragnald I, c. 905/10–27 (2587–604)*

The dominant feature of the northern Viking coinage in the period between the end of the regal coinage and the conquest of Northumbria by Æthelstan in 927 was direct invocation of St Peter, patron saint of York Minster, with the inscription s[an]c[t]i PETRI MO[neta], normally combined with the mint name on the other face. Save for an interlude when pennies were minted in the name of King Ragnald I (918/19–21) (2595–6), the coinage of York at this time eschewed direct reference to a king, though one coin of Sihtric I with a York mint-signature is known from the Danish Grisebjerggård hoard (G. Williams 2008c, 43) and a more substantial coinage combining reference to St Peter with the name of Sihtric I was produced in the east midlands.

The two St Peter issues are distinguished by the appearance of a sword on those struck after Ragnald's reign: hence the designation Swordless St Peter for the early part of the coinage (2587–9), and Sword St Peter for the later (2590–4). Study of the coinage has been intense since the nineteenth century, though even down to the 1970s it was plagued by a series of misconceptions which introduced severe chronological confusion. Coins in the name of St Peter were thought to be an ecclesiastical issue, with 'secular' coins (such as those of Ragnald I) being struck contemporaneously

(Dolley 1957–8; Blunt 1974, 57, 90–1). The existence of pennies with a sword from the time of Eric ‘Bloodaxe’, and misattribution of the Ragnald coins to the second ruler of Northumbria by that name, led some scholars to date the anonymous St Peter and Ragnald I issues to the post-939 period (Haigh 1839–40; 1876, 62–3; Allen 1934–7, 183; Brooke 1950, 36–7). The weight standard of the coins is significant, as discussed below, but not in the simplistic sense sometimes advocated in the past (*BMC* 1, 239–44; cf. Stewart and Lyon 1992, 47–8). Particular problems stemmed from the St Martin pennies of Lincoln, which were long thought to pre-date the year 918 (see below, section (j), pp. 302–3): this led Michael Dolley to construct a somewhat forced chronology in which the Sword types emerged by 918, and were issued alongside Ragnald’s pennies (e.g. Dolley 1957; 1957–8; 1965; 1978a; 1982; cf. Stewart 1991b).

A coinage without direct reference to current rulers, and which maintained a broadly similar design over a lengthy period, inevitably poses difficulties of interpretation. In the case of the St Peter coinage, these are best resolved with reference to the hoard evidence and to the development of stylistic features. Surviving specimens of all these types are notably fewer than for the preceding regal coinage: probably no more than two hundred coins are known in total, most stemming from hoards. This hoard evidence reveals the proper sequence of the coin types, as laid out in the most thorough and authoritative assessment of the subject by Lord Stewartby and Stewart Lyon (Stewart and Lyon 1992, esp. 48–52). The usual design placed the invocation of St Peter in two lines (an arrangement probably inspired by the Horizontal/Two-Line coinage of Anglo-Saxon kings (Blackburn 2004, 333)), with various ornaments above and below (Gooch 2012, 63–7), and the mint name around a cross in an inner circle. A recent die-study has indicated that – as in the later segments of the St Peter coinage – the mint-name die was in technical terms the obverse, with the St Peter die occupying the reverse position (Gooch 2012, 118–31). The Swordless St Peter coinage seems to have begun with features indicating transition from the regal coinage, situating its inception in the period *c.* 905–10 or soon after. In the earliest phase of the coinage, York was named EBRAICE rather than EBORACE or similar, as would be commonplace later in the coinage; early specimens also tended to use a lozenge-shaped o in the inscriptions, and to be comparatively heavy in weight (*c.* 1.30g) (Stewart and Lyon 1992, 53–4; cf. *CTCE*, 104). The middle part of the coinage witnessed gradual decline in literacy and weight, each penny falling to 1.00g or less – though the presence of damaged coins may overemphasise the degree of decline (Gooch 2014). A certain late group restores both the legibility of the inscriptions and the weight (to 1.00–1.30g). It includes two new and rare variations in design: one with the St Peter inscription condensed into a single line; and one with a *Karolus* monogram replacing the central cross surrounded by the mint name on the ‘obverse’ (Stewart and Lyon 1992, 55–9; *CTCE*, 104–5).

These developments in the Swordless St Peter coinage suggest that in its final days the issue was part of a revived enterprise, perhaps associated with the accession of a new king (Blackburn 2004, 334). If so, it was not long before the new regime in York was recognised more explicitly on the coinage. The *Karolus* monogram of the late St Peter coins carried over to one of very similar style in the coinage of Ragnald I (2595–6) (Stewart and Lyon 1992, 58–9). This was the first time a king had been named on pennies of York in more than a decade. Ragnald’s accession as king in Northumbria came after the battle of Corbridge in 918, either late that year or in 919 (Downham 2007b, 91–3); the proposition that he became king in 914 after an earlier battle at the same location is not supported by the hoard chronology (Smyth 1975–9, 1, 101–2; cf. Blackburn 2004, 333; Downham 2007b 93–5; Townend 2014, 55–7). Ragnald’s death in 921 is recorded in the *Annals of*

Ulster (Downham 2007b, 268). Attribution of the small group of coins (fewer than thirty surviving specimens) to the king by this name who ruled 918/19–21 is left in little doubt by the inscription *RAIENALT* or *RANEIALT* on the most literate specimens, although this is often blundered; the mint name is a corrupt form of *EBORACE CI* (Blunt and Stewart 1983, 153–6). The coins are comparable in weight to those of the late Swordless St Peter phase (1.10–1.20g), and include three different types (Blunt and Stewart 1983, 147–9; Blackburn 2004, 334). Probably earliest was one which combined a *Karolus* monogram surrounded by the mint name with a bust of the king (as in the preceding coinage, the mint name die appears to have been the obverse: Blunt and Stewart 1983, 146). This was the only occasion when a Viking ruler was actually portrayed on the coinage, in quite stylised fashion, but on one die he is shown with a clear representation of a beard, as seen in other ninth- and tenth-century images of Anglo-Scandinavian laymen (*CTCE*, 105; Blackburn 2004, 334). The next and largest surviving type (generally with more corrupt inscriptions) replaced the bust with a hand, sometimes interpreted by nineteenth-century scholars as the glove of Thor (e.g. Rashleigh 1869, 79, 81; Haigh 1876, 69), but much more likely to represent the hand of God, which had been used on west midland issues of Edward the Elder (Gooch 2012, 73–4) and shows the continued influence of Christian iconography in York. What was probably the latest type of Ragnald departed from these designs in dramatic fashion. The king's name surrounded a bow, drawn with an arrow, while the mint name encircled a simple T-shaped design which could be read as either a hammer or a tau-cross (Blackburn 2004, 334; Gooch 2012, 77–80; Sonne 2013).

Ragnald's fascinating royal coinage was only a temporary deviation (cf. Gooch 2012, 81): just one explicitly royal coin from York is known before Æthelstan's takeover of Northumbria in 927. Instead, York's moneyers reverted to the previous St Peter design, with the addition of a sword between the two lines of the religious invocation (**2590–4**). This arresting new feature might be read as juxtaposing a visual representation of secular power with a verbal invocation of religious authority, encapsulating the combination of royal oversight and Christian devotion behind the coinage (Blackburn 2004, 333–4; Gooch 2012, 82–4). It also maintained the martial theme developed in the later coinage of Ragnald I. The Sword St Peter coinage is rarer than its predecessor, yet marked by a higher degree of die-linking: the implication is therefore that the modern sample presents a fuller impression of the coinage, and that it was probably produced on a smaller scale than the earlier, Swordless types (Stewart and Lyon 1992, 52; Gooch 2012, 147–9). Unlike in the earlier St Peter coinage or the reign of Ragnald I, the St Peter face was the obverse, a point illustrated not only by the structure of die-links in this coinage but also by the discovery of an obverse die of this type in the Coppergate excavations at York (Pirie *et al.* 1986, 33–41, 55–6). The die was also round rather than square, explaining the random die-axis of York pennies at this time (Blackburn 2004, 338–9).

The structure of the Sword St Peter coinage is still poorly understood. All known dies associate the sword with the invocation of St Peter instead of the mint name; the sword sometimes faces left or right, and also (as in the Swordless types) has diverse ornaments above and below (Stewart and Lyon 1992, 63). The other faces present three main sub-types, surrounded by the mint name: one with a linear T-shaped hammer/tau-cross, comparable to that of Ragnald I's late coinage; a related type with a more elaborate outline of a hammer, resembling a mallet (**2593–4**); and a rather different type with a central cross with pellets in its angles (**2590–2**). This last type also replaces the *I* in *s[an]c[t]i PETRI MO[neta]* with a mallet-like hammer. The evidence is insufficient to show conclusively in what order these sub-types were produced, but it is likely that the type with the central cross was the earliest of the three, for the relatively early Thurstaston hoard (*Checklist* 109a)

included only coins of this type (Blackburn 2004, 335), strengthening a pattern already emerging from other finds (Stewart and Lyon 1992, 64–5).

The religious and urban leitmotifs of the York coinage down to 927 contrast sharply with Anglo-Saxon practice, which had since the eighth century assigned prominence to king and moneyer. Yet York's emphasis on St Peter developed the strong Christian theme of the preceding regal coinage, which had also established a pattern of emphasising mint rather than moneyer. In this respect the York coinage adhered more closely to Carolingian tradition, and there were also West Frankish precedents for coinages in the name of saints, interpreted as the issues of monasteries which possessed minting privileges (Blackburn 2004, 333). The York St Peter coinage went further than any Carolingian predecessor, however, in replacing the name and title of the king with a reference to St Peter. Working from a historical perspective, David Rollason has argued that the swift and violent succession of kings in York would have left little opportunity to develop institutional aspects of kingship (Rollason 2003, 218–20), and that therefore the St Peter coinage may have been made under the auspices of the archbishops of York rather than the kings (Rollason 2003, 224–30). Yet Mark Blackburn convincingly defended the royal role in minting (Blackburn 2004, 333–5): he stressed the St Peter coinage's place in a long tradition of ecclesiastical influence, but with no explicit evidence of power over the coinage actually being given over to the archbishops. Matthew Townend has also noted that the archbishops feature only sparingly in the *Historia regum* and other sources dealing with tenth-century Northumbria, and that later archbishops of York were financially poor; furthermore, there is considerable obscurity surrounding their succession at this crucial time (Townend 2014, 58–60). While Wulfhere (854–892/900) and Wulfstan (931–56) were certainly powerful and closely associated with Viking rulers, virtually nothing is known of the incumbents of the archbishopric at the time of the St Peter coinage, Æthelbald (900–904×928) and Hrothweard (904×928–931), or their interaction with the kings. Other features of the coinage seem to point to a subtler range of royal affiliations. Sihtric Caoch was himself named on coins inspired by York types south of the Humber (see below, section (j), pp. 302–3), and it would be surprising if he had not enjoyed a corresponding, if less regularly verbalised, level of control over the coinage in York. Indeed, the sword on the later St Peter coins can be interpreted as a symbol of secular authority, as well as potentially holding pagan religious significance (Rollason 2003, 226), while the incorporation of a hammer into the St Peter inscription on some coins might hint at religious integration: the hammer could be a tau-cross for Christians as well as a hammer of Thor for pagans (Williams 2007b, 198–9), or even a moneyer's hammer (Sonne 2013).

3. The later York coinage, 939–54 (2605–II)

The final phase of Viking coinage at York began with the seizure of Northumbria by Olaf Guthfrithsson in 939, and ended with the expulsion of a king named Eric in 954. Between these years, the city went back and forth several times between Anglo-Saxon and Viking control, and several rulers were named on its coins, even during quite brief periods of power. These coin types often feature innovative and striking designs, as if the currency were being used to convey new views of authority and identity. The result is a coinage of great interest, with much to offer the historian as well as the numismatist, but also problems of chronology and attribution which are yet to be definitively resolved.

Scholarship prior to the 1950s was hampered by difficulties in deciding which coins belonged to this phase of Viking rule rather than to earlier times (e.g. Brooke 1950, 39). In a fundamental study, Michael Dolley transformed understanding of this later period by using the evidence of hoards, detailed stylistic criteria (based on a corpus of all then-known specimens) and the subsequent careers of moneyers to identify the final issues of Viking York (Dolley 1957–8; cf. Dolley 1978a). He distinguished between a range of early types which belonged to the years 939–44 and the more punctuated later issues of 946–54. Furthermore, Dolley pinned down a group of coins which were made under Viking rule in the east midlands during the early 940s (see below, section (j), pp. 303–4). His interpretation of the coinage remains broadly accepted, though it has been modified and enriched in certain respects by Blunt, Stewart and Lyon (*CTCE*, 211–34) and Blackburn (Blackburn 2004, 335–8; 2006a, 45–6), as well as by fresh consideration of the written sources. All scholars working on this period have been faced with the challenge of comparatively scarce source material, numismatic as well as historical. Only about 150 specimens of late Viking coinage survive (*CTCE*, 211–12; for the few subsequent finds see Blackburn 2006a, 217–18; a new moneyer is described in Lyon and Holmes 2004), with relatively few hoard provenances to help secure attributions.

The bulk of surviving specimens from this period belong to the first and longest phase of Scandinavian control over York (939–44). The types represented in the Forum hoard (assembled 942(944?)×946) provide critical guidance to the issues of this time (Dolley 1957–8, 33; *CTCE*, 215–16). The most famous of the surviving coinages is probably also the earliest and largest: the so-called Raven type (**2605**). As the name suggests, its obverse shows a bird in flight, traditionally identified as a raven, emblematic of Odin. It was thought by Ruding and many successors to represent a raven from a banner, such as the magical one described in the later and highly stylised *Encomium Emmae reginae* (II.9, ed. Campbell 1998, 24–5; Ruding 1817, I, 335 n.; Haigh 1876, 71; Hawkins 1887, 95). But the raven had also become a symbol of St Oswald by the twelfth century (Tudor 1995, 190; Jansen 1995, 234, 238–40), and it is in any case far from certain that the bird on the coin was intended as a raven: an eagle or a dove are also possibilities (Haigh 1876, 71; Dolley 1957–8, 67; Williams 2007b, 198; Gooch 2012, 95–9). Its interpretation may have depended on the religious and cultural outlook of the viewer. In any case, this arresting new design set the new Viking coinage firmly apart from its English counterpart. Other aspects of the coinage reinforced this message of difference (Blackburn 2004, 336). The inscriptions were cast in the vernacular: ANLAF CVNVNC on the obverse (combining the Old English name of the king with the Old Norse word for king) and AÐELFERD MINETRE on the reverse. The weight standard also reverted from the higher English one of c. 1.60g, which had prevailed in York under Æthelstan, to the older Viking standard of c. 1.20–1.30g (Blackburn 2004, 340). Other aspects of this coinage strongly suggest it is the first in the renewed Anglo-Scandinavian series. Most strikingly, all specimens (bar one or two which are probably of Southumbrian origin) are the work of a single moneyer, as had been customary under Æthelstan and (possibly) in earlier times as well. It is also the only one of the types from the period 939–44 struck in the name of a single king, Olaf, for which reason it has been interpreted as the work of Olaf Guthfrithsson immediately after his establishment in York (Dolley 1957–8, 71–3; *CTCE*, 219–21) – though some continuation under his successor, Olaf Sihtricsson, cannot be ruled out.

Other coin types datable to 939–44 repeat the vernacular inscriptions of the Raven type (on the obverse at least), but adopt other designs, gradually moving back towards English models. They

name three different kings in total: Olaf (probably Sihtricsson, for Olaf Guthfrithsson died in 941), Ragnald (Guthfrithsson, who was baptised along with Olaf Sihtricsson in 943 and driven out of York by Edmund the following year) and Sihtric (not directly referred to in any of the major historical sources, but argued in Downham 2003, 42–3 to be a member of the same Irish dynasty as the other two rulers; cf. Downham 2007b, 107–12). All three kings are named on both of the main types issued during the rest of the period 939–44 (*CTCE*, 221–3). These might reflect brief periods of sole rule for each king (Blackburn 2004, 336–7), but are more economically explained with reference to the practice of multiple kingship which had prevailed in York at various times since the late ninth century, based on the status of individuals rather than an exclusive office (see above, section (d), pp. 284–6). The first of the two types features a further innovative design, with a triquetra on the obverse (similar to that featured elsewhere in Viking art, including on some eleventh-century Scandinavian coinages: Skaare 1976, 68–70) and a triangle-shaped banner on the reverse (**2606**). While redolent of secular and military power, these images also carried Christian significance. The triquetra could be read as a sign of the trinity, while the banner had a cross marked on it (Blackburn 2004, 336). This was a time when relations between Viking kings and Archbishop Wulfstan I were particularly close (Keynes 2014c): a context very favourable to iconography combining Christian and secular elements. The second coinage of Olaf, Ragnald and Sihtric reverted to a more Anglo-Saxon-style design, with the king's name in circumscription around either a cross pattée or a cross moline (the latter not used on English coins of this period) (**2607**). It also saw an increase in weight beyond that of the Raven and Triquetra types, up to about 1.35g, which could have been intended to fit in with the lighter end of the coinage prevalent in the northern areas of English territory (i.e. the midlands) (Blackburn 2004, 340). Both the Triquetra and Circumscription coinages name multiple moneyers, amounting to at least six in total (*CTCE*, 220; Lyon and Holmes 2004).

Even compared with those of 939–44, the York coins associated with periods of Viking rule in the years 946–54 are scarce and difficult to arrange in sequence relative to the historical events, and interpretation of them is also deeply problematic. The relevant coins are in the names of kings Olaf and Eric. The former is the same Olaf Sihtricsson as in the early 940s; the latter was probably a Norwegian prince, though his identity remains disputed (see above, section (a), p. 281). Each king is known for two distinct types. Both closely resemble English coins in appearance and weight, and also use the Latin *REX* for king. Probably the earliest is a Horizontal/Two-Line type of Eric (issued during his first reign in 947–8) (**2609**), followed by a renewed Circumscription Cross design of Olaf, distinguishable from those of his earlier reign on the basis of moneyers' names, metrology and use of *REX* rather than the vernacular title (**2610**). A reverse die-link with pennies of Eadred points to this coinage immediately preceding or succeeding the English king's (*CTCE*, 225–6), and it probably belongs to Olaf's reign in York from 949 until 952. Also probably from this reign is an attractive design with a floral motif on the reverse, seemingly modelled on the ornamental coin types struck in the west midlands under Edward the Elder and (much more rarely) his successors (*CTCE*, 226–8, arguing against the attribution to Derby in Dolley 1957–8, 75). Olaf and his moneyers apparently wished to distinguish themselves from the mass of English coinage, while at the same time fitting in with it on a general level. A second intriguing design came with the very last Viking coin type from York, in the name of Eric, which resurrected the Sword design of the 920s (**2611**). It may have had specific resonance for Eric if he was a member of the Dublin dynasty of Ívarr, which by the end of the tenth century used the 'Sword of Carlus', along with a ring, as part

of its regalia (Haigh 1876, 69–71; Smyth 1975–9, 1, 107; Downham 2007b, 119–20). Other interpretations are possible, however. The design was not far removed from the two-line inscription of English coinage (though it was more normally found on the reverse rather than the obverse). The sword also had more general associations of secular and military power, and recalled a time before the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Northumbria (Williams 2010b, 98–102).

These coins belong to a notoriously obscure period. Sources are few and multiple constructions of events are possible. In particular, Peter Sawyer (Sawyer 1995; see also above, section (a), p. 278) has advanced a significantly different reading of the regnal chronology, which would eliminate the first reign of Eric, and have Olaf Sihtricsson ruling 947–50, Eric 950–2 and Eadred retaking control in 952. The numismatic evidence in most respects could be accommodated within this scheme (Blackburn 2004, 337). On balance, however, the coins point more towards the received chronology and a separate earlier reign for Eric. In particular, two specimens of Eric's Horizontal/Two-Line coinage were found in the 1846 Rome hoard, which otherwise consisted entirely of English coins and seems to date from early in Eadred's reign (Blunt 1986, 161–2, 167–9; *CTCE*, 216). There is of course no telling if the coins assigned to the 1846 Rome hoard represent the entirety of the find, but on the basis of the record available, the coins fit less comfortably with Eric's reign following on from Olaf's and only beginning in 950.

A group of Horizontal/Two-Line coins can be linked on the basis of style to others among the final Viking coinages of York. They carry the obverse inscription *ELTANGERHT* (or a variant) and on the reverse the name of an otherwise unknown moneyer (**2608**). No convincing attribution of these coins has yet emerged. Derek Allen (1934–7, 183–4) proposed that the obverse inscription could be the name Ragnald backwards, but this is not altogether convincing, and no ruler of that name is known from York after 944. That some meaning lies behind the coinage is indicated by the existence of multiple dies with essentially the same inscription. The best explanation for the coinage at present is that it comes from Northumbria in the late 940s, but perhaps from a mint-place of unofficial character outside York (*CTCE*, 225).

(j) THE EAST MIDLANDS

In addition to the two main series of intelligible Viking coins from York and East Anglia, a small but distinct group of issues can be assigned to mint-places in the east midlands. These are very rare among modern finds and were probably made on a much smaller scale than their counterparts from the north and east. Unlike Northumbria, multiple centres in the east midlands were responsible for issuing coins, and there is no indication that these issues followed any kind of common practice: the coin types identified here could have been made and used alongside others of different design. Their association as a group is therefore based essentially on geography.

1. *Imitative coinages, c. 880–after 900?*

The earliest clearly attributable east midlands coinage is an imitation of the London Monogram coinage of Alfred, on which the monogram has been adjusted to read *LINCOLIA* (Mossop 1970, 1–3; *MEC* 1, 319; ten Harkel 2013b, 7–12). These are likely to date to the same general period as other imitative types in the 880s and 890s. Some at least of these coins were probably made in the east midlands, as attested by a single Horizontal/Two-Line halfpenny with a clear Leicester mint

name (**2369**), but as yet the record of hoards and single-finds is too limited and poorly understood for any of them to be attributed with confidence. The end of the imitative phase of Anglo-Scandinavian coinage in the east midlands came later than elsewhere: the numerous Orsnaforda imitations and those modelled on very late Canterbury Horizontal/Two-Line pennies of Alfred probably belong to the east midlands in the 890s and after, as do further imitations of Anglo-Saxon and Viking pennies (Blackburn 2001a, 131–2; 2006a, 215). There is also reason to believe that some St Edmund Memorial pennies were minted in the east and south-east midlands rather than East Anglia (see above, section (h), pp. 290–2).

2. *St Peter and related coinages, c. 920–7?*

In the 920s coins from Lincoln and elsewhere in the east midlands were influenced by the coinage of York. These issues are of considerable historical importance in and of themselves, for they indicate that Edward the Elder and Æthelflæd did not secure control (or at least not permanent control) over all territory south of the Humber, despite the statement of the *ASC* regarding the submission of Mercia in the annal for 918 (Blackburn 2006a, 209; Williams 2014a, 33–4). Even areas which had come under English rule may still have had some leeway in matters of circulation, for the Thurstaston hoard (*Checklist* 109a) from near Leicester – said explicitly to have been taken by Æthelflæd in 918 – included a mix of English, Anglo-Scandinavian and Islamic silver; moneyers under English authority in the east midlands, on the other hand, seem generally to have switched over to pennies of ‘north-eastern’ style (see Chapter 9, section (i), p. 200). The three substantive groups from the east midlands in the 920s have been exhaustively studied and catalogued by Mark Blackburn (Blackburn 2006a, 209–15, 222–5):

1. The largest group (**2597–602**) consists of coins which essentially replicate the design of the Sword St Peter type of York, but replace the St Peter invocation with the name of Sihtric Caech, king of Northumbria (920/1–7), and the name of York with that of a moneyer (albeit rarely legible and often in very corrupt form) (Blackburn 2006a, 38; Dolley and Moore 1973) or, on one die, a probable mint name: *CASTRA EORT* (see Appendix 1, p. 347). In style and literacy these are quite different from the mainstream Sword St Peter types of York (Stewart 1982, 112–14). However, as with the York issues, the earliest east midland coins combined the sword with a cross; later this was replaced with hammer and ‘mallet’ designs, including some dies with an object which seems to be transitional between the two (Blackburn 2006a, 212–15). These coins in the name of Sihtric I are important evidence for royal involvement in the Viking coinage more widely, and also for some level of political control by Northumbria south of the Humber into the 920s. One penny carries the enigmatic obverse legend *LVDO / SITRIC*, which has sometimes been read as a mint name (Haigh 1876, 64), or, more persuasively, as the baptismal name of the king (*Ludovicus*) (Stewart 1982, 114, citing Marion Archibald).
2. The second principal group is also modelled on the Sword St Peter coins of York, but replaces the reference to St Peter with St Martin, and the York mint name with Lincoln (in the form *LINCOLLA CIVITA[s]*) around a complex interlaced cross (**2604A**). These have generally, if not universally (Archibald 1980, 107–8), been accepted as a product of Lincoln in the 920s (Stewart 1967a; Dolley 1982; Blackburn 2006a, 210–11).

3. Finally, a small group of coins belongs somewhat more loosely in the orbit of the Sword St Peter issues (**2604**). It places a sword in the middle of a circumscription instead of two-line legend, while the other face carries a tau-cross/hammer design, again with a circumscribed legend around. On most dies the inscriptions are garbled, although on one the lettering around the sword resembles a corrupt form of Edward the Elder's name and title. On the basis of its distance from the York tradition, and its imitation of the coins of a ruler whose pennies were more prevalent south of the Humber, this issue too has been assigned to the east midlands (Stewart 1982, 108–12; Blackburn 2006a, 210–11).

The hoard and single-find evidence for all three groups is thin but consistent with a Southumbrian attribution. In particular, Sihtric pennies were heavily represented in the Thurstaston hoard (*Checklist* 109a), and all three series were seemingly absent from the Bossall hoard found near York (*Checklist* 108), otherwise the principal source of surviving Sword St Peter pennies of York (Blackburn 2006a, 211). The rarity of east midland coinage from the 920s (only about thirty specimens being known in total) leaves open the possibility of new finds adding significantly to understanding of these types. Indeed, a representative of what is probably a further small Southumbrian issue of the 920s surfaced in the Vale of York hoard (*Checklist* 111a). Like those described above, it is modelled on the Sword St Peter type of York, but has very literate legends spelling out the name of a moneyer and a previously unknown mint name: HORIVA (or RORIVA) CASTR[um]. Rochester, Staffordshire, is one possibility, but the interpretation of the name remains debatable (Williams 2008c; see also Appendix 1, pp. 348–9).

3. The last Anglo-Viking coinages, early 940s

Among the range of coin issues from the 939–44 phase of Viking control over Northumbria are several groups which do not sit comfortably among the bulk of the coins attributed to York. Research by Dolley (Dolley 1957–8, 50–3, 73–5), built upon by Blunt, Stewart and Lyon (*CTCE*, 216–19), strongly suggests that these represent a final Southumbrian Viking coinage. Fewer than a dozen coins survive, all in the name of a King Olaf, but even among these there are several clusters.

1. A group of moneyers associated with Derby under Æthelstan and Edmund produced Circumscription Cross pennies in local style for Olaf (*CTCE*, 217–18). One of these is combined with a reverse carrying a corrupt version of Æthelstan's name and title: a possible reflection of loose minting practices at a time of military and political uncertainty (Dolley 1957–8, 75).
2. A larger group is of Horizontal Trefoil (HT1) type (**2607**). The six moneyers named on surviving coins are associated stylistically with the east midlands in other reigns. There are two groups among these coins which could represent the products of separate mint-places (possibly Lincoln and Stamford) (*CTCE*, 218–19).
3. One coin survives of the Raven type, quite different in style from the York issues, and the only example produced by a moneyer other than Æthelfrith. The moneyer responsible for this coin recurs in the NE I coinage of Edmund, suggesting that it too is a Southumbrian product (*CTCE*, 220–1). Another specimen of this type in an anomalous style and by a moneyer Wer... may also belong to the east midlands (EMC 2015.0015).

Dolley argued that the 'flower' type of Olaf also belonged to the east midlands (Dolley 1957–8, 75), but Blunt, Stewart and Lyon have presented reasons for instead assigning it to York (see above, section (i), p. 300).

There is little doubt that these coins were produced in the early 940s. However, Clare Downham has argued that the received account of Olaf Guthfrithsson seizing the east midlands in 940 is unreliable (Downham 2003, 35–40): on the basis of the major historical accounts, all that may be said is that Edmund reconquered the 'five boroughs' in 942, and that the Vikings counter-attacked the following year before making peace with Edmund. How and when the east midlands first came under Viking control is therefore uncertain, and most of the southern coins can do little to resolve the debate. But the Circumscription pennies of Derby, inspired typologically by Æthelstan's coinage and associated with his name by a blundered reverse die, hint that the coinage was not minted at a time when Edmund's pennies were prevalent in the town, and so presumably was struck quite soon after Æthelstan's death. Also, if the Raven pennies are correctly assigned to a Southumbrian source, it may indicate that the extension of Viking power likewise occurred relatively early, for this type is believed to represent the first of the restored Anglo-Viking coinages of York under Olaf Guthfrithsson. Despite the difficulties with the written sources, the numismatic evidence can be read as pointing tentatively to an early beginning for the Anglo-Viking east midlands coinage (c. 940).

WALES AND SCOTLAND

(a) HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

1. *Wales*

The Modern English term for Wales stems from the Old English *wealh*, meaning ‘slave’ or later ‘foreigner’, used particularly, but not exclusively, for the Brittonic-speaking peoples of what is now Wales, Cornwall and Cumbria/Strathclyde (Faull 1975; Charles-Edwards 2013, 2). The use of derivations of *wealh* gained some ground in Wales in the twelfth century and later, but the inhabitants of these areas also had richly developed ideas of their own identity. Above the level of individual kingdoms, they referred to themselves collectively as *Britones* (and to their land as *Britannia*, or *Prydain* in Welsh), stressing a common identity with roots stretching back to the pre-Roman period. *Cymry* (Welsh for ‘countrymen’) was also used to refer to the Britons from the seventh century, narrowing in the tenth to mean the Welsh more specifically (Pryce 2001).

During the early Middle Ages, there was no single Welsh polity (Map 6). Independent kingdoms governed by Welsh-speaking rulers survived until 1283, and the history of their interaction with each other, with the English and with others is a matter of some complexity, hampered by limited sources for much of this period (general surveys include Lloyd 1911; Davies 1982; Charles-Edwards 2013). Traditionally, society at this time has been seen as ‘tribal’, in that blood ties and small war-bands played an important structural role – though there are also signals that the status of the peasantry changed over time, with high levels of slavery (compared with England and Francia) in the ninth and tenth centuries giving way to serfdom and free peasantry in later times, despite the absence of labour service and manorialisation (Davies 2004, 206–20). These conditions probably resulted from the restricted scale of kingdoms in early medieval Wales, which emerged from the mostly upland territories of late Roman Britain, several of them taking their names and boundaries from Roman-period territorial units (Davies 1990, 9–31; Dark 1994, 71–136; Charles-Edwards 2013, 1–26). Hence Dyfed derives from the Demetae, while the name of Gwent stems from the name of what was probably the *civitas* capital, *Venta Silurum* (Caerwent), and Powys most likely comes from the *pagenses* (‘country people’) of the Cornovii. In the north, the powerful kingdom of Gwynedd can be connected with the Ordovices, but its name seemingly originates in Old Irish *Féni* (‘Irishmen’) (Charles-Edwards 2013, 14–21, 176–8). Other significant kingdoms or sub-kingdoms included Ceredigion in the west and Brycheiniog and Glywysing in the south-east, while the territories of the south-west as a whole were united sporadically in the tenth and eleventh centuries as Deheubarth. Kingdoms sharing a similar language and Romano-British heritage existed in Cumbria and the Scottish Lowlands (for the latter see below, p. 307), and also in what is



Map 6. *Wales in the early Middle Ages.*

now Devon and Cornwall (Dumnonia). In addition, close ties existed between the south-west and Brittany in France, resulting at least in part from migration in the post-Roman period (Charles-Edwards 2013, 56–74).

Within modern Wales, the balance of power between the various kingdoms shifted significantly over time, sometimes as a result of local rulers warring with each other, and sometimes in reaction to intervention by Mercians, West Saxons and Scandinavians (Loyn 1976; Redknapp 2000;

Etchingham 2001; Charles-Edwards 2001). This instability in Welsh politics prevented the coalescence of a lasting supremacy (Wickham 2010, 204–5). Power structures focused on individual kingdoms, not on Britons/Welsh as a whole: these kingdoms were as capable of forming grievances as alliances with their neighbours, and rulers had no aversion to joining forces with non-Brittonic kingdoms. In the seventh century Cadwallon, king of Gwynedd (d. 634), harried English kingdoms in alliance with Penda, king of the Mercians (d. 655), while a powerful new dynasty (the Merfynion) which established itself in Gwynedd in around 825 exerted pressure on the southern kingdoms later in the ninth century, forcing them into alliance with Alfredian Wessex (Lloyd 1911, 1, 323–43; Dumville 1982; Thornton 2003, 75–120; Charles-Edwards 2013, 467–96). Powys' long struggle against Mercia is memorialised in the inscription on the ninth-century Pillar of Eliseg in Denbighshire (Edwards 2009b; Jones 2009b).

In the tenth century, several kings of the consolidated and unified Anglo-Saxon realm were able to impose overlordship in Wales: Welsh rulers attended English royal meetings and witnessed English royal charters between the 920s and the 950s, while in 973 King Edgar had Welsh and other kings row him down the Dee in a ceremonial demonstration of supremacy (Molyneux 2011; Charles-Edwards 2013, 510–35, 543–4). Hywel Dda (d. 950), the leading Welsh king of the tenth century and an ally of the English, gradually brought most of Wales under his control (Kirby 1976). Strife between the Welsh kingdoms continued in the later tenth and eleventh century, and hostilities with the English resumed in the mid-eleventh century. The powerful Merfynion dynasty originating in Gwynedd, but which had gained control over a number of other kingdoms, was challenged by Llewelyn ap Seisyll (d. 1023) and his son Gruffudd ap Llewelyn (d. 1063), who both probably came from north-east Wales; the latter brought all Wales under his dominion, and was closely embroiled in English affairs, as ally and enemy of successive earls, until he was killed in the course of a campaign by Harold Godwinsson (Charles-Edwards 2013, 535–69).

2. Scotland

Scotland – or, more neutrally, north Britain – was an area of diverse cultural and political units in this period (Map 7). Sources for it are scarce even by early medieval standards, and any reconstruction must rely heavily on inferences drawn from late or foreign material and (more recently) archaeology (sources: Anderson 1922; Anderson 1980; key general surveys: Duncan 1975; Woolf 2007; Fraser 2009). In the seventh century, four major groupings within north Britain can be discerned, representing a blend of linguistic, cultural and political allegiances. The south-west of modern Scotland was controlled by a Brittonic-speaking kingdom (cf. Broun 2004; Fraser 2009, 124–33; Charles-Edwards 2013, 432–6), ruled from Dumbarton (*Al Clut*; ‘Clyde Rock’) until this fortress fell to the Vikings in 870 and the kingdom's centre of gravity shifted further south along the Clyde. Known thereafter as the kingdom of Strathclyde or Cumbria and extending as far south as the Solway region, it persisted until the eleventh century, albeit overshadowed by kings of the English and the Scots (Woolf 2007, 152–7, 183–5, 270–1; Charles-Edwards 2013, 569–79; Edmonds 2014b; 2015). Brittonic-speaking rulers also held Lothian in the post-Roman period: this was the land of the Gododdin, the heirs of the Roman-period *Votadini*, who became figures of legend in medieval Welsh literature (Jackson 1969; Koch 1999; Padel 2014). However, Anglo-Saxons seem to have taken over Lothian and the land further south by the later seventh century (Dumville 1989b; Halsall 2013, 304–5). What is now south-east Scotland remained part of the kingdom of



Map 7. Scotland/north Britain in the early Middle Ages.

Northumbria, later part of the earldom of Bamburgh and the kingdom of the English, until the mid-tenth century, when parts of Lothian were taken by kings of the Scots and ceded to them by Edgar (Woolf 2007, 194–5; Molyneux 2010, 9–11; 2015, 5–9).

The other two principal political entities of early medieval Scotland were the Gaelic-speaking Dál Riata in the west, and the Picts to the east and north. In its language and political orientation Dál Riata was closely related to Ireland (the land of the *Scotti* according to early medieval usage), and Dalriadan kings held land on both sides of the Irish Sea (Dumville 2011). Its leading monastery, Iona, was founded by the Irish St Columba (d. 597) and remained heavily involved in Irish ecclesiastical culture and politics (Sharpe 1995; Ritchie 1997). The date and nature of the establishment of these Irish-speaking kingdoms is far from clear: certainly Dál Riata was in existence in the seventh century, and there is no archaeological or historical signal of its being a recent creation at that time (Dumville 2002a, 185–97; Edmonds 2014a). The Picts held extensive lands to the east and the north of Dál Riata, divided into at least two major sub-units which had roots going back to the Roman period: Atholl in the south and Fortriu (the *Verturiones* of Ammianus Marcellinus), the dominant province, probably in the area north of the Mounth (Woolf 2001; 2006). The language, cultural background and eventual fate of the Picts continue to be subjects of debate. Their name is of Roman origin, probably coined to denote the ‘painted’ men from north of the frontier but later co-opted as a large-scale identity by the ruling authorities within the area (Fraser 2009, 44–54). No substantial texts from Pictland have survived (save for a king-list), but the Picts’ own dominant language was, on the evidence of personal and place names, probably ‘P-Celtic’, i.e. Brittonic, related to Welsh, Cornish and Breton (Forsyth 1997). The best-known material remains of the Picts consist of a large number of elegant stone carvings most densely concentrated in eastern Scotland (Fraser and Ritchie 1999; Henderson and Henderson 2004), while archaeological excavation has brought to light a monastic site at Portmahomack (Carver 2008) and various other elite sites, such as the coastal fortress of Burghead (Alcock 2003, 192–7). Despite their obscurity, the Pictish kings were a powerful force within north Britain. Irish annals and other sources shed light on their fortunes from the seventh century onwards, and in the eighth century King Onuist (729–61) brought Dál Riata under Pictish control (Charles-Edwards 2000; Woolf 2005; Fraser 2009, 287–319). Kings from various Pictish dynasties continued to rule over these territories in parallel until 839, when the king of Fortriu, his brother and their associate the king of Dál Riata were all killed by Vikings (Broun 1998). Many other kings in ninth- and tenth-century Scotland went on to die battling the Vikings. Viking raids and settlements had a transformative effect, especially in the western and northern isles, which remained politically and culturally within the orbit of Scandinavia until the thirteenth century (Morris 1998; Ó Corráin 1998b; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998; Barrett 2008; Woolf 2007, 275–311).

The ninth century saw the Picts disappear from the sources (indeed they seem to vanish almost completely as a people by the tenth century: Woolf 2007, 320–42), and about 900 a political entity emerged known as Alba, a Gaelic word used originally for all Britain (Dumville 1996). This kingdom combined Pictland and Dál Riata, and although later medieval sources gave greater emphasis to the Gaelic/Scottish (i.e. *Scotti*) element of the kingdom’s early heritage, recent research has emphasised that its creation was more a matter of dynastic realignment within the existing political system than of violent conquest (Broun 2007, 71–97; Woolf 2007, 87–122, 320–42). Cináed (Kenneth) son of Alpín (d. 858), previously sub-king of Dál Riata, became ruler over the whole of Pictavia in about 842. Kings from two lines of the house of Alpín ruled until 1034, at which point

kingship passed to the last Alpínid monarch's grandson in the female line, Donnchad (Duncan) I (1034–40). After the interlude of Macbethad (Shakespeare's Macbeth) (1040–57), previously a sub-king in Moray, and his stepson Lulach (1057–8), Donnchad's son Máel Coluim (Malcolm) III (1058–93) gained the throne with English support. A string of his sons became king in the late eleventh and early twelfth century, and their reigns saw the beginning of Norman influence in Scotland (Carpenter 2003, 116–24, 178–86).

(b) GENERAL FEATURES

There is no evidence that coins were made in Scotland at all prior to the twelfth century; for Wales, the evidence for minting before the time of William II (1087–1100) amounts to a single penny of uncertain significance (discussed below, section (c), pp. 311–12). Yet coins of English, Viking and continental European origin were familiar in these areas, and as in other territories settled or influenced by the Vikings there was a close relationship between coins and other items of precious metal used for exchange and storage of wealth. Units of account in early medieval Wales are discussed elsewhere in this volume (Appendix 2, section (c), p. 371).

(c) WALES TO c. 1087

Coin finds from early medieval Wales form two principal clusters: one from the north coast and Anglesey; the other from the south coast, extending from the English border to Pembrokeshire (Blackburn 2007b, 131; Redknap 2009, 30; Dykes 1977, 14–21, 27–8). Both coincide with areas of relatively concentrated population and good access to waterborne communication. The south represents an area ruled by several different powers at various times, including Dyfed in the west and Gwent in the east down to the ninth century, and Deheubarth and Morgannwg subsequently; the northern cluster of finds probably lay within the bounds of Gwynedd (Charles-Edwards 2013, 18–21). Finds from the mountainous interior and even from the coast of Ceredigion and Gwynedd south of the Llŷn peninsula are virtually non-existent, presumably in part because of low levels of population and monetised exchange, and also because of physical limitations on the use of metal-detectors in modern times (Redknap 2009, 31). The overall distribution of coin finds from early medieval Wales has aptly been characterised as few and far between (Besly 2006), and on any estimation Welsh society must have had significantly less coinage circulating than most of contemporary England.

That said, north and south Wales enjoyed a relatively constant trickle of coined money from the post-Roman period to the eleventh century. The phenomenon of Byzantine imports in the sixth century has been discussed elsewhere (see Chapter 2, sections (f) and (g), pp. 34–6), but left a legacy which continued to bring east Roman gold and copper into Wales for generations, even after Mediterranean and Frankish pottery had ceased to arrive. This is most vividly brought home by a recent find of a pierced *solidus* of Tiberius III (698–705) from Tenby in Pembrokeshire (PAS: PUBLIC-88DE28) and several seventh-century *folles* (Morrisson 2014). The very few known early penny finds from Wales come from close to the modern English border (PAS: HESH-33C368 and NMGW-9A4808).

The number of coin finds in Wales increases with issues of the late eighth and early ninth century: precisely the time when antagonism between Mercia and individual Welsh kingdoms may

have given way to ambitions of overlordship and subjection, bringing with it closer – if not always eirenic – relations (Charles-Edwards 2013, 424–8, supporting the first of his two possible constructions of Mercian–Welsh relations). A small but steady flow of silver coins and metalwork continued thereafter, both north and south. Several finds of ‘Viking’ character, combining coins of diverse origin with metalwork, survive from the late ninth or early tenth century. These show that Wales was part of broader Irish Sea networks of trade and communication, developing out of maritime contacts and hence focused in coastal regions (cf. Etchingham 2001). Welsh hoards of this period resemble those found elsewhere in the Irish Sea area. The Bangor (*Checklist* 106) hoard of the 920s, for example, contained Arabic dirhams as well as Anglo-Saxon and Viking pennies, and fragments of Hiberno-Scandinavian metalwork (Boon 1986, 92–7; Redknap 2009, 32). Particularly important is a ‘productive site’ on Anglesey at Llanbedrgoch. Now well known through excavation as well as metal-detecting, the site, perhaps ruled over by the local elite or even the king of Gwynedd, was a long-established settlement situated where land traffic and sea traffic could both be tapped. In the ninth century it was enclosed by fortifications and shows signs of extensive use of coin and highly fragmented hack-silver: these finds indicate ties with Ireland, Scandinavia, southern England and Northumbria during the ninth and tenth centuries. Llanbedrgoch remains a unique site for north Wales, but has parallels from elsewhere in the Viking world and especially the Irish Sea region, with which it was closely connected (Redknap 2004; 2009, 35–40).

It should be added that evidence for Scandinavian settlement in Wales, such as place names, is comparatively limited overall (Loyn 1976; Redknap 2000), and coin and bullion finds may be a reflection of short-term as well as permanent presence of seaborne visitors; but the two areas most characterised by coin finds of this period are also those which have produced most instances of Viking place names and archaeology, strengthening the case for significant Viking and Irish Sea impact on exchange within ninth- and tenth-century Wales (Blackburn 2007b, 131; Davies 1991, 161). In the late tenth and eleventh century Welsh hoards followed their Irish counterparts in gravitating more towards coins than mixed or hack-metal hoards, although a mixed hoard including ingots as well as coins (similar to those from contemporary Man) came to light at Llandwrog in Gwynedd in 2015 (PAS: NMGW-038729). Single-finds of English coins also continued to flow into north and south Wales down to 1066.

Evidence for actual minting of coin in Wales prior to the Norman Conquest is confined to a single famous specimen (though claims for other coins have been made: Griffiths 2010, 109; Blackburn 2011b, 387–8): a silver penny bearing the obverse inscription +HOWÆL REX, thought to refer to Hywel Dda (d. 950), or less probably the later Hywel ap Ieuaf (d. 985) (Blunt 1982; Williams 2013b, 57) (Fig. 11). The coin first surfaced in 1903 as part of the collection built up in the eighteenth century by the Marquess of Ailesbury; it and two pennies of Edmund in the same collection may all stem from the same, unidentified, hoard (Blunt 1982; also Carlyon-Britton 1905c, 31–41). Most features of the coin mark it out as a product of the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon monetary tradition. The penny is of conventional English weight and fineness, and the reverse carries the name of a moneyer, Gillys, known to have been active at Chester in the mid-tenth century. The reverse design, of Horizontal Rosette type, is also characteristic of Chester and its environs, and can be linked stylistically to the end of Edmund’s reign or the beginning of Eadred’s (*CTCE*, 138; Blunt 1982, 119; cf. Dykes 1977, 12–14, who queries the coin’s authenticity and suggests a link to the 970s instead of the 940s). Importantly, the spelling of Hywel’s name on the coin is identical with that used in his attestations to surviving single-sheet English



Figure 11. Penny of Hywel Dda (from the British Museum; photographs from Carlyon-Britton 1905c).

charters, indicative of English initiative behind minting. If the penny is correctly interpreted as an issue for Hywel Dda made by a moneyer normally associated with the English mint of Chester, it should probably therefore be viewed as some sort of honorific striking rather than as the survivor of an economically driven currency. By this time production of English coin was normally exclusive to the king: apparent concession of even a token coinage to another ruler is a strong statement of the esteem in which Hywel was held by the English rulers. The coins may have been made, or more probably distributed, under Hywel's auspices within Wales, as a demonstration of his authority and English support (Blunt 1982, 120; cf. Charles-Edwards 2013, 267–2, 497–519; Molyneaux 2011).

Minting began in Wales during the *Paxs* coinage, now assigned to the beginning of the reign of William II, as one of the trappings of Anglo-Norman lordships that had been carved out from the Welsh kingdoms (Carpenter 2003, 106–16). Several Welsh mints can be traced in this type, including Cardiff, Rhuddlan and two other locations tentatively identified with St Davids and Abergavenny (Allen 2012a, 23–6; see also *MEC* 9(a)).

(d) SCOTLAND TO c. 1136

As emphasised above (see section (a), pp. 307–10), it is misleading to consider Scotland as a single political entity in the early Middle Ages, and its political and cultural fragmentation is reflected in its finds of coin and other forms of gold and silver. These vividly emphasise its blend of Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian and broader European influences.

Pre-Viking Pictish handling of precious metal is difficult to assess, for only a very few hoards survive, including Broch of Burgar, Orkney (Graham-Campbell 1985); possibly Croy (Graham-Campbell 1995, 3–4); Gaulcross, Aberdeenshire (Stevenson and Emery 1963–4); Norrie's Law, Fife; Rogart, Sutherland; and St Ninian's Isle, Shetland (Small *et al.* 1973). These are dominated by metalwork associated stylistically with the Picts and contain virtually no coins (Stevenson 1976). From this it could be tentatively argued that coins were secondary in Pictish society, and more associated with ornamentation than exchange. The one early penny (of Series E), for example, from the recent excavations of the Pictish monastery at Portmahomack, Easter Ross, was discovered in the same location as other items associated with metalwork and smelting (Carver 2008, 139). Pictish silver seems to have been turned into objects, and may have been available in limited quantity, for many items in the St Ninian's Isle treasure are of poor fineness (Graham-Campbell 1995, 26). Owners could use either whole objects or cut-up pieces for acts of exchange, and the evidence of the hoards mentioned above (plus the earlier Traprain Law treasure: Hunter and Painter 2013; Harding 2004, 189–91) indicates that Viking incomers must have found an already well-developed bullion economy in which cutting, melting and remaking were commonplace.

Further south, parts of what is now Scotland were within the northern fringe of the Anglo-Saxon sphere of coin circulation. An early gold shilling was found at Buiston Crannog, East Ayrshire (SCBI 6.1), and several early silver pennies are known from the area south of the Firth of Forth which lay within the kingdom of Northumbria. The east coast was a peripheral participant in the broader North Sea sphere of exchange (Williams 2007b, 203). Finds become rather rarer towards the west coast, though there are some important exceptions, above all the monastic site of Whithorn, Dumfries and Galloway. This site has produced a large number of Anglo-Saxon coins, some from quite distant mint-places such as southern England and East Anglia (Hill *et al.* 1997). The bulk of Anglo-Saxon finds from what is now southern Scotland consist of Northumbrian pennies, especially the later and more debased specimens of the mid-ninth century (Bateson 1997, 27–38; Blackburn 2000a). Finds from further north in Scotland are particularly rare, and include specimens of the Northumbrian coinage, as well as occasionally other, more exotic pieces, such as a probably Frisian gold imitation of a *solidus* of Louis the Pious allegedly found near Elgin (Grierson 1951, 25).

Viking movements and contacts account for a significant proportion of finds from the western and northern parts of Scotland in the tenth and eleventh centuries (Blackburn 2007b, 135–7). As in England, Ireland and Wales, these include bullion in the form of gold and silver objects and hack-metal, as well as coins from different sources apparently used side by side (Graham-Campbell 1995; updated in Graham-Campbell 2008). The largest of these hoards are well known for their impressive silver jewellery, above all the mid-tenth-century Skaill, Orkney hoard (*Checklist* 129; Graham-Campbell 1995, 34–48; Griffiths 2013). Scottish bullion hoards are rarer than those from Ireland, and also notably less diverse in their content (Sheehan 2005). It is also possible that some of the hoards dominated by Pictish silver in fact represent hoards of Viking plunder, probably from the ninth century (Graham-Campbell 1995, 3). The numismatic content of many of these finds is quite paltry relative to the volume of uncoined silver, though more than 70 per cent of hoards include at least some numismatic component (cf. Graham-Campbell 1975–6; 1995; Sheehan 2005, 326). Scottish hoards of the later tenth and eleventh century are distinguished by the frequent presence of ‘ring money’: plain or lightly ornamented rods coiled into rings. The origins of ‘ring money’ lie in the Irish Sea area in the first half of the tenth century, but finds are mostly associated with Scotland in the period *c.* 950–1050 (Graham-Campbell 1995, 38–40, 57–9; cf. Graham-Campbell and Sheehan 2007). Several hoards contain numerous pieces of near-identical ring money, prompting the view that they were intended as a relatively high-value means of exchange and storage of wealth (Graham-Campbell 1976, 125–6). They may have been made to a standardised weight, with careful control behind their issue (Crawford 1987, 133–4; Warner 1975–6, though cf. Kruse 1993). A few specimens of ring money have also been found in northern English, Irish, Manx and Scandinavian hoards, illustrating the breadth of contacts which lie behind them. Later units of rural assessment in the former earldom of Orkney and in the Hebrides, ‘ouncelands’ and ‘pennylands’, also reflect the importance weighed metal may have had in early medieval society, albeit as a standard against which to measure value rather than as a circulating currency (Williams 2007b, 203).

Even though the number of finds remains small in absolute terms, given the probably low density of population and exchange, the peripheral location of settlements, and the much more limited impact of metal-detector use in Scotland, there is good reason to query the historically pessimistic readings of coin-use in western and northern Scotland in the Viking Age. Coin finds have occurred at a respectable proportion of Viking settlement sites in Scotland, including those

at Birsay and Deerness in Orkney and Jarlshof in Shetland; enough to prompt reconsideration of the role of currency within early medieval Scotland (Williams 2006b, 167–9; 2007b, 202–4). For the most part, coins from Scotland in the period to *c.* 1050 are of Anglo-Saxon origin. Those from the period of Edward the Elder to Edgar's reform include a high proportion from the east midlands, which was presumably the area with the strongest trading links to Scotland (Metcalf 1995b, 16–19; Bornholdt Collins 2003, 265–74). Over time the coinage and bullion economy of Scotland developed away from its counterpart in Ireland. There, hoards of the later tenth century came to be dominated by post-reform coins of Edgar and his sons, whereas several Scottish finds have a very long tail, extending from the last decades of the tenth century back into its first half. Bullion also went on being used longer than elsewhere in the British Isles. All of this points towards a relatively conservative economy, which did not have access to steady flows of silver; one in which coins might be used in individual transactions, but where a 'dual' economy of coin and bullion persisted for generations (Blackburn 2007b, 136). Later eleventh-century coins from the northern part of the mainland, Orkney and Shetland tend to be Scandinavian in origin. Cultural and political contacts with Denmark and Norway remained strong at this time, stronger than those with England, and the growth of native currency in Scandinavia eventually made its mark in Scotland (Williams 2006b, 169). Scottish coinage, modelled on that of England and initially prompted by takeover of the English mint at Carlisle, only appeared in the reign of David I (1124–53) along with other innovations derived from Anglo-Norman influence (Oram 2011, 74–114), and so is the subject of *MEC* 9(a).

THE ISLE OF MAN AND 'IRISH SEA' COINAGES

(a) HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The Irish Sea was a unifying as well as a dividing feature in the Middle Ages. Commodities, cultures and languages as well as political aspirations were conveyed across it at various times. This is nowhere better illustrated than in the complex history of the Isle of Man, which lies at the heart of the Irish Sea, and was linked to Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England, as well as to the other islands off the west coast of Scotland. Written sources relating to the island are very few (cf. Bornholdt Collins 2003, 41–51 and Appendix 2; Duffy 2015), and (apart from a number of inscriptions) the only native text relating to the earlier medieval period is the thirteenth-century *Chronicle of the Kings of Man and the Isles* (*Cronica regum Manniæ et insularum*), which includes material relating to Man from 1066 onwards (Broderick 1996). Otherwise, reconstruction of events relating to the island depends on those few foreign historical texts (principally Irish, with some contribution from English and Welsh) which mention Man in various connections. These writings can be used to weave a loose narrative from the ninth century onwards (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 51–73). However, other resources to some extent compensate for Man's weak representation in the historical record: it possesses rich archaeological remains, including an impressive selection of stone sculpture and burials (Wilson 2008), as well as the evidence offered by its place names (Broderick 1994–2005; Fellows-Jensen 1978; 1983; Gelling 1970; 1971; 1991). Some of this evidence reflects the influence of Scandinavian settlers who arrived on the island in the course of the tenth century (Wilson 1974; 2008; Crawford 2015).

Prior to the arrival of the Vikings, Man was a Brittonic-speaking territory, frequently considered alongside Anglesey as one of the Mevanian islands (Bede, *HE* II.5, 9; cf. Dumville 1997a, 23–4). It played host to political exiles from elsewhere in the Insular world, and at times in the sixth century was the target of Irish and Dalriadan attacks; Irish connections are also signalled by the presence of ogham inscriptions (Anderson 1922, 89; Ó Cróinín 1995, 50). Yet its ties to Wales seem to have been strong: Merfyn Frych, founder of a powerful dynasty which ruled Gwynedd (and eventually most of Wales) for several centuries (Charles-Edwards 2013, 467; Sims-Williams 1994, 11–20), may have come to the mainland from Man in the early ninth century.

Historical sources first mention two Viking fleets meeting in combat in Man in 914 (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 57), and the prophetic *Armes Prydein* possibly included Man among the nations called to rise against the English in the mid-tenth century, although some doubt exists

on whether Man or Anglesey is referred to (Etchingham 2001, 184–6). Early Scandinavian presence on Man is best traced in the archaeological record. Settlement certainly began after 900 (Graham-Campbell 1998, 116–20; Wilson 2008, 25–56), and probably somewhat later in the first half of the tenth century, based on the absence of diagnostic earlier forms of metalwork (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 145–50; Downham 2007b, 181–2). Fugitives from the battle of Brunanburh in 937 and from the fall of Viking York in 954 may have helped fuel Man's apparently swift accumulation of wealth and commercial importance in the mid-tenth century (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 74). This mid-tenth-century horizon of settlement in Man roughly coincides with the historical appearance of a 'kingdom of the isles' embracing Man and the Hebrides, ruled over by what Irish sources describe as a *rí Innse Gall* ('king of the islands of the foreigners'), a kingdom which was to remain a powerful force in the Irish Sea area and western Scotland until the thirteenth century (Downham 2007b, 177–99; Duffy 2015). It was ruled by a Gaelic-Scandinavian dynasty with close links to Dublin in the eleventh century (Duffy 1992). As a prominent and rich component of this kingdom, Man was targeted by raiders and invaders several times: Swein Forkbeard, king of the Danes (d. 1014), ravaged it in 995, and Æthelred II, king of the English (978–1016), in 1000.

(b) LITERATURE

The Isle of Man has a vibrant tradition of local scholarship on its Viking-Age treasures. These have long been discussed in general publications on the history (Train 1845, II, 69–71) and modern coinage of the island (Clay 1869, 33–44), and there were occasional papers on specific finds by both Manx (Dickinson 1853) and mainland scholars (Carlyon-Britton 1908; Grueber 1913; cf. Bornholdt Collins 2003, 163–7). Awareness of the threats posed to the island's archaeological remains led to the formation of an Archaeological Commission to evaluate surviving artefacts in 1876–9, which produced an unpublished report on coin finds. However, the Commission was eventually dissolved for lack of funds, and it was not until 1922 that a public museum – envisaged for many decades – was actually established, with the well-known Manx antiquary William Kermode as its first curator (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 152–7). The chequered early history of coins recovered by the Commission and subsequently kept in government storage has resulted in some confusion as to the provenances of individual coins.

The first claim for a Manx coinage was made by Alexander Parsons in 1934 (Parsons 1934). Although this was later discredited by Michael Dolley (Dolley 1976c), Parsons set the stage for later work, most notably by Dolley himself. Having already undertaken extensive research into late Anglo-Saxon and Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage, and built up familiarity with the material preserved in Scandinavian collections, in the 1970s Dolley turned his attention to the Isle of Man. A two-month stint on the island in summer 1974 was supported by the Royal Irish Academy (Dolley 1975b, 296; 1975c, 146), and soon resulted in a slew of papers on Man's numismatic heritage (Dolley 1975a; 1976b–d; 1979a–b; 1979d; 1981; *inter alia*). Dolley brought old finds into sharper focus by paying close attention to patination, and his work was also stimulated by new discoveries. The second Kirk Michael hoard of 1972 in particular led to one of Dolley's most important findings (Graham-Campbell 1983, 60–1): that a cluster of pennies related to those of Dublin in the eleventh century could be attributed to the Isle of Man (Dolley 1976b; but first signalled in Dolley 1975b, 340).

Michael Dolley's death in 1983 curtailed this energetic phase of research on Man's Viking-Age coins and hoards. Subsequent scholarship has been less extensive, but has built on the foundation of rigorous investigation of coins and antiquarian records laid by Dolley. James Graham-Campbell surveyed the non-numismatic gold and silver contents of Manx hoards with characteristic incisiveness (Graham-Campbell 1983), and also studied the context of specific hoards and coins (Graham-Campbell 2005; Graham-Campbell and Sheehan 2007), while Sir David Wilson addressed important individual bullion finds (Wilson 2001–3) and incorporated the hoards and coins into his publications on the island's Viking history and archaeology as a whole (Wilson 1974; 2008). From a numismatic perspective, the most important recent work has been a Cambridge doctoral dissertation by Kristin Bornholdt Collins (Bornholdt Collins 2003; cf. Bornholdt Collins 1999; 2015). In this, Bornholdt Collins reassesses all aspects of coinage and silver in Viking-Age Man, including a review of antiquarian literature which has significant implications for understanding of the hoard record. Her work on Manx material continues, not least with a valuable study of the new Glenfaba hoard (Bornholdt Collins *et al.* 2014; see also Bornholdt Collins 2015).

The other Irish Sea coinages discussed below have generally only been recognised as distinct groups in recent times. Michael Dolley (1980) and latterly Mark Blackburn (1996a; *VCCBI*) played a pioneering part in identification and analysis of these problematic coinages. Work on them has been continued by subsequent scholars, especially by Kristin Bornholdt Collins, Andrew Woods and Joe Leighton (Leighton and Woods 2014).

(c) COINAGE AND BULLION ON THE ISLE OF MAN

Man's central position in the Irish Sea made it an important entrepôt in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Visitors to the island from both east and west left their mark on its archaeological record. Finds of gold and silver feature prominently, and begin to occur around the first half or middle of the tenth century, about a generation after Scandinavian settlement of the island probably began (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 145–7, 335–6; Graham-Campbell 1983). The Manx hoards are hence essentially a phenomenon of the mid-tenth to late eleventh century. There are two principal groups, one dating to approximately 950–90 (Dolley 1975b), the second to 1030–70 (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 189–228; Wilson 2008, 108–9). The intervening hiatus in hoard deposition of three or four decades reflects a wider phenomenon shared with other parts of the Irish Sea area (Dolley 1981, 174; Graham-Campbell 1983, 58; Bornholdt Collins 2003, 196–8). The riches of the tenth and eleventh centuries, however, are followed by a long break after about 1070. Only one small and obscure hoard possibly dates to the early twelfth century (Bornholdt Collins 2003, Appendix M18), and the record thereafter does not pick up significantly until the later Middle Ages (Graham-Campbell 1983, 61).

In the century from the 960s to about 1070, therefore, Man boasts a truly exceptional concentration of finds, amounting to twenty-five known hoards, plus about a dozen single-finds of coins and other finds of silver objects. No other island in the British Isles can match this density of finds, which compares favourably even with islands in the Baltic such as Bornholm, Gotland and Öland, all celebrated for their early medieval treasures (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 235–40). As in other parts of Britain and Ireland, especially those affected by Scandinavian settlement and cultural influence, the handling of gold and silver did not necessarily entail the use of coin, or special regard for the integrity and issuing authority of coins (Graham-Campbell 1983; Blackburn 2007b, 132–4).

The cutting of English pennies into halves and quarters apparently began as a Manx phenomenon in the mid-tenth century, long before it became customary in England (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 275–99). Manx hoards typically include several forms of silver: coins from multiple sources (England and (later) Dublin being the principal suppliers), ingots and ornaments, either whole or fragmentary. Gold is also known, in the form of a remarkable find from Greeba consisting of several gold rings (Wilson 2001–3; 2008, 114–15; Cubbon 2003). Non-numismatic elements continued to be present in Manx hoards of the eleventh century (Bornholdt Collins 2003, Appendix pp. ii–iii), including 'ring money' associated primarily with Scottish finds of the mid-tenth to eleventh century (Graham–Campbell 1983, 62–3; Wilson 2008, 112); a set of scales possibly of Viking-Age date found at Ronaldsway provides further evidence for circulation of metal based on weight (Wilson 2008, 107–8). A number of single-finds of coins have also come to light (several of them as grave-finds). For the most part these consist of a similar range of material to the contents of the hoards (Bornholdt Collins 2003, Appendix p. 87; Metcalf 1992a, 101), but the single-finds also include a mid-ninth-century imitative gold *solidus* (probably a pre-Viking loss) and two dirham fragments (Bornholdt Collins *et al.* 2014, 476–7).

Compared with ninth- and tenth-century Irish material, the Manx finds are relatively homogeneous in their profile (Sheehan 2000, 57–9). Most hoards are mixed in character, including coins as well as ornaments and/or hack-metal, implying that the norm on Man was to handle diverse forms of bullion together (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 208–10). Locals and traders may have deliberately maintained a range of different types of silver in order to cater to the tastes of different partners, and also to accommodate varying levels of value, with bullion generally being more appropriate for larger transactions (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 331–2; Bornholdt Collins *et al.* 2014, 482–3). The geographical affiliations signalled by the tenth-century English coins from Manx hoards are also quite distinct from those of English coins in contemporary Irish finds. Coins from the east midlands and York dominate the pre-reform English material in Man, which aligns the island more closely with Scotland than with Ireland, where there is greater variation but coins from Chester and the west midlands tend to be more prominent (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 265–74; cf. Pagan 1980; Metcalf 1995b, 17–19). In other words, Man was not simply an extension of the Irish tradition of silver circulation, nor indeed of the Scottish or English tradition: it had a distinct and dynamic profile of its own, reflecting its intermediary position in the middle of the Irish Sea.

The role of coin relative to bullion in Man and the Irish Sea (and indeed elsewhere in western and northern Britain) remains a topic ripe for further exploration. A critical question is how far silver pennies came to be recognised as coins *per se*, as opposed to small, round pieces of silver. This did not necessarily require the inception of a native coinage, merely familiarity with the principle of coined money, though minting would contribute significantly to an argument in favour of coin acquiring preferred status. Michael Dolley (1965, 30–1) and R. B. K. Stevenson (*SCBI* 6, p. xvi) broadly identified the tenth century as the time at which this change took place. Users and makers of coins of that period in the Irish Sea were subject to influences coming from several directions. They would have been in contact with the relatively tightly controlled monetary systems of England and continental Europe, where coin carried royal sanction and was invested with symbolic value. But they would also have been accustomed to more flexible use of metal as a means of exchange, based on its intrinsic value: this practice was most highly developed in Scandinavia and areas settled by Scandinavians. Features of the coinages from Man, Ireland and elsewhere in the region suggest they occupied an intermediate role in this continuum, moving slowly in the direction

of a monetised economy with a bullion element rather than vice versa. Cutting of mid-tenth-century English pennies into halves rather than arbitrary fragments, for example, is suggestive of some respect for the unit designated by the coin. But if increasing familiarity with foreign (mostly English) coin was a feature of the tenth century, incipient coin production on Man is the key development of the eleventh century. Manx and other Irish Sea silver coins of this time suggest a tentative monetary economy still catering to users accustomed to bullion as well as 'monetary' considerations. Most pennies minted in the Irish Sea were of high and consistent fineness, which implies there was no certainty they would be accepted without questioning their value; for the same reason design was highly conservative, closely shadowing the appearance of English (or occasionally Irish) pennies, including their inscriptions, in order to benefit from the reputation and familiarity of an established coinage. Bending and (more rarely) pecking of coins to check their quality continued through the tenth and eleventh centuries, though both practices also took place in contemporary England (Archibald 1990, 20–1; Bornholdt Collins 2003, 320–9).

Further analysis of what role coins performed in Man, Ireland and western and northern Britain will require close analysis of patterns of circulation and secondary use, including the directions of English export as well as regional differences in the north and the west, and with an eye to the changing features of the coinage as well as other forms of bullion (Metcalf 1992a, 96–103; 1995b, 16–17; Bornholdt Collins 2003, 6–11).

(d) MINTING ON THE ISLE OF MAN (c. 1025–65?)

The Manx coinage identified by Michael Dolley (2693) (Dolley 1975b, 340; 1976b; Bornholdt Collins 1999; 2003, 299–315; 2015, 423–31; Wilson 2008, 115–16) was essentially an imitation of the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage of Dublin, which was in turn an imitation of Anglo-Saxon coinage. Manx pennies are all modelled on the *Long Cross* type of Æthelred II, which was the preferred design in Dublin during the 'Group F/Phase II' coinage (c. 1020–40). Minting in Man began by riding on the coat-tails of Dublin, with the importation of a single obverse die from Dublin to Man, the so-called 'transfer die', probably at some point in the mid-1020s. Its move from Dublin to Man was a one-off venture, best explained as a result of ties between craftsmen and traders rather than a sustained political link. The moneyers in Man prolonged the life of the 'transfer die' for as long as possible, and three distinct states of gradual degradation can be identified (Dolley 1976b, 79–81). During its time on Man, the 'transfer die' was combined with at least eight reverse dies of local origin. Features marking these out include a rising proportion of reversed letters and meaningless, often retrograde, reverse legends; the resultant coins also tend towards a lower weight (c. 1.15g) (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 308–9; Bornholdt Collins *et al.* 2014, 490–1).

After this first 'transfer die' phase, two strands emerged in the Manx coinage (identified by Kristin Bornholdt Collins as 'H[iberno-]M[anx] 1' and 'H[iberno-]M[anx] 2'), which probably represent the work of two distinct die-cutters. HM 1 had been known from only a small number of specimens before the discovery of the Glenfaba hoard in 2003, but this find provided numerous new specimens which clarified the Manx origin of the group (Bornholdt Collins *et al.* 2014, 491–4). It belongs early in the course of the Manx coinage, and is inspired by the appearance of the 'transfer die' coinage. In weight it is also close to the 'transfer die' coins (c. 1.12g based on the Glenfaba sample). A crack which emerged on the obverse of the 'transfer die' was faithfully replicated on HM 1 obverses as a line before the bust; other characteristics of the obverse include a

cross of pellets placed behind the neck of the bust, and two pellets above them behind the head. The obverse legends attempt the name of Sihtric Silkbeard, king of Dublin, but with much corruption, and on the reverse many letters are retrograde or inverted.

The other strand to the Manx coinage (HM 2) is significantly larger, with several chronological phases apparent. Its beginning can be seen in the products of a reverse die in an advanced state of disrepair, which was at first used with the 'transfer die', but later switched to a new obverse die of Manx (HM 2) manufacture (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 306–7). Dies of HM 2, like HM 1, are closely modelled on the 'transfer die' of Dublin origin. Its signature obverse crack was again copied meticulously. HM 2 also introduced crosses made up of four pellets into the obverse legend (at its beginning and near the end). The legends start close to those of the Dublin coinage, but become more corrupt on both the obverse and reverse over time. Bornholdt Collins has identified distinct 'early', 'middle' and 'late' groups in HM 2, based on a combination of stylistic features, hoard representation and metrology (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 307–13). In terms of weight, most of the 'early' and 'middle' coins fall between 1.10g and 0.70g (generally following the metrology of contemporary Hiberno-Scandinavian pennies), with a broad tendency towards lighter coins as time went by, and also evidence for considerable weight fluctuation as part of the minting process. The latest coins show a more marked dip in weight, with all surviving specimens weighing less than 0.60g. At the same time the fineness of the metal declined, from a fairly uniform 91–97 per cent 'silver' in the earlier and middle part of the Manx coinage (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 314).

The exact structure of the Manx coinage remains somewhat unclear, as is perhaps to be expected from a series represented by fewer than a hundred surviving specimens. The three phases identified by Bornholdt Collins are more of a continuum, marked by gradual evolution rather than sharp breaks. Particular problems are posed by the concluding stages of the coinage. Finds are few, and peter out for generations after the Kirk Michael churchyard 1 (1834) hoard of c. 1075 (Bornholdt Collins 2003, Appendix M17): hence the proposed end-date of the Manx coinage is of necessity provisional (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 314). There are several other puzzling features. The Manx coinage is heavily localised: most surviving specimens with a find provenance come from Man, with a small number found in Scandinavia and the Baltic, but none have appeared elsewhere in the British Isles (Dolley 1976b, 75–7; Bornholdt Collins 2003, 306). This distribution is valuable for purposes of attribution, but raises the question of what function the Manx coinage was supposed to perform. It was not apparently leaving the island in significant quantity, and at the same time coin-users on the island never systematically excluded English or Irish pennies (or for that matter silver bullion) from their transactions. Michael Dolley proposed that the central aim behind the coinage was to remind incoming 'ring money' which did not fit comfortably into the local economy (Dolley 1981, 175–6), though there must be some question over how much difficulty there can have been assimilating these objects given the tradition of versatile bullion handling on Man. In their physical features, Manx pennies combine elements of extreme conservatism in design with signals of technical difficulty, such as fluctuation in weight and the high ratio of reverse dies to obverses, which suggests the moneyers on Man were not making durable reverses (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 308–10). For these reasons, the context of minting on Man appears to have been quite different from that in Dublin or England. Coins were not meant to provide an exclusive medium of exchange, but offered one more possible means of payment among several (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 315; Bornholdt Collins *et al.* 2014, 482–3). Production was probably *ad hoc* and small in scale; in the words of Michael Dolley, the whole operation could have been the

work of 'two men and a boy' (Dolley 1976b, 83), based in a rural location or a periodic market (or indeed moving between locations) instead of a fixed urban settlement (Dolley 1981, 175). Minting on Man may have been primarily the domain of craftsmen (or women) interested in reproducing the intrinsic features of a coinage which conformed to existing expectations, rather than of political authorities wishing to profit symbolically or materially from cultivating coinage (*pace* Wilson 2008, 121–2).

(e) OTHER 'IRISH SEA AREA' IMITATIONS

Several additional groups of coins can be associated in a general way with the Irish Sea area, and possibly the Isle of Man, but for various reasons it is not possible at present to arrive at a compelling attribution.

Probably the earliest and one of the largest of these groups consists of more than sixty specimens imitating Æthelred II's *Long Cross* type (2694–5) (recently analysed in detail by Leighton and Woods 2014). Specimens of this group had been studied as part of the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage, but Mark Blackburn drew attention to the absence of any die-link into the mainstream Hiberno-Scandinavian series, and suggested that they might belong to a mint other than Dublin (Blackburn 1981, 59; cf. the comments of Tuukka Talvio relating to *SCBI* 22.27). In appearance, specimens of this group imitate the English originals very closely. Features which distinguish them include an initial cross aligned with the king's drapery and a straight line connecting the chin and brooch, while on the reverse the initial cross is aligned with the central long cross rather than the legend as such, and the segments of the inscription are laid out in straight lines rather than on a curve (Leighton and Woods 2014, 517–18). The legends are generally competent, but with occasional slips (e.g. AGLO and ANGLIO on the obverses of 2694 and 2695). Coins of the core imitative group imitate pennies of Chester or occasionally Bath; groups which are probably but less certainly associated (cf. Blackburn 1980) imitate a larger range of mints, including Dublin, Lincoln, Malmesbury, Shrewsbury and Winchester. Specimens tend to weigh 1.50g or less (significantly lighter than the English originals), and to use a less regular obverse–reverse die-axis than English originals. The origin of these coins remains unclear, though it was probably Insular rather than Scandinavian: some finds come from the Baltic, but they are also known from Scotland, Ireland and England (the Shaftesbury hoard (*Checklist* 200) and a single-find from Kent).

Another significant imitative group was modelled on Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type, specifically on coins of the Chester mint (2696–7). Stewart Lyon first isolated this group in the 1960s, but more detailed research followed the discovery of a new specimen in north Wales in 1981 (Boon 1986, 13–14; Blackburn 1996a, 10–15). Imitations of this group share common stylistic traits, most distinctively a + for x in REX, a feature never found on Chester originals of *Quatrefoil* type. They also tend to be of low weight compared with both English and Hiberno-Scandinavian specimens, at less than 1.00g and sometimes as low as 0.70g. As with other imitative groups, identification of a mint-place remains problematic. Although most known provenances are from the Baltic and Scandinavia, several British finds are known, and it is very probably an Insular issue from somewhere in the Irish Sea area where Chester pennies were common. Mark Blackburn initially suggested an origin in the Wirral, where an important productive site (Meols) has provided numerous finds of Chester pennies of the appropriate period (Blackburn 1996a, 12–15), and David Griffiths later argued in favour of a north Welsh origin (Griffiths 2010, 109). However, the presence of eleven specimens in

the Glenfaba hoard of 2003 (*Checklist* 218a) strengthens the case for a Manx attribution (*VCCBI*, 384–8; Bornholdt Collins *et al.* 2014, 494–8). If so, the 'Irish Sea' *Quatrefoil* imitations would be a precursor or early parallel issue to the main Manx issue, albeit one of quite different appearance and organisation which looked to English rather than Irish tradition.

Other, smaller groups are still more difficult to assign to a mint-place. A single imitation of Cnut's *Pointed Helmet* type with blundered legends and of light weight (0.89g) is now preserved in Douglas, but has no find provenance. It does not belong to the Scandinavian imitative series, and may be Insular in origin (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 319–20). Also modelled on coins of Cnut is a cluster of four *Short Cross* imitations, all struck from the same obverse die, and all found in the Kirk Andreas 2 (1874) hoard of *c.* 1045 (*Checklist* 230; Bornholdt Collins 2003, Appendix MII). The reverse inscriptions imitate London and Winchester. Michael Dolley attributed these coins to Man (Dolley 1980), but given only one secure provenance it is best to leave the attribution open (Blackburn 1996a, 13–14; Bornholdt Collins 2003, 319).

Studies of these 'Irish Sea' imitative issues are concerned with more than simply assigning them to a mint, however. An important common feature of these coinages was that their fineness and appearance were comparable with pre-existing currency, suggesting they were meant to fit in rather than to deceive. They thus reflect the influence of English and Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage across a broad area, and the economic and symbolic advantages to be gained from minting. The exercise of producing silver pennies could have served the needs of traders and artisans who wanted to deal using coins, or at least have the option of transferring their silver into recognisable and acceptable forms of coin. It also came at a time in the early eleventh century when coinage, even of imitative form and without inscriptions, was beginning to be more actively exploited in Scandinavia and related societies as a demonstration of authority; minting appealed to rulers or communities who sought to demonstrate their adherence to desirable economic and cultural norms, on the model of Anglo-Saxon and other kingdoms (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 318). Production of several relatively small-scale Irish Sea coinages therefore reveals the significance coinage was gaining locally in the western parts of Britain and Ireland. Silver pennies were becoming a preferred means of exchange, and an expression of identity, in a new and dynamic setting.

IRELAND TO 1170

with ANDREW WOODS

(a) HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Ireland in the centuries before the Anglo-Norman invasion of 1169–71 is known in rich detail, above all from its uniquely well-developed (for the period) vernacular written culture. This has preserved literary treasures such as the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* ('Cattle Raid of Cooley') as well as extensive annalistic, genealogical and legal texts. Ireland's texts reveal distinctive social and cultural characteristics, which combined Christianity with native tradition. The island had never formed part of the Roman Empire, and Christianity was one of many influences from the Roman world introduced in the early Middle Ages – specifically by St Patrick and other, less well-remembered missionaries in the fifth century (Dumville 1993b; Charles-Edwards 2000, esp. 214–33; Hughes 2005). By the later sixth century Ireland boasted a vibrant Christian culture founded on numerous church sites and their charismatic leaders. Many of these settlements grew to become major central places in their own right, and were probably the largest permanent settlements in pre-Viking Ireland (Doherty 1985; Valante 1998; Bradley 2008; Etchingham 2010a; Clarke 2013). Early monasteries in Ireland taught a rigorous interpretation of Christianity, and Latin literature and other aspects of Christian culture flourished alongside the vernacular in the seventh century and afterwards (Ó Cróinín 1995, 147–232). St Columbanus (d. 615) and others left Ireland to bring their faith and learning to Britain and parts of continental Europe (Angenendt 1982); in Columbanus' case, his reputation for sanctity made him the confidant of Frankish kings and eventually led him to found the major monastery of Bobbio in northern Italy. Other Irish foundations included Iona in Scotland, St Gallen in Switzerland and Lindisfarne in England (Walker 1957; Clarke and Brennan 1981; Lapidge 1997; Charles-Edwards 2000, 344–90).

About 150 small *tuatha* ('(petty) kingdoms') can be traced in early medieval Ireland, formed into larger networks based on bonds of allegiance and tribute (Charles-Edwards 2000, 13–15; Byrne 2001) (Map 8). The leading dynasties vied with each other for supremacy: among the most powerful were the five provincial overkings of Connaught, Leinster, Munster, Ulster and the Uí Néill (Byrne 2001, 46; for the Uí Néill see Charles-Edwards 2000, 441–68; Ó Cróinín 2005a, 200–2). Knowledge of these kingdoms' development down to the seventh century derives primarily from a set of synoptic annals and genealogies, each with its own agenda to articulate (Ó Corráin 1998a). The leading ruler in Ireland – normally of the Uí Néill – could claim the kingship of Tara (Co. Meath), a site rich in prehistoric monuments which symbolised overkingship, but in practice



Map 8. Ireland in the early Middle Ages.

control over Tara conferred only nominal authority beyond that which a king already enjoyed in his own right (Charles-Edwards 2000, 469–521; Bradley 2005).

Viking raids on Ireland commenced in the 790s (Ó Cróinín 1995, 233–41; Byrne 2005, 609–18). These targeted different parts of the island in turn and aimed at capturing slaves and other movable plunder. Their success is attested by the significant volume of Irish metalwork, primarily ecclesiastical in nature, which can be found in the furnished graves of western Norway (Wamers 1998). At first raids were sporadic and coastal, targeting Ulster and Leinster, but in the 830s Viking activity expanded to other parts of Ireland. Inland territories were also at risk, and 837 saw Viking fleets raid in the midlands after sailing up the Boyne and the Liffey. In 839 a fleet arrived in Lough Neagh and stayed there for two years, and in the following decade Viking armies – now larger and more organised – began to build fortified camps at strategic points, using these as bases for campaigns stretching over a number of years (Sheehan 2008a; Downham 2011a; Simpson 2012). These camps are known as *longphuirt* in Irish, and the archaeological finds from them are suggestive of manufacturing and exchange in addition to defensive functions. Some *longphuirt* went on to form the core of later Hiberno-Scandinavian towns, including Cork, Dublin, Limerick, Waterford and Wexford (Byrne 2005, 618–20; Simpson 2005; 2010; Gibbons and Gibbons 2008; Valante 2008, 37–56). Dublin in particular flourished during the tenth century and after. The town became prominent in international trade (notably of slaves) and supported specialised production of a variety of materials (Holm 1986; Wallace 1992, 157–9; Valante 2008, 118–49). Large-scale excavations in modern times have made it a showpiece of urban archaeology, and one of the best-studied major towns anywhere in Viking-Age Europe (Wallace 1987; 1990; 1992; 2001; Johnson 2004; Halpin 2005; A. Woods 2013b, I, 53–73).

Permanent establishment of the Vikings in forts and (later) towns around the coast of Ireland led to greater entanglements with local society. Groups of Vikings allied with certain Irish kingdoms against others, becoming embroiled in local politics with all the intermarriage and other contact this entailed (cf. Valante 2000). But having sacrificed their advantage of mobility, the Vikings of the camps or towns became potential targets for attack. The most significant Viking settlement, Dublin, was seized in 902 and its rulers scattered across Britain and Ireland. However, the town was retaken fifteen years later by the grandsons of Ívarr, a powerful Viking king of the ninth century (d. 873) (Downham 2007b, 17–62). Their dynasty held power at Dublin until at least the time of Sihtric III Silkbeard (989–1036, d. 1042), and in the earlier part of the tenth century also often ruled in York, creating a powerful Irish Sea axis (Downham 2007b). From 1052, however, Dublin was frequently under the overlordship of Irish rulers, and even though in some cases their control was nominal, the result was that Dublin became one unit in the multiple intersecting layers of Irish kingship (Duffy 2006, 55–7; Valante 2008, 151–6). On a local level rulers of Scandinavian extraction still frequently held power in Dublin, and the city was both a desirable prize and a force to be reckoned with: its kings led raids across Ireland as late as the twelfth century and developed important political interests in the Isle of Man (Duffy 2006; Downham 2007a; A. Woods 2013b, I, 40–51). In the twelfth century the kings of Dublin were normally drawn from the Mac Turcaill dynasty, the last of whom (Ascall mac Ragnaill) was defeated and expelled by Richard de Clare's (1130–76) invading army in 1170 (Duffy 1992; Downham 2007a; A. Woods 2013b, I, 30–52).

The virtual absence of coinage in pre-Viking Ireland did not preclude widespread exchange and investment in major construction projects, best known from archaeological remains. Ringforts dating to the early medieval period survive all over Ireland in their tens of thousands, and once hosted

a wide range of groups in society from kings down to individual farmers (Ó Corráin 2005, 550–3); water mills (on both rivers and the coast) have also been found in remarkable number (Edwards 1990; Davies 2010). Recent research (McCormick 2008) has stressed the importance of a shift towards arable farming in the pre-Viking period (in contrast to the emphasis placed on dairy farming in earlier work), contributing to a general impression of transition in the economy well before the appearance of coinage. Ecclesiastical sites loom large in the record (Edwards 2009a), but recent studies have also emphasised the degree and diversity of activity at secular sites, including extensive manufacturing (Kerr *et al.* 2013). Collectively, these studies have helped create a dynamic picture of the economic dimensions of early Irish society. Familiarity with buying and selling is apparent in literature of the period (Nagy 2010), while law-codes of the seventh and eighth centuries reveal an intricate system of valuation founded on units of account equated with the *bó mlicht* (milch cow) and *cumal* (female slave), into which metal-based units such as the *ungae* (Latin *uncia*, ‘ounce’) and *screpul* (Latin *scripulum*) were later integrated (see Appendix 2, section (b), pp. 370–1).

(b) LITERATURE

Despite rarely carrying intelligible inscriptions and in most cases being similar to English coins in appearance, early Irish pennies have been attracting scholarly interest since the mid-seventeenth century (Ware 1654, 150–64; Simon 1749; Snelling 1767; cf. *SCBI* 8, 3–6; Blackburn 2008, 112–14). The most systematic early survey was that of the Cork barrister and collector John Lindsay (1789–1870), though it was vitiated by his determination to find the names of numerous kings hidden in the inscriptions of various types (Lindsay 1839, esp. 6–24; 1848). Later, Bernard Roth (1852–1915) drew upon his extensive collection to assemble what was (for its day) an exceptional series of plates showing more than two hundred relevant coins: these illustrations remain valuable even though they include many Scandinavian imitations and other non-Irish coins, and despite accompanying a highly unsatisfactory discussion (Roth 1909). Alexander Parsons attempted to discern a chronology in the disorganised mass of material put together by Roth, largely based on typological parallels with the English coinage (Parsons 1923–4), and elaborated on the attribution of a coin to the Uí Néill (Parsons 1921–2). A more reserved account of the coinage was written by the curator of the National Museum of Ireland, William O’Sullivan (1949), originally as an article but subsequently republished as a separate pamphlet; in this, a broad chronology was outlined, with less dependence on either English parallels or alleged identifications of kings.

Michael Dolley turned to the subject in the 1960s with characteristic vigour. Dolley’s seminal publication of the British Museum collection (*SCBI* 8) provided the occasion for a review of Viking coinage in the British Isles as a whole, and a reappraisal of the structure of the coinage. He also evaluated new finds and reassessed old ones in many other small publications (collected in Thompson 1986). Dolley’s view of the coinage provided a framework for later catalogues (e.g. *SCBI* 22 and 32), and remains deeply influential, albeit with modification in important respects. The extent of Scandinavian dominance in the use of silver and coinage has been challenged (Gerriets 1985a; Kenny 1987), and the non-numismatic dimensions of Viking-Age silver hoards in Ireland have become a prominent element of research since the 1970s, most notably in the work of James Graham-Campbell and John Sheehan (e.g. Graham-Campbell 1976; Graham-Campbell and Sheehan 2009; Sheehan 1998a; 1998b; 2000). Interest in the Irish coinage has been maintained by Mark Blackburn and Kristin Bornholdt Collins (Blackburn and Dolley 1979; Blackburn 1990c; 2008; Bornholdt

Collins 2003; 2010), with the latest work – amounting to a wholesale re-evaluation of the chronology of the later portion of the coinage – undertaken by Andrew Woods (A. Woods 2013a).

(c) COINAGE AND BULLION IN VIKING-AGE IRELAND

Prior to the 990s there was no coinage produced in Ireland; all coins used were imports. Small numbers of Anglo-Saxon and Frankish coins dating from the seventh to the early ninth century have been uncovered (among them an important hoard of English pennies from the 820s from Delgany, Co. Wicklow: *Checklist* 48), but they are rare enough to suggest that the economic use of silver must have been limited (Blackburn 2007b, 123–4).

Beginning in the mid- to late ninth century, however, hoards of uncoined silver began to be deposited in Ireland in large quantity. Scandinavian contact – peaceful and commercial as well as violent – seems to have been the prime force behind this change (Blackburn 2009, 58–9). The finds from possible Viking fortresses at Woodstown (Co. Waterford) and Annagassan (Co. Louth) seem to stem from the early stages of this process: they include pieces of hack-silver, ingots and dirham fragments, as well as numerous weights reminiscent of those from Viking sites at Torksey in England and Kaupang in Norway (McNamara 2005; O'Brien *et al.* 2005; Sheehan 2008a, 286–8; 2008b, 245–7; 2015; Blackburn 2009, 58–9; Simpson 2012). Uncoined silver remained a major component of Irish hoards throughout the tenth century; its dominance is clear in the later ninth and earlier tenth century, with occasional coin-dated assemblages providing chronological guidance (Sheehan 1998a, 171). Of the *c.* 125 known Irish hoards from the later ninth and tenth century (Sheehan 2013, 39), around half consist solely of whole ornaments, normally of Hiberno-Scandinavian style; a sixth of the hoards consist of complete ingots with or without whole ornaments; and a third contain hack-silver, normally with ingots (Blackburn 2007b, 27; Sheehan 2000, 57–62; for an alternative division see Graham-Campbell 1976, 2–3). Tenth-century coin hoards and mixed hoards have been found across Ireland, but are generally concentrated in the east, in the region around Dublin (Dolley and Lynn 1976; Sheehan 2001, 55), presumably the principal point of entry. At the same time, coins as well as other forms of silver have been found in locations which lay well beyond effective Viking control, and there is no reason to assume that in the tenth (or indeed eleventh or twelfth) century use of coin and/or silver was restricted to Scandinavians (Gerriets 1985a; Kenny 1987, 515; 2005, 843–5; *pace* Dolley and Ingold 1961b, 260).

The numerous tenth-century silver hoards provide strong evidence for the gradual development of coin-use. After about the 940s, coin hoards begin to appear in larger numbers, and coins become a larger component of mixed hoards (Blackburn 2007b, 129–30; Bornholdt Collins 2010, 21–3). This is matched in the growing number of single-finds during the tenth century (Woods 2014). The central decades of the century, during which ‘mixed’ hoards containing coined and uncoined silver become more common, are a period of what Kristin Bornholdt Collins has termed ‘economic bilingualism’: use of coins, hack-silver and whole objects side by side to suit different transactions or partners (Bornholdt Collins 2010, 24–5). Uncoined silver had effectively disappeared from Irish hoards by the end of the tenth century: only three eleventh-century hoards include any non-numismatic content alongside coins (A. Woods 2013b, 1, 185).

The overwhelming majority of the coins found in Irish hoards at this time are of English origin, with smaller contributions from the Viking territories in England, the Frankish kingdoms and the Islamic world – though dirhams brought via Scandinavia were in many respects handled more like

a form of silver bullion (Sheehan 1998a, 186–8; 2001, 56; Blackburn 2007b, 129; Naismith 2012c). The flow of silver from England to Ireland can be traced through analysis of the mint-places of these coins. Coinage struck at Chester is prevalent in the middle of the tenth century (albeit with marked variation between individual assemblages: Blackburn 2007b, 128). This can be contrasted with hoards from contemporary Scotland and Man; the latter tend to be dominated by issues from the east midlands (Bornholdt Collins 2003, 265–74; cf. Metcalf 1992a). Silver seems to have moved into the Irish Sea area along several routes, and by the end of the century a more southerly trade route to the south of England and London is suggested by the presence of many south-western and London coins in Irish hoards (A. Woods 2015).

As elsewhere, hoards of precious metal (coin or bullion) could have served many purposes. Hoards consisting entirely of whole ornaments are more likely to represent passive storage and display of wealth, as opposed to an active stock of silver for the purpose of regular exchange. Any circulation of the arm-rings, brooches or other items from these hoards is likely to have come about through gift-giving or similar ‘social’ contexts (Sheehan 2000, 59–61; cf. Graham-Campbell 1989). The presence of more functional ingots and especially hack-metal suggests a wider range of functions, including commercial transactions based on divided and weighed silver objects. The distribution of ingot and hack-metal hoards closely resembles that of mixed and coin hoards, whereas collections of intact ornaments come from a broad but largely discrete area beyond this (Sheehan 2007, 153–7). The actual circumstances behind individual deposits remain tantalisingly obscure. Christian teaching actively discouraged hoarding of wealth on earth for its own sake, for which reason most early medieval hoards have been treated as temporary deposits which the owners sought to recover and continue using (Reuter 2000). Even hoards from watery places such as bogs and crannogs – often thought of as numinous or prestigious, and so prime candidates for ‘ritual’ deposition or permanent abrogation of wealth – include coins, ingots and hack-silver as well as whole objects, inviting the conclusion that these were in fact assemblages drawn from an exchange context (Graham-Campbell and Sheehan 2009, 87–90). Churches too attracted a significant proportion of coin finds outside urban areas (A. Woods 2013b, 1, 331–4), but any air of sanctity attracting these hoards must have been of a very general nature, as finds normally occur well outside the monastic precinct (A. Woods 2013b, 1, 292–3). It is just as likely that coins and hoards occur around churches because they were centres of wealth and exchange, and associations of power, safety and protection are entirely compatible with the temporary disposal of treasure. Nor should cross-fertilisation between different forms of wealth and motivations for deposition be ruled out: coins could have been used and/or concealed in a ‘ritual’ setting, while whole objects or ingots might have enjoyed an economic function, and settings with ‘ritual’ associations could have attracted hoards with what seems to be an exchange character. In very few instances can a strong case be made for one context or another, and the reasons behind hoarding in ninth- and tenth-century Ireland should be kept open.

(d) HIBERNO-SCANDINAVIAN COINAGE OF DUBLIN

1. *Structure and chronology*

By the latter part of the tenth century coinage was quite commonplace in much of Ireland, and most notably Dublin. It was there that the only substantive Irish coinage was produced, beginning in the 990s and continuing until around the time of the city’s conquest by an invading English

army in 1170. This chapter considers the coinage as a whole, for its later eleventh- and twelfth-century phases are better viewed as a continuation of earlier tradition, while a new, quite different coinage appeared in Dublin after the Norman takeover (Dolley 1987, esp. 818–19), which will be addressed in *MEC* 9(a).

Attribution of the coinage to Dublin depends on mint-signatures reading *DYFLI* or similar found on the few literate coins at the head of a complex but coherent series (*SCBI* 8, 125–6). Dublin was the leading urban centre of the Viking-Age Irish Sea, with extensive contacts in England and beyond (see above, section (a), p. 325). The close association between the earliest Irish coinage and the Scandinavian settlement of Dublin led to the coinage being known in early scholarship as ‘Hiberno-Danish’, at a time when Viking rulers tended to be lumped together as Danes (Lindsay 1839, 6; surviving as late as O’Sullivan 1949, 191). Michael Dolley drew attention to the strong Norwegian element in the raiding and settlement of Ireland, going so far as to relabel the resultant coinage ‘Hiberno-Norse’ (*SCBI* 8, esp. 10–17). However, increasing awareness of the flexibility of ethnic identities within Scandinavia, and in Ireland as settlers intermarried with locals, has led historians to adopt greater caution in drawing distinctions between various groups (Dumville 2005; Etchingham 2010b; Downham 2011b; Downham 2012), and it is appropriate to follow suit by terming the coinage ‘Hiberno-Scandinavian’ rather than Danish or Norse (cf. Sheehan *et al.* 2001, 93–4; Blackburn 2008, 112). The coinage was divided into seven phases by Michael Dolley (*SCBI* 8, 119–45) and more recently into seventeen groups and at least eighty-four sub-types by Andrew Woods (A. Woods 2013b, I, 77–111): see Table 20 for an outline of its structure. Arrangement of these coins into a relative chronology depends in part on consideration of style, metrology and iconography, but relies most heavily on representation in relevant hoards. Many groups are essentially known from only one or two deposits, and it is likely that the depth of understanding of the various parts of the coinage has been strongly affected by the vagaries of preservation. Absolute chronology derives from emulation of datable English types, the occasional presence of datable foreign coins in relevant hoards and sometimes other evidence (e.g. a coin of Woods Group G excavated in a Dublin building known from dendrochronology to have been built in 1059 or after: Woods 2013b, I, 90). As such, the chronology of the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage must be treated with more circumspection than that of contemporary England.

The long history of the Dublin coinage began with emulation of contemporary English coinages, spanning five successive issues: Æthelred II’s *Crux* (Fig. 12), *Long Cross*, *Helmet* and *Last Small Cross*, and also Cnut’s *Quatrefoil* (2613–25) (Dolley Phase I; A. Woods Groups A–E). This phase of shadowing the evolving late Anglo-Saxon monetary system lasted from the mid-990s to approximately 1020 and accounts for the first twenty-five or so years of the coinage. All five types fall within the long reign of Sihtric III Silkbeard (989–1036, d. 1042: for his reign see Downham 2007b, 57–61). Imitative and royal coinages based on English models emerged in other parts of the Viking world at around the same time, though the Dublin coinage is likely marginally to post-date the Scandinavian coinages (Woods 2015). Yet the Dublin series was also highly distinct from contemporary imitative coinages in other ways. The use of successive English designs in Dublin is better described as adoption than imitation, for the designs were carefully chosen and presumably answered to changes in typology in England: they do not seem to have overlapped, and hoard evidence suggests that Hiberno-Scandinavian type-changes came quite soon after their English counterparts (Dolley 1978c). Consequently the dates of the earliest Hiberno-Scandinavian issues

Table 20. *Principal divisions of the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage.*

Woods 2013b		Dolley (SCBI 8)	Catalogue nos.	Approximate date	Approximate weight (g)	English parallel(s)
Group	Types					
<i>Dublin</i>						
A		I	2613–14	Mid-990s	1.55	<i>Crux</i>
B		I	2615–23	Mid-990s– early/mid- 1000s	1.25–1.40	<i>Long Cross</i>
C		I	2624	Early/mid- 1000s–late 1000s	1.25	<i>Helmet</i>
D		I	2625	Late 1000s–c. 1016	1.15–1.35	<i>Last Small Cross</i>
E		I	–	c. 1016–1020	1.00	<i>Quatrefoil</i>
F		II	2626–44	c. 1020–40	0.60–1.30	<i>Long Cross</i>
G		III	2646–67	c. 1040–60	0.85–1.05	<i>Long Cross</i>
H	H1–2	IV	2668–76	c. 1060–5	0.50–1.00	<i>Long Cross, Facing Bust</i>
I	I1–18	V	2677–81	c. 1065–75	0.85–0.90	<i>Long Cross, Agnus Dei</i> (Scandinavian?), <i>Jewel Cross</i> , <i>Facing Bust, Pax</i> , WI ii
J	J1–10	V	–	c. 1075–80	0.65–0.70	<i>Long Cross</i> , WI ii, iv
K	K1–8	V	2682–3	c. 1080–5	0.65–0.70	<i>Long Cross</i> , WI vi, vii
L	L1–13	V	2684	c. 1085–90	0.85–0.90	<i>Long Cross</i> , WI v, <i>Paxs</i> , WII ii
M	M1–8	V	–	c. 1090–5	0.65	<i>Long Cross, Short Cross</i> , <i>Paxs</i>
N	N1–7	V/VI	2685	c. 1095–1100	0.60–65	<i>Long Cross, Hammer Cross</i> , <i>Short Cross</i> , WII ii, iii
O	O1–2	VI	2686–9	c. 1100–10	0.50	<i>Long Cross</i>
P	P1–3	VII	2690	c. 1110–15	0.65	<i>Long Cross</i>
Q	Q1–13	VII	2691	c. 1115–70	Uncertain	HI ix, viii, xi, x, xii, xiii, xiv, xv, Stephen i and vii
<i>Outside Dublin?</i>						
W	W1–3	VII	–	c. 1120–30	Uncertain	<i>Long Cross?</i>
Z		–	2692	–	–	–

Notes: WI indicates William I; WII William II; and HI Henry I. Type numbers for Norman issues are drawn from *BMC Normans*.



Figure 12. A Crux-type penny of Sihtric III (National Museum of Ireland, Dublin; photograph from SCBI).

probably followed those of their Anglo-Saxon equivalents quite closely (for their chronology see Chapter 10, section (e), pp. 227–35), with the exception of the initial *Crux* type, which appears to have started in the later stages of the corresponding Anglo-Saxon issue (Blackburn 2008, 118–23).

The aim of the issues seems to have been to co-opt the reputation of successful, trusted English issues, and also to implement a comparable system of recoinages. The Clondalkin hoard (*Checklist* 188) indicates that even at its inception the Dublin coinage probably sought to replace English currency within the city, though it is less clear whether subsequent coin types were issued with the same intention (Blackburn 2008, 123, 127; A. Woods 2013b, 1, 224). The Irish coinage also diverged from its English model in certain other respects. In terms of weight, for example, the earliest Hiberno-Scandinavian pennies of *Crux* type follow the relatively high weight characteristic of earlier English specimens and show no progressive reduction later in the type, as was customary in England. Hence the average weight of Irish *Crux* pennies is actually somewhat higher than the overall average of English coins of the same type (1.54g as opposed to 1.48g). However, the Dublin coinage did not return to a high weight standard at the beginning of the next issue (*Long Cross*). It initially maintained a similar weight standard to *Crux*, but later fell to c. 1.25g, and later types showed a slow and progressive decline in weight, though always staying within the broad tolerance of English specimens (Blackburn 2008, 124–7). The inscriptions on Hiberno-Scandinavian coins of Phase I/Groups A–E are for the most part carefully executed and readily legible. Indeed, many clearly refer to the local ruler with SITRIC REX DYFLIN or similar, occasionally using the Old Norse CVNVNC for ‘king’, as had occurred at York in the period 939–44 (see Chapter 11, sections (d) and (i), pp. 284–6 and 299). One die of Group E (apparently cut at Chester) carries the inscription +SITERIC REX IRVM, a crude form of ‘king among (?) the Irish’ (Blackburn 1996a, 5). Other coins carry the Dublin mint-signature on the reverse along with the name of a local moneyer, often Faraman (2615–18, 2622–3) (SCBI 8, 125–6). Some carry less intelligible legends, especially on the obverse: one group of later *Long Cross* coins includes the word ðYMN, another OGSEN, both still enigmatic despite considerable speculation (Dolley 1958–9c; SCBI 8, 126; Blackburn and Dolley 1979). However, a significant minority of coins imitate English inscriptions, naming Æthelred II or (later) Cnut as king (2614, 2622–5). An assortment of English mints and moneyers are named on the reverse, including major centres such as Lincoln, London, Winchester and York but also Chester and several minor mint-places in western England (2619–21, 2624) (SCBI 8, 122–3). These are paired with obverse dies naming both Sihtric and Æthelred II, with no clearly discernible pattern to the pairings. A number of dies seem actually to have been of English origin. Raids may have brought some to Dublin, but others must have come by more peaceful means. A few dies naming Sihtric are of styles associated with Chester and London, suggesting that Dublin moneyers may have commissioned dies from English craftsmen. The opposite

also seems to have been true, for three *Long Cross* and *Helmet* obverse dies of Dublin style are found used in the regular coinage of York (Blackburn 2008, 124).

Ties to England weakened significantly after about 1020. A new coinage instituted in Dublin at this time (**2626–44**: Dolley Phase II; A. Woods Group F), still within the reign of Sihtric III, reverted to the earlier English type most extensively minted in Dublin: the *Long Cross* type of Æthelred II. This design was to be a recurring feature of the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage until the twelfth century (A. Woods 2013b, I, 199; Blackburn 2008, 128). Continuation of the same basic type did not preclude variation in detail or in style, however, and already in this phase of the coinage (dated, on hoard evidence, to the 1020s and 1030s) the inscriptions become much more variable in literacy (A. Woods 2013b, I, 81–2). Moreover, the *Long Cross* type was probably chosen very deliberately: it had been the heaviest of the English types imitated by the earlier Irish issues, and was comfortably the largest in terms of output. It was a trusted and familiar coinage, and on that basis became part of the framework for a far-reaching reform of the Dublin currency (Blackburn 2008, 127–32; A. Woods 2013b, I, 89–90). Key elements of this included minor adjustments to distinguish the new design from the old (a cross replaced the pellet behind the king's head, and pellets appeared in the angles of the reverse cross), a temporary increase in weight and a more concerted attempt to exclude foreign coinage from circulation in Dublin; this last resulted in the virtual disappearance of English pennies from the plentiful excavation finds (Blackburn 2008, 117; A. Woods 2013b, I, 225–7).

A wider variety of symbols appeared on the obverse and reverse of later Phase II/Group F coins (cf. **2645**), paving the way for Dolley Phase III/Woods Group G, which retained the same basic *Long Cross* design (**2646–67**). One of the latest of the former has a symbol resembling a capital E behind the bust and in one quarter of the reverse, and is unusual in being found on mules with the first specimens of the next major coinage (Blackburn 2008, 132–3; Bornholdt Collins *et al.* 2014, 485–8). The central feature of phase III/Group G was that one or (more often) two simplified hands were placed in the quarters of the cross on the reverse, and the weight was raised again – to c. 1.00g, as opposed to the 0.60–70g of late Phase II/Group F pennies; in Dublin the issue may have constituted a further recoinage, replacing earlier issues (Blackburn 2008, 132–3; A. Woods 2013b, I, 226).

Following this, the Dublin mint entered a complex period marked by typological variation and fluctuation in weight. Intricate die-chains are known from this period, which highlights the fact that the Dublin mint was striking coinage of highly variable iconography within very short spans of time. This period of variation probably spanned the years from the early 1060s to about 1100. New portions of the coinage appeared in quick succession, apparently without any effort at replacing older currency. These are all embraced within Dolley's Phases IV and V, but have more helpfully been divided into seven successive sections by Woods (**2668–85**: Groups H–N; for detailed breakdown of typology and chronology see Woods 2013b, II, 2–118).

Pennies of Dolley Phase IV/Woods Group H (**2668–76**) are characterised by a small cross incised into one quarter of the reverse dies. Earlier specimens show on the obverse a *Long Cross* bust similar to that of Phase III/Group G; in one case a late die of this phase even persisted into the new one. There was no change in weight between the later specimens of Phase III/Group G and the early ones of Phase IV/Group H, implying a measure of continuity between the two. A sharper break came with the later specimens of the phase, which adopted a facing bust design modelled on the *Facing Bust* issue of Edward the Confessor (A. Woods 2013b, I, 90–3). This sudden



Figure 13. An Agnus Dei-type penny of Hiberno-Scandinavian Group I/Phase V (National Museum of Ireland, Dublin; photograph from SCBI).

iconographic departure is helpful for dating purposes, placing the coinage in the early to mid-1060s. It has sometimes been viewed as suggesting production at a different mint-place (Dolley 1980), but compelling evidence from Dublin points strongly to an origin within the main minting centre (A. Woods 2013b, I, 91–2).

In Group I (**2677–81**), the *Long Cross* obverse design reappears (sometimes with the bust facing right instead of left, and with a crook or crozier before), but it was combined with a wide variety of other obverse and reverse designs which show active engagement with English coin types from the time of Edward the Confessor, Harold II and William I (extending into the 1070s). Some rare coins even show an obverse design modelled on the *Agnus Dei* type (Fig. 13) – though at this date, more than sixty years after the original English issue of September 1009 (see Chapter 10, section (j), pp. 261–8), it is likely that the Dublin moneyers based the design on Scandinavian imitations (A. Woods 2013b, I, 205 and II, 8–9). A significant level of typological diversity continued in Woods Group J, but the weight was noticeably lower (0.65–0.70g as opposed to 0.85–0.90g in Group I). Group K (**2682–3**) is marked out by imitation of Norman types from the early 1080s, ending with what was probably the last issue of William I (*BMC Normans*, vii), while Group L (**2684**) includes a stylistically distinct series of coins modelled on the first (*Paxs*) type of William II. It also appears to have brought a general attempt to raise the production standards of the coinage, including closer adherence to English models and higher weight (A. Woods 2013b, I, 96–101). These imitations of *Paxs* and other English types place Groups K and L in the 1080s or after. Their successor, Group M, reverts to a lower weight standard (0.65g) and is unusual for its relatively small, thick flans. *Long Cross* types return to form an important element in the coinage's iconography, but are combined with a range of other designs, especially on the reverse. Group N (**2685**) retains the lower weight but includes imagery drawn from the coinage of William II, placing it in the 1090s or after (A. Woods 2013b, I, 101–2).

Woods Group N marks the transition between Dolley Phases V and VI. The next cluster of coins (Dolley Phase VI/Woods Group O: **2686–9**) is well represented from a number of early twelfth-century hoards, and is much less varied iconographically than issues of the preceding forty or so years. Group O coins carry a *Long Cross*-style bust on the obverse, with a crook or crozier before, and a long cross with sceptres and pellets in the angles on the reverse. Moreover, an effort was apparently made to replace the assorted older coinages with the new issue, demonstrated by its dominance in most Irish hoards of the period (A. Woods 2013b, I, 227–8).

The final phase of the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage witnessed a move in format towards especially large, thin flans (Dolley Phase VII/Woods Groups P–Q). These have been known since at least Lindsay's time (Lindsay 1839, 22–4) as bracteates, borrowing from the vocabulary of high medieval German numismatics to describe pennies (struck on one side only) which are so broad and thin that they are akin to leaves (Latin *bracteae*). In the Irish context, the first part of this

coinage (A. Woods Group P: **2690**) did not consist of true bracteates, for both faces were struck; hence this section of the coinage has sometimes been known as ‘half/semi-’ or ‘double bracteates’ (O’Sullivan 1949, 196). However, the reverse design often bled through to such an extent that the obverse design is difficult to make out. Where visible, the obverse is a *Long Cross*-style bust, with a quatrefoil on the reverse, sometimes with devices in the angles similar to those of Group O (A. Woods 2013b, I, 105–7). ‘True’ bracteates struck on only one face constitute the very last segment of the Hiberno-Scandinavian currency (**2691**). Their chronology depends on the renewed imitation of twelfth-century English types, extending from Henry I (1100–35) to Stephen (1135–54), and beginning with Henry’s *BMC* type ix, which would place the beginning of the bracteates as early as *c.* 1115–20 (A. Woods 2013b, I, 108–11). The introduction of Irish bracteates thus more or less coincides with that of German bracteates, which probably emerged in a group of Thuringian monasteries *c.* 1115–30; there is no obvious connection between the two developments, though this was an era of renewed contact between Ireland and Germany through monk-pilgrims at the *Schötenkloster*, so a link cannot be ruled out (Kühn 1996). The latest English type which seems to have been imitated on Irish bracteates is Stephen *BMC* type vii of the 1150s. It is likely that bracteates of Group Q continued to be issued until the English takeover of Dublin in 1170.

2. *Aspects of production and circulation*

Although it grew up at much the same time as Scandinavian imitations of English coinage and incipient royal issues in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, the Hiberno-Scandinavian currency was a quite different entity. It took much more from English practice than designs, though these were imitated, especially in Woods Groups A–E, H–N and Q (cf. Woods 2013b, I, 202–3). Perhaps most notable was a series of apparent recoinages, based on the late Anglo-Saxon model, in which all old or foreign coinage in Dublin was brought in and reminted. Up to five of these recoinages can be identified, at the start of Woods Groups A, B, F, and possibly G and O (Blackburn 2008; A. Woods 2013b, I, 222–30). Within Dublin and its environs these recoinages were quite effective: old Hiberno-Scandinavian specimens disappear, while English coins vanish from circulation in Ireland as a whole by about the 1040s, and reappear only on a limited scale in the twelfth century, when their quite different weight and appearance meant they probably did not circulate as competitors to the Irish coinage (Blackburn 2008, 117; A. Woods 2013b, I, 230–3). This sporadic but at times firm management of the currency, coupled with occasional increases in weight (A. Woods 2013b, I, 166–77), makes a strong case for central control of the coinage, presumably by the royal authorities within Dublin (A. Woods 2013b, I, 233–4). But royal involvement in Dublin’s coinage was exercised in quite different fashion to that of contemporary English kings. The king’s name and title appeared only in the early stages of the issue, and even then these were combined with the same design as contemporary English issues. In the twelfth century, even the human figure which is presumed to represent the king disappears, leaving a series of geometric designs on the bracteate coinages.

Maintenance of recognised designs also fulfilled the goal of guaranteeing the authority of the coinage from an economic point of view, and this seems to have been an important dimension of the Hiberno-Scandinavian currency (A. Woods 2013b, I, 356–61). Commercial considerations probably also dictated the coinage’s highly consistent alloy: from the time of its inception until the ‘half-bracteate’ and bracteate groups of *c.* 1110 and after, the fineness of the coinage generally held steady at a little over 90 per cent silver. A minority of coins from the 1050s–70s dipped as low as

70 per cent fine, but debasement at this stage was sporadic (though there was greater fluctuation in weight). More serious and prolonged debasement came in the twelfth century, when the metallic quality dropped precipitously. Specimens of Woods Group Q in particular contain as little as 0–15 per cent silver (Heslip and Northover 1990; A. Woods 2013b, I, 154–66).

Throughout its existence, even in the final phase of sharply reduced metallic quality, the Dublin coinage was used intensively within the city of Dublin itself, as revealed by extensive excavation finds amounting to 125 single-finds and three hoards (as yet unpublished in detail, but see Wallace 1986; A. Woods 2013a; 2014). These provide an unusually detailed view of the role of coinage in a Viking-Age town. Close analysis of their distribution shows that there was no particular correlation with large or specialised buildings, and that specimens came from settings characterised by both trade and craft production. The implication of the Dublin coin finds is that coinage was a broad-based phenomenon associated with craftsmen and local trade, and not tied exclusively to the town's elite (A. Woods 2013b, I, 241–80). Minting may have been associated with an area around Christchurch Place, situated on a major thoroughfare and characterised by extensive traces of metalworking (including lead coin-like objects suggestive of coin production) (A. Woods 2013b, I, 236–41). A die-study of the coinage by Woods (including selected early material and Groups H–O) permits calculation of the Dublin mint's productivity, estimated at about the equivalent of between five and twenty obverse dies per annum (possibly with a temporary rise in the 1080s). This would make it comparable in magnitude with some of the more significant English mint-places such as Lincoln, Winchester and York, with the important qualification that Dublin was the only mint-place of any substance in the whole of Ireland, while in England there were always several dozen at work (A. Woods 2013b, I, 118–53).

The coinage also circulated widely outside Dublin. Other Irish finds mostly cluster within a radius of about 80 miles from Dublin; some coin finds occur further afield, the north and west of Ireland being the most poorly represented. Most coins found outside Dublin belong to the tenth and eleventh centuries; the debased twelfth-century issues continued to circulate in Dublin itself, but are very unusual elsewhere. Despite the prominent role played by Dublin in minting and driving monetary exchange more generally, coinage was not an exclusively Scandinavian phenomenon. The area of plentiful coin finds was for the most part under Irish rule, and indeed Dublin itself was frequently under the overkingship of powerful Irish dynasties (see above, section (a), p. 325).

It is likely that the known record of Irish finds gives a poorer picture of the extent and nature of circulation than contemporary English material. Differences in laws regarding metal-detector use mean that finds from Ireland (especially single-finds) are scarce in comparison with England, and mostly stem from either chance discoveries or archaeological excavations (A. Woods 2013b, I, 292–319; 2014). There are also finds from outside Ireland which reveal the international contacts of Dublin (A. Woods 2013b, I, 320–2). Coins of Dolley Phases I–III/Woods Groups A–G (especially earlier specimens within this group: Blackburn 2008, 133) occur in some volume in finds from Scandinavia and the Baltic, if still in much smaller numbers than contemporary English and German specimens. Two hoards and at least one single-find are known from Italy, presumably stemming from the traffic of Irish traders and pilgrims. Closer to home, Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage was the dominant element in the currency circulating on the Isle of Man (cf. Bornholdt Collins *et al.* 2014, 476–84), and was also well represented in Scotland. Only a small number of finds come from England, where there was tight control over the reminting of foreign coinage: the few known finds probably represent many more which were transformed into English pennies.

(e) HIBERNO-SCANDINAVIAN COINAGE FROM OUTSIDE DUBLIN?

Reliable mint names occur only on some of the earliest Hiberno-Scandinavian pennies, and in all cases cite Dublin. Identification of other possible mint-places hinges on style and a find distribution different from those of the main Dublin mint. Michael Dolley suggested that certain coins of Phase IV/Group H may have been struck at Limerick (Co. Limerick) (Dolley 1960b), but later retracted this view, which derived from the evidence of a single Limerick hoard of *Facing Bust* pennies (SCBI 8, 132). More convincingly, however, he identified two parallel series of 'half-bracteates' and bracteates of Phase VII/Group P–W, of different style, which shared no known die-links whatsoever. One of these is the principal Dublin series (best known from the Scrabo Hill hoard); because most of the other group survive in a hoard with a Co. Wexford provenance, Dolley attributed them to the monastic centre of Ferns (Co. Wexford) (Dolley 1983, esp. 124). A Co. Wexford origin for the relevant issues remains persuasive, though the association with Ferns is weak; for this reason Woods assigns them more generally to Wexford (Group W) in the early to mid-twelfth century without venturing a specific attribution (A. Woods 2013b, I, III–13 and II 114–17).

MINTS IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND, *c.* 600–1066

Coins were struck at named and unnamed mints in England and Ireland throughout the period *c.* 600–1066, the bulk of them in England (see Map 9, p. 357 below). Section (a) lists first the certain or probable mint-places in England, secondly the named mints of uncertain location, and then concludes with a discussion of the many unnamed mints likely to have contributed to the coinage before the universal adoption of mint-signatures in the 970s. Section (b) discusses the several mints that operated in Ireland and the Irish Sea area in the late tenth and eleventh century: while just one, Dublin, is named, a number of others were probably active as well, including on the Isle of Man.

No mint-places can be identified within the bounds of modern Scotland or Wales during this period, but see Chapter 12, section (c), pp. 311–12, for discussion of a coin in the name Hywel Dda which may have been minted in Chester or (less probably) in Wales.

Throughout this appendix and the rest of the volume, the term mint-place has generally been preferred to mint (see also Chapter 1, section (d), p. 10). This is because coin production seems to have been quite devolved in this period: within a single town, minting was split between a number of moneyers who generally operated individually. It is therefore misleading to speak of ‘the mint of London’, ‘the mint of York’, etc., which implies a greater degree of unity and co-ordination than is normally apparent.

(a) MINTS IN ENGLAND

1. Named mints of certain or probable location

Entries note the first occurrence and the duration of activity of each mint-place. A representative specimen (from the catalogue in this volume where possible) is cited for all mints active prior to Edgar’s reform of the early 970s. Approximate dates for later Anglo-Saxon coin types can be found above in Table 17, pp. 224–6. Entries close with references to any contemporary documentation of minting activity, and to major published discussions. Shires refer to divisions at the time of DB; these are often co-terminous with modern ceremonial counties, with some differences, for instance in the case of Peterborough and the area around London. Cross-references in brackets are provided for the postulated or unlikely mints discussed in the second list of mint-places with uncertain locations, where they are cited by the commonest or longest inscriptional form. See Table 21 (pp. 352–6 below) for a summary of activity at the named English mints.

AXBRIDGE, Somerset. First named as a mint in Edgar's reform coinage, again in Æthelred II *Long Cross*, then regularly from Cnut *Quatrefoil* to Harthacnut *Arm and Sceptre*. Elmore Jones 1960–1; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 1–4.

AYLESBURY, Buckinghamshire. First named as a mint in Æthelred II *Crux*, then in Cnut *Quatrefoil* and in Edward the Confessor *Radiate/Small Cross* to *Facing Bust*. Freeman 1985, 210–12; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 4–7; Clarke and Symons 2007.

BARNSTAPLE, Devon. First named as a mint under Eadwig (*CTCE*, no. 144) then regularly (with a few gaps) between Edgar's reform and Edward the Confessor *Hammer Cross* (and possibly *Facing Bust*: *SCBI* 42.1564). Freeman 1985, 402–4; Jonsson 1987b, 121–2; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 7–10.

BATH, Somerset. First named on two rare coins of Edward the Elder (**1281**), under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, nos. 128–9), Eadwig (*CTCE*, no. 69) and regularly from Edgar's pre-reform coinage (*CTCE*, nos. 202–6) to the Norman Conquest (though it is not known for Harold II). Blunt 1974, 74; Freeman 1985, 391–3; Jonsson 1987b, 122–3; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 11–17.

BEDFORD, Bedfordshire. Possibly first named as a mint under Edmund (*CTCE*, nos. 259–60, but cf. Blunt 1971, 17–20), then more clearly under Eadwig (**1635–6**) and regularly thereafter until the Norman Conquest. Freeman 1985, 274–80; Jonsson 1987b, 123–4; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 17–26.

BEDWYN, Wiltshire. Named as a mint under Edward the Confessor, *Trefoil Quadrilateral* to *Pyramids*. Carlyon-Britton 1902; Elmore Jones 1971; Freeman 1985, 465–7; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 26–34.

BERKELEY, Gloucestershire. Named as a mint in Edward the Confessor *Pax*, *Trefoil Quadrilateral* and *Pointed Helmet*. Carlyon-Britton 1907a; Dolley 1961c; *SCBI* 19, pp. 109–11; Freeman 1985, 380–2; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 35–6.

BRIDPORT/BREDY, Dorset. Rare coins of Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, no. 130) name a mint *BRIDIAN*, which may have been Bridport or somewhere along the river Brit in Dorset (Blunt 1974, 74–5). This may or may not be identical with a location of the same name referred to on later coins, issued sporadically from Æthelred II *First Hand* to the Norman Conquest. DB (1, fol. 75r) mentions a moneyer at Bridport in 1066. Woosnam 1921; Blunt 1974, 74–5; Freeman 1985, 433–5; Jonsson 1987b, 124; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 36–42.

BRISTOL, Gloucestershire. First named as a mint in Æthelred II *Last Small Cross* and regularly thereafter to the Norman Conquest. *SCBI* 19, pp. 12–14; Freeman 1985, 382–7; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 42–6.

BRUTON, Somerset. First named as a mint in Æthelred II *Long Cross* and sporadically thereafter to Edward the Confessor *Radiate/Small Cross*. Dolley 1959; Freeman 1985, 421; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 46–8.

BUCKINGHAM, Buckinghamshire. First named as a mint in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (*CTCE*, no. 208), then sporadically from Edward the Martyr to Edward the Confessor *Hammer Cross*. Dolley *et al.* 1965; Freeman 1985, 212–14; Jonsson 1987b, 125; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 48–52.

BURY ST EDMUNDS, Suffolk. First named as a mint in Edward the Confessor *Trefoil Quadrilateral* and sporadically thereafter to *Facing Bust*. A writ of Edward the Confessor survives granting one moneyer to Abbot Baldwin in 1065×1066 (S 1085; Harmer 1952, no. 25). Freeman 1985, 264–6; Eaglen 2006; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 52–8.

(**CADBURY, Somerset**, see **SOUTH CADBURY**)

CAISTOR, Lincolnshire. Named as a mint under Edward the Martyr and in Æthelred II *First Small Cross* and *First Hand*, then again in Cnut *Quatrefoil* and *Pointed Helmet*. Dolley 1955–7d, 88–92; Stewart 1979; Jonsson 1987b, 125–6; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 60–2.

CAMBRIDGE, Cambridgeshire. First named as a mint in Edgar's reform coinage and regularly thereafter to the Norman Conquest, with the exception of Æthelred II *Second Hand*. Jacob 1984a; 1984b; Freeman 1985, 266–74; Jonsson 1987b, 126–7; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 62–9.

CANTERBURY, Kent. First named as a mint c. 600–20 (see Chapter 3, section (d), p. 51), and active almost constantly thereafter. Minting is implied by issues in the names of archbishops of Canterbury c. 775–924, and early mint-signatures occur in the ninth century under Archbishop Wulfred (976–81), Ceolwulf I (1074), the Anonymous coinage (995–8), Baldred (965, 967), Ecgerht (1183–6), Archbishop Ceolnoth (982–3, 985) and Æthelwulf (1209). It is also named under Alfred (1262–5) and Æthelstan (1451–2; Blunt 1974, nos. 131–5, 262–4), and regularly from Edgar's pre-reform coinage to the Norman Conquest. Seven moneyers were assigned to it in II Æthelstan (Liebermann 1903–16, I, 158–9): four for the king, two for the archbishop and one for the abbot of St Augustine's. Canterbury's Latin name, *Dorobernia*/*Dorovernia*, was normally used on coins until the time of Edgar, after which abbreviated versions of the Old English *Cantwaraburg* were preferred (Carroll and Parsons 2007, 69–82). Blunt 1974, 64–5; Freeman 1985, 511–18; Jonsson 1987b, 127–8.

(**CASTLE GOTHA, Cornwall.** See GODABYRI, below.)

(**CASTLE RISING, Norfolk.** See POISENG/ROISENG, below.)

CHESTER, Cheshire. First named as a mint under Æthelstan (1453–5, 1474–5, 1479–80; Blunt 1974, nos. 136–58, 326–33, 337–42, 345–61) and Edmund (CTCE, no. 247), then regularly from Edgar's pre-reform coinage (CTCE, nos. 288–90, 311–12) to the Norman Conquest. Some variant of the city's OE name *Legaceaster* was used on coins until after 1066. There is hence some possibility of confusion between the mint-signatures of Chester and Leicester (OE *Ligeraceaster*); Chester's mint-signature was normally LEG(CE) or LEIC/G. DB (I, fol. 262v) mentions seven moneyers at Chester in 1066. Dolley 1955a; Blunt 1974, 97–9; Freeman 1985, 327–40; Jonsson 1987b, 128–30; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 82–91; SCBI 64, pp. 4–15.

CHICHESTER, Sussex. First named as a mint under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, no. 159), again in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (CTCE, nos. 210–12) and then regularly thereafter until the Norman Conquest. It was named as a mint operating one moneyer in II Æthelstan, apparently sharing its moneyer with Hastings (Liebermann 1903–16, I, 158–9). King 1955–7; Blunt 1974, 73–4; Freeman 1985, 480–3; Jonsson 1987b, 130–1; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 91–7.

CISSBURY, Sussex. Probably named as a mint in Æthelred II's *Last Small Cross* and in Cnut *Quatrefoil*. Identification of this 'emergency' hill-fort mint-place depends on much later records of the place name, stemming from the early modern period, but is accepted by place-name scholars. Dolley and Elmore Jones 1955–7b, 277–82; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 97–8.

COLCHESTER, Essex. First named as a mint in Æthelred II *Crux* and regularly thereafter until the Norman Conquest. DB (II, fol. 107r) mentions moneyers paying part of the town's renders in 1066. Turner 1941–4; Freeman 1985, 222–6; Metcalf and Lean 1993; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 98–104.

CREWKERNE, Somerset. First named as a mint in Æthelred II *Long Cross*, and again between Cnut *Quatrefoil* and Harold I *Jewel Cross*. Carroll and Parsons 2007, 104–6.

CRICKLADE, Wiltshire. First named on a recently discovered pre-reform penny of Edgar (Lyon 2011), then in Æthelred II *First Hand* and regularly thereafter until the Norman Conquest. Freeman 1985, 444–8; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 106–12; Lyon 2011.

DERBY, Derbyshire. First named as a mint under Æthelstan (1456–8; Blunt 1974, nos. 161–70, 251–2), Olaf Guthfrithsson (*CTCE*, p. 229) and Edmund (1510: *CTCE*, nos. 243, 249), then regularly from Edgar's pre-reform coinage to the Norman Conquest. Blunt 1974, 93–5; Freeman 1985, 313–17; Jonsson 1987b, 131–2; Pagan 1995; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 112–20.

DORCHESTER, Dorset. First named as a mint in Æthelred II *First Hand*, then again in *Crux* and regularly thereafter until the Norman Conquest (with the intriguing exception of Cnut *Quatrefoil*). It was listed as a mint in II Æthelstan (in the Latin *Quadripartitus* version only: Liebermann 1903–16, I, 158–9), though no coins of this reign survive. DB (I, fol. 75r) mentions two moneyers there in 1066. Freeman 1985, 429–33; Jonsson 1987b, 132; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 120–6.

(*Dorobernia/Dorovernia*. Latin form of Canterbury (see above).)

(*Dorobrebria*. Latin form of Rochester (see below).)

DOVER, Kent. First named as a mint under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, nos. 2, 119), then regularly from Edgar's reform until the Norman Conquest. Blunt 1974, 76; Freeman 1985, 506–11; Jonsson 1987b, 133; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 126–32.

DROITWICH, Worcestershire. Named as a mint in Edward the Confessor, *Hammer Cross*, *Facing Bust* and *Transitional Pyramids*, and under Harold II. The mint-signature (WIC, WICNEH, WICWIC) was before c. 1960 sometimes interpreted as Watchet, Winchester or Worcester. Carlyon-Britton 1906, 167; Stewart and Blunt 1978; Freeman 1985, 348–53.

EXETER, Devon. First named on a very rare group of coins of Alfred the Great minted after c. 880 (*BMC* 79) and again under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, nos. 173–4), Eadwig (*CTCE*, no. 145) and in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (1715), then regularly to the Norman Conquest. It was assigned two moneyers in II Æthelstan (Liebermann 1903–16, I, 158–9). Stewart 1970; Blunt 1974, 69–70; Andrews *et al.* 1980; Freeman 1985, 393–8; Jonsson 1987b, 133–4; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 132–9.

(**FROME, Somerset.** See FRO below.)

GLOUCESTER, Gloucestershire. First named on a coin of Alfred the Great minted c. 880 (*BMC* 80) and again under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, no. 175), then regularly from Edgar's reform to the Norman Conquest. *SCBI* 19, pp. 95–101; Blunt 1974, 103; Freeman 1985, 365–74; Jonsson 1987b, 134–5; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 140–8.

GRANTHAM, Lincolnshire. Named as a mint on a few rare coins of Æthelred II *First Hand*. Carlyon-Britton 1906, 167; Jonsson 1987a.

GREAT SHELFORD, Cambridgeshire. The apparent place name SCELDFOR appears on two Viking imitations of around the 890s (*BMC* 1077), issued in the name of a *comes* Sihtric. Great Shelford, Cambridgeshire, is the more likely candidate because of its identification as a Viking-period estate centre, although Shelford, Nottinghamshire, has also been suggested. Haigh 1843, 117; Dolley 1965, 19; Hart 1995.

GUILDFORD, Surrey. First named under Edward the Martyr and sporadically during the reigns of Æthelred II and Cnut, then more regularly from Cnut *Short Cross* to the Norman Conquest. Freeman 1985, 204–7; Jonsson 1987b, 135–6; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 148–51.

HASTINGS, Sussex. First named in Æthelred II *Second Hand*, and regularly thereafter until the Norman Conquest. It was named as a mint operating one moneyer in II Æthelstan (though

no coins are known of this period: Liebermann 1903–16, 1, 158–9), apparently sharing its moneyer with Chichester. King 1955–7; Freeman 1985, 493–501; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 151–7.

HEREFORD, Herefordshire. First named under Æthelstan (1476), in Edgar's reform coinage and then regularly from Æthelred II *First Hand* to the Norman Conquest. DB (I, fol. 181v) mentions seven moneyers there in 1066, with special provisions for supplying the king and his armies, and one paying his annual fee to the bishop instead of the king. Blunt 1974, 104; Freeman 1985, 374–80; Jonsson 1987b, 136–7; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 158–62.

HERTFORD, Hertfordshire. First named under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, nos. 120, 265), then regularly from Eadwig (CTCE, no. 89) and Edgar's pre-reform coinage (1753) to the Norman Conquest. Blunt 1972; 1974, 76–7; Freeman 1985, 194–204; Jonsson 1987b, 137; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 162–9.

(**HOCKWOLD CUM WILTON, Norfolk.** See WILTV, below)

HORNCastle, Lincolnshire. Named as a mint under Edward the Martyr and in Æthelred II *First Small Cross* and *First Hand*. Dolley 1958–9e; Elmore Jones 1968; Purvey 1969; Jonsson 1987b, 138; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 169–70.

HORNDON, Essex. Named as a mint on a unique coin of Edward the Confessor of the *Sovereign/Eagles* type. Mills 1977; Freeman 1985, 217–19; Metcalf and Lean 1993, 223–4; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 170–2.

HUNTINGDON, Huntingdonshire. Possibly first named as a mint under Eadwig (1637: CTCE, nos. 90–1) and more certainly in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (1754: CTCE, nos. 351–2), then regularly from Æthelred II *First Hand* to the Norman Conquest. DB (I, fol. 203r) mentions three moneyers there in 1066. Elmore Jones 1964; Freeman 1985, 281–9; Eaglen 1999; 2002; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 172–6.

HYTHE, Kent. Named as a mint in Edward the Confessor *Radiate/Small Cross*, *Small Flan*, *Pointed Helmet* and *Hammer Cross*. Freeman 1985, 503–6; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 176–8.

ILCHESTER, Somerset. First named as a mint in Edgar's reform coinage and regularly thereafter until the Norman Conquest, with a gap in Æthelred II *Last Small Cross* when the moneyers of Ilchester seem to have moved to South Cadbury. Stevens Cox 1949; Dolley 1955–7a; Freeman 1985, 410–15; Jonsson 1987b, 138–9.

IPSWICH, Suffolk. First named as a mint in Edgar's reform coinage and regularly thereafter until the Norman Conquest. DB (II, fol. 290b) mentions moneyers active there in 1066. Freeman 1985, 228–34; Jonsson 1987b, 139–40; Sadler 2010–12.

LANGPORT, Somerset. First named as a mint under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, nos. 178–9, 266), again from Cnut *Quatrefoil* to Harthacnut *Arm and Sceptre*, and also in Edward the Confessor *Expanding Cross*. Dolley 1958–9b; Blunt 1974, 77; Freeman 1985, 418–21.

LAUNCESTON, Cornwall. Named as a mint on a unique penny of Æthelred II *First Hand*, and after the Norman Conquest. Metcalf 1998a, 247.

(*Legaceaster*. OE form of **CHESTER** (see above).)

LEICESTER, Leicestershire. First named on an imitative Horizontal/Two-Line halfpenny (2369) of c. 880 and again under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, no. 180), then regularly from Edgar's reform to the Norman Conquest. There is some possibility of confusion between the mint-signatures of Leicester (OE *Ligeraceaster*) and Chester (OE *Legaceaster*); Leicester was commonly *Ligerceste* and later *LEHERCE*, *LIH(RA)* or *LEH(RA)* on coins. Blunt 1974, 96–7; Freeman 1985, 299–307; Jonsson 1987b, 140–1.

LEWES, Sussex. First named as a mint under Æthelstan (**1459**: Blunt 1974, 181, 267) and on pre-reform pennies of Edgar (*SCBI* 68.754), then regularly from Edgar's reform coinage to the Norman Conquest. It was assigned two moneyers in II Æthelstan (Liebermann 1903–16, I, 158–9). DB (I, fol. 26r) mentions moneyers active there in 1066. Cf. King 1955–7; Blunt 1974, 70; Freeman 1985, 485–93; Jonsson 1987b, 141–2.

LINCOLN, Lincolnshire. First named on very rare imitations of the London Monogram coinage, replacing the monogram with one for *Lincola* (*BMC* 81), produced c. 880–900, and subsequently on the St Martin coinage of the 920s (**2604A**). It is thereafter named on rare pennies of Eadred (**1605**) and one pre-reform coin of Edgar (Blackburn and Leahy 1996), and regularly from Edgar's reform to the Norman Conquest. Stewart 1967a; Mossop 1970; Freeman 1985, 106–18; Jonsson 1987b, 142–4.

LONDON, Middlesex. First named as a mint in the reign of Eadbald, king of Kent (616–40) (4) and on some early silver pennies minted in the first half of the eighth century (**436**). Activity is implied under Offa by a probable issue in the name of the bishop of London (**1173**); mint-signatures occur under Coenwulf and Ecgbreht of Wessex (see Chapter 6, section (e), p. 143 and Chapter 7, section (d), p. 156), in the reigns of Alfred (**1253–60**) and Æthelstan (**1449, 1460–1, 1483**; Blunt 1974, nos. 182–91, 258–9, 268–77), and it is named regularly from Eadwig's reign (*SCBI* 2.675) to the Norman Conquest. Eight moneyers were assigned to London in II Æthelstan (Liebermann 1903–16, I, 158–9). DB does not include London, but moneyers of Worcester are said to have travelled to London to obtain dies (I, fol. 172r). Blunt 1974, 62–3; Freeman 1985, 141–82; Jonsson 1987b, 144–6; Naismith 2013c.

(**LOUTH, Lincolnshire.** See IV..., below)

LYDFORD, Devon. First named as a mint under Edward the Martyr, then regularly from Æthelred II *First Hand* to Edward the Confessor *Small Flan*. Freeman 1985, 398–402; Jonsson 1987b, 147–8.

LYMPNE, Kent. First named as a mint under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, no. 192), possibly in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (Jonsson 1987b, 148–9), then regularly from Edgar's reform coinage to Æthelred II *Long Cross*, and again in all types of Cnut. The mint-place may have been situated inside the Roman fort at Lympe (Stutfall Castle). Dolley 1964b; Blunt 1974, 77–8; Jonsson 1987b, 148–9; Baker and Brookes 2013, 358.

MALDON, Essex. First named as a mint under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, no. 278), in Edgar's reform coinage and then frequently from Æthelred II *First Hand* to the Norman Conquest (with gaps in Cnut *Short Cross*, Harthacnut *Arm and Sceptre* and Edward the Confessor *Pax*, *Trefoil Quadrilateral* and *Pyramids*). Blunt 1972; 1974, 78; Freeman 1985, 219–22; Jonsson 1987b, 149–50; Blackburn 1991a, 162–4; Metcalf and Lean 1993.

MALMESBURY, Wiltshire. First named as a mint in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (**1718**: *CTCE*, nos. 217–18) and in his reformed coinage, then frequently from Æthelred II *Second Hand* to the Norman Conquest (with a gap in Æthelred II *Last Small Cross*). Freeman 1985, 438–44; Jonsson 1987b, 150–1.

MELTON MOWBRAY, Leicestershire. Named as a mint in Æthelred II *First Hand* and again in Cnut *Quatrefoil*. The three known coins were formerly attributed to Peterborough, Northamptonshire (OE *Medehamstede*) until the discovery of an undamaged coin with a longer, clearer mint-signature (MEDELTV) in 1999. Dolley 1952–4b; Blackburn 2000b.

MILBORNE PORT, Somerset. Probably named as a mint in Æthelred II *Long Cross*, then in Cnut *Pointed Helmet* and *Short Cross*, and a recently discovered coin attests its activity in Harthacnut *Arm and Sceptre* (Baldwin auction 57, 23.9.2008, lot 378). Dolley 1958–9a, 61–4; Freeman 1985, 421; Allen 2012a, 397.

(**NEWARK, Nottinghamshire.** See NIWEPOR below.)

(**NEWPORT PAGNELL, Buckinghamshire.** See NIWEPOR below.)

(**NEW ROMNEY, Kent.** See ROMNEY, s.v.)

NORTHAMPTON, Northamptonshire. Probably first named as a mint under Eadwig (1639–40) and in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (*CTCE*, nos. 258–63), then generally regularly thereafter to the Norman Conquest (with gaps in Æthelred II *Second Hand* and Edward the Confessor *Trefoil Quadrilateral* and *Small Flan*). Because Northampton and Southampton commonly appeared as HAMTVN or similar on the coins, there has in the past been difficulty in distinguishing the two mints. Dolley 1955b; Freeman 1985, 289–94; Jonsson 1987b, 152–4; *CTCE*, p. 261; Lyon 2012, 50–3.

NORWICH, Norfolk. Possibly first named as a mint on a St Edmund Memorial penny of c. 895–917 (*SCBI* 17.100, but cf. Smart 1985, 86), and more certainly under Æthelstan (1484; Blunt 1974, nos. 279–87), Edmund (*CTCE*, nos. 250–6) and Eadred (*CTCE*, nos. 228–30), then regularly from Edgar's reform to the Norman Conquest. Blunt 1974, 80–1; Freeman 1985, 238–49; Jonsson 1987b, 154–6.

NOTTINGHAM, Nottinghamshire. First named as a mint under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, 193–6) and then regularly from Æthelred II *First Hand* to the Norman Conquest. DB (1, fol. 280r) mentions two moneyers active there in 1066. Blunt 1974, 95–6; Freeman 1985, 308–12; Jonsson 1987b, 155–6.

OXFORD, Oxfordshire. First named as a mint on the rare OHSNAFORDA pennies of Alfred, minted after c. 880 (Lyon 1970, 196–7), then under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, 197–202, 288–91), Eadred (*CTCE*, no. 2), Eadwig (*CTCE*, no. 95) and in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (1722: *CTCE*, nos. 222–8), then regularly from Edgar's reform to the Norman Conquest. Stainer 1904; Blunt 1974, 66–9; Freeman 1985, 448–58; Jonsson 1987b, 156–7.

PERSHORE, Worcestershire. Apparently named as a mint on a unique penny of Edward the Confessor *Hammer Cross*. Freeman 1985, 360–2.

(**PETERBOROUGH, Northamptonshire.** See MELTON MOWBRAY, s.v.)

(**PETHERTON, Somerset.** See SOUTH PETHERTON, s.v.)

READING, Berkshire. Named as a mint in Edward the Confessor *Radiate Small Cross* and *Trefoil Quadrilateral*. Dolley 1960–1a; van der Meer 1962; Freeman 1985, 207–9.

ROCHESTER, Kent. First named as a mint in the reign of Ceolwulf I (1079–80) and again under Æthelwulf (1210), then under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, 292) and generally regularly from Edgar's reform to the Norman Conquest. It was assigned three moneyers in II Æthelstan: two for the king and one for the bishop (Liebermann 1903–16, 1, 158–9). Blunt 1955–7b; Blunt 1974, 69; Freeman 1985, 523–5; Jonsson 1987b, 158–9.

ROMNEY (NEW ROMNEY), Kent. First named as a mint in Æthelred II *Long Cross*, and generally regularly thereafter until the Norman Conquest. Freeman 1985, 501.

SALISBURY, Wiltshire. First named as a mint in Æthelred II *Helmet* and generally thereafter until the Norman Conquest (although not under Harold II). At its inception, it was apparently served by moneyers from nearby Wilton. Dolley 1954a; Freeman 1985, 467–75; Blunt and Lyon 1990.

SANDWICH, Kent. First named as a mint in Edward the Confessor *Pacx*, then generally regularly until *Facing Bust* and again after the Norman Conquest. Freeman 1985, 518–23.

SHAFTESBURY, Dorset. First named as a mint under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, 203–4), and in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (*CTCE*, no. 229), then regularly thereafter until the Norman Conquest. In some types there is potential for confusion between Shaftesbury (SCE, SCEF, SCEFT, SCEFTES, SEFTESBR) and Shrewsbury. DB (1, fol. 75r) mentions three moneyers there in 1066. Blunt 1974, 70–1; Freeman 1985, 424–9; Jonsson 1987b, 159–60.

(**SHELFORD, Nottinghamshire.** See **GREAT SHELFORD**, above)

SHREWSBURY, Shropshire. First named as a mint under Æthelstan (1462–3), then in Edgar's reform coinage, and regularly from Æthelred II *First Hand* until the Norman Conquest. In some types there is potential for confusion between Shrewsbury (SCRO, SE, SEO, SR, SROB(B)) and Shaftesbury. DB (1, fol. 252r) mentions three moneyers at Shrewsbury in 1066. Blunt 1974, 99–100; Freeman 1985, 340–8; Jonsson 1987b, 160–1.

SOUTHAMPTON, Hampshire. This was quite probably the source of early pennies of Series H (see Chapter 4, section (g), pp. 102–3). Probably first named as a mint under Æthelstan (1464; Blunt 1974, 212–13, 261), Eadwig (*CTCE*, nos. 87–8) and in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (*CTCE*, no. 230), then regularly from Edgar's reform to Cnut *Quatrefoil*. Because both mints commonly appeared as HAMTVN or similar on the coins, there has in the past been difficulty in distinguishing Southampton from Northampton. Dolley 1955b; Elmore Jones 1970; Blunt 1974, 71–2; Jonsson 1987b, 161–3; *CTCE*, p. 261; Lyon 2012, 50–3.

SOUTH CADBURY, Somerset. Named as a mint in Æthelred II *Last Small Cross* and Cnut *Quatrefoil*. Dolley 1955–7a; Alcock 1994, 44–59, 154–70; Carroll and Parsons 2007, 58–60.

SOUTH PETHERTON, Somerset. Named as a mint in Cnut *Quatrefoil* and again in Edward the Confessor *Radiate Small Cross* and *Trefoil Quadrilateral*. Dolley 1961d; Freeman 1985, 416–18; Metcalf 1998a, 247.

SOUTHWARK, Surrey. First named as a mint in Æthelred II *Crux*, and generally regularly thereafter until the Norman Conquest. The mint was closely connected to London, immediately across the Thames. Because of the similarity of their mint-signatures, there has historically been much confusion between coins of Southwark (SVG, SVÐ, SVÐG, SVÐGE, SVÐGEWE) and of Sudbury. Dolley 1955–7f; Freeman 1985, 185–94; Naismith 2013c.

STAFFORD, Staffordshire. First named as a mint under Æthelstan (1477–8) and in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (1749) and in his reform coinage, then regularly from Æthelred II *Crux* to Cnut *Short Cross*, and sporadically during the reign of Edward the Confessor. There is some confusion between coins of Stafford, Stamford and Steyning, given the similar mint-signatures used on their coins. Blunt 1973; 1974, 100–1; Freeman 1985, 321–4; Jonsson 1987b, 163–4.

STAMFORD, Lincolnshire. Possibly named as a mint under Olaf Guthfrithsson (*CTCE*, p. 219), then regularly from Edgar's reform to the Norman Conquest. There is some confusion between coins of Stamford and Stafford. The twelfth-century chronicle of Hugh Candidus and a separate memorandum record that Thurkil Hoga gave the profits of a moneyer in a suburb of Stamford to Peterborough Abbey c. 1024 (Kelly 2009, no. 31 (xi); Mellows and Bell 1949, 70). Freeman 1985, 118–26; Jonsson 1987b, 164–6; Blackburn 2006, 145.

STEYNING, Sussex. First named as a mint in Cnut *Pointed Helmet*, and regularly thereafter until the Norman Conquest. King 1941–4; 1955–7; Freeman 1985, 483–5.

(**STOCKBRIDGE, Hampshire.** See BRYGIN below.)

SUDBURY, Suffolk. Probably named as a mint in Æthelred II *Last Small Cross* and Cnut *Quatrefoil*, and again from Edward the Confessor *Pointed Helmet* to *Facing Bust*. Because of the similarity of their mint-signatures, there has historically been much confusion between coins of Sudbury (SVBR, SVDBV, SVÐ, SVÐB) and of **Southwark** (q.v.). Dolley 1955–7f; Freeman 1985, 226–8.

TAMWORTH, Staffordshire. First named as a mint under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, nos. 217–18) and in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (1711–12: *CTCE*, nos. 198–201), then under Edward the Martyr and Æthelred II (with the exception of *Last Small Cross*) and also in Cnut *Quatrefoil* and *Small Cross*, Harold I *Jewel Cross*, Edward the Confessor *Radiate Small Cross*, *Trefoil Quadrilateral*, *Expanding Cross* and from *Sovereign/Eagles* to *Pyramids*. Danson 1969–70; Blunt 1974, 96; Freeman 1985, 317–21; Jonsson 1987b, 166–7.

TAUNTON, Somerset. First named as a mint in Æthelred II *Crux*, *Long Cross* and *Last Small Cross*, Cnut *Quatrefoil* and generally regularly from Harold I *Jewel Cross* to the Norman Conquest. Freeman 1985, 406–10.

THELWALL, Cheshire. Possibly named as a mint under Æthelstan (1481: Blunt 1974, no. 344). Blunt 1974, 101–2; *CTCE*, 258–9.

THETFORD, Norfolk. Possibly named as a mint in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (*CTCE*, no. 374), and regularly from Edgar's reform to the Norman Conquest. Carson 1949; 1955; Freeman 1985, 249–64; Jonsson 1987b, 167–8; *CTCE*, no. 196.

TORKSEY, Lincolnshire. Named as a mint under Edward the Martyr, and generally regularly thereafter until the death of Cnut (though it is not known in Æthelred II *Last Small Cross*). Jonsson 1987b, 168.

TOTNES, Devon. Possibly named as a mint under Æthelstan, if identical with 'DARENT' (see below); more clearly named under Eadwig (*CTCE*, no. 146) and in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (*CTCE*, no. 253), and then generally regularly until Harthacnut *Arm and Sceptre* (with gaps in Cnut *Short Cross* and Harold I *Fleur-de-Lis*). Jonsson 1987b, 168–9.

WALLINGFORD, Berkshire. First named as a mint under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, nos. 255, 194–6) and Edmund (*CTCE*, no. 246), again under Eadwig (1641: *CTCE*, no. 96) and in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (1723–5: *CTCE*, nos. 231–4) and reform issue, then regularly from Æthelred II *First Hand* until the Norman Conquest. Blunt 1974, 72–3; Freeman 1985, 458–65; Jonsson 1987b, 169–70; T. J. T. Williams 2012; Williams and Williams 2013.

WAREHAM, Dorset. First named as a mint under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, nos. 219–20, 297), then in Edgar's reform coinage, and regularly from Æthelred II *First Hand* to the Norman Conquest. DB (I, fol. 75r) mentions two moneyers at Wareham in 1066. Blunt 1974, 73; Freeman 1985, 435–8; Jonsson 1987b, 170.

WARMINSTER, Wiltshire. Named as a mint in Æthelred II *Long Cross* and *Last Small Cross*, then from Cnut *Pointed Helmet* to Harold I *Jewel Cross*, and also in Edward the Confessor *Small Flan*. Freeman 1985, 421–4.

WARWICK, Warwickshire. Possibly named as a mint under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, nos. 221, 336), and more securely in the pre-reform coinage of Edgar (*CTCE*, no. 279/1), then generally regularly thereafter until the Norman Conquest. Ebsworth 1965; Blunt 1974, 102–3; Freeman 1985, 294–9; Jonsson 1987b, 171.

WATCHET, Somerset. First named as a mint in Æthelred II *First Hand* and generally regularly thereafter until Edward the Confessor *Pointed Helmet*. Blackburn 1974; 1976; Freeman 1985, 404–6.

WILTON, Wiltshire. First named as a mint in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (1726–7: *CTCE*, nos. 235–9), and generally regularly thereafter until the Norman Conquest. Freeman 1985, 475–80; Jonsson 1987b, 172–3; Williams 2012b.

WINCHCOMBE, Gloucestershire. First named as a mint in Edgar's reform coinage, then in Æthelred II *Crux* to *Helmet*, Cnut *Quatrefoil* and *Pointed Helmet*, Harthacnut *Arm and Sceptre* and Edward the Confessor *Small Flan*, *Expanding Cross* and *Hammer Cross*. Carlyon-Britton 1909b; Gelling 1978, 114; *SCBI* 19, pp. 105–9; Jonsson 1987b, 173.

WINCHESTER, Hampshire. First named as a mint on a very rare series of coins of Alfred the Great minted after c. 880 (see Chapter 8, section (f), pp. 172–3), then under Æthelstan (1465, 1485–6; Blunt 1974, nos. 224–9, 260, 298–306), Eadwig (1642) and in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (1728–30), and regularly thereafter until the Norman Conquest. An unusually extensive and detailed range of written sources is available for minting activities at Winchester. It was assigned six moneyers in II Æthelstan (Liebermann 1903–16, 1, 158–9), and details concerning moneyers (sometimes in their capacity as goldsmiths) are also known from a section of the Winton Domesday containing information from the time of Edward the Confessor (Biddle and Keene 1976). Also, an anecdote concerning a wealthy but unnamed tenth-century moneyer of the city is recorded in Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* (ed. Lapidge 2003, 266–75). Blunt 1974, 64–5; Biddle and Keene 1976; Freeman 1985, 126–41; Jonsson 1987b, 173–5; Biddle 2012a.

WORCESTER, Worcestershire. First named as a mint under Edward the Martyr (EMC 1998.0049) and regularly thereafter until the Norman Conquest. DB (1, fol. 172r) mentions moneyers active there in 1066. Freeman 1985, 353–60; Jonsson 1987b, 175–6; Symons 2003.

YORK, Yorkshire. Activity first implied by coins of Ecgbert, (arch)bishop of York (866–70), and his successors, but only named for the first time on Viking coins of c. 895 and after (2526–35, 2578, 2581, 2587–92, 2596); it was also named under Æthelstan (1466–9, 1487–8, 1494A–C; Blunt 1974, nos. 230–47, 307–9, 438–44), Edmund (1526: *CTCE*, nos. 166–7), Eadwig (1624–6, 1628, 1634) and in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (*CTCE*, nos. 294–302), and regularly from then until the Norman Conquest. Blunt 1974, 88–93; Freeman 1985, 82–106; Jonsson 1987b, 176–80; Blackburn 2004; Lyon 2012, 44–7.

2. Named mints of uncertain location

ÆSDE. Named on pennies of Æthelred II *Crux*. The identification and significance of the mint-signature are obscure: it may be a heavily abbreviated form of Astrop or Eaglethorpe, Northamptonshire (Gover *et al.* 1933, 58, 215–16) or Easthorpe, Essex (Reaney 1935, 388), or relate to a lost place name. BEH 3.

BRENE. Named on a cut halfpenny of Edward the Confessor *Pointed Helmet*. A possible candidate may be Brean (DB *Brien*) on the Somerset coast. *SCBI* 18.751.

BRYGIN. Named as a mint on a coin of Æthelred II *First Hand*, die-linked to coins of the same moneyer from NIWAN and Shaftesbury. Both unlocated mints may therefore have been located somewhere in the vicinity of Shaftesbury; Stockbridge, Hampshire, located mid-way between Salisbury and Winchester, has been suggested, but was apparently known as *Stocbrigge* in DB. Lyon 1970, 202; Dolley 1955–7g; Andrew 1929–30.

BYDIO. Named as a mint on a coin of Æthelred II (probably *Last Small Cross* from the Lenborough hoard. Conceivably a form of (or error for) **Bedford** (q.v.) or **Bridport** (q.v.). Williams 2016, 302–3.

BYR. Named as a mint on a coin of Æthelred II (probably *Last Small Cross* from the Lenborough hoard. Conceivably a form of (or error for) **Bridport** (q.v.) or **Bristol** (q.v.), although a large number of other locations are possible, based on the Old English name element *burh* or others (Parsons *et al.* 1997–2004, II, 80). Williams 2016, 302–3.

CASTRA EORT. Apparently named as a mint on rare Southumbrian pennies of Sihtric Caoch (920/1–7). It is conceivable, but unlikely, that this is a highly corrupt form of York's Latin name (*Eboracum*); it could alternatively be an otherwise unrecorded name for Lincoln, or a different location altogether (probably somewhere in the east midlands): perhaps a Latinised form of the OE place name *Eorþburh* (Smith 1956, I, 154–5). Several instances of this place name are known in the midlands and further north: potential candidates include Yarburch and Yarborough Camp, Lincolnshire (Cameron 1985–2001, II, 7–8) or Burrough on the Hill, Leicestershire (Cox 1998–, II, 231–2). The last two locations boast major prehistoric hill-forts or other earthworks; Yarborough Camp was also a wapentake meeting place (Leahy 2003, 150–2). It represents the most likely candidate for the mint-place. Stewart 1982, 113–14; 1967a, 51; Blackburn 2006a, 215; Williams 2013f, 30.

COLFR. A series of rare coins from Edward the Martyr to Æthelred II *Second Hand* bear mint-signatures COLFR, CVER, CVFR and CVLEFR, which probably refer to the same (unlocated) mint-place. Its presence in *Second Hand* suggests a location south of the Humber, probably somewhere with a name incorporating the OE element *culfre* ('dove') (e.g. Culverhayes, Dorset, Culverton, Berkshire or Kilverstone, Norfolk; see Smith 1956, I, 118) or the ON personal name Cola/Koli (e.g. Colkirk and Colveston, both Norfolk). However, none of the known places with a name incorporating one of these elements stands out as a likely candidate for the mint-place. Allen 2012a, 395 n. 82.

DARENT. Named as a mint on rare coins of Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, no. 160). Proposed locations have included Dartford and Darenth in Kent; more persuasive suggestions have focused on or near the river Dart in Devon, including places such as Dartington, Dartmouth and Totnes. Carlyon-Britton 1909b, 24–5; *BMC* cxiii, 101; Dolley 1964a, 22; Blunt 1974, 75–6.

DENM or DENN. Named as a mint on a Harthacnut *Jewel Cross* penny. The same obverse die (of unusual style) was also used to strike coins at Lincoln and Stamford, hinting at a northern (Lincolnshire?) location. Denton near Grantham in Lincolnshire (DB *Dentune*) would be conceivable on a philological basis, but nothing would otherwise recommend it as a mint. *SCBI* 40.14, 39, 57; Talvio 1986, 282.

DERW, DERP, GERW or GERP. Named as a mint on a penny of Æthelred II *Last Small Cross* (BEH 689). It is of a style associated normally (though not exclusively) with East Anglia, and shares an obverse die with moneyers at (exceptionally) four other locations: Cambridge, Dover, London and Stamford. The possibility exists that the name is an invention to conceal the true location of a forger. Several readings of the mint-signature are possible; if DERW/DERP is correct and genuine, it could be the same location as DYR, though less probably of DERNE/DERNT (see below). Lyon 1998b, 40–1.

DYR, DIR, DERNE or DERNT. Named as a mint on coins of Edward the Confessor *Small Flan*, *Pointed Helmet* and *Hammer Cross* (coins of the latter two types bearing DERNE and DERNT). One *Small Flan* obverse die used at DYR was also used at Ipswich, and Wulfsgie, the sole moneyer known at the mint in *Pointed Helmet* and *Hammer Cross*, shares the name of one at Ipswich and Norwich, perhaps indicating a location in the vicinity. A location in East Anglia is therefore likely, but no specific identification can be made. Early attributions to Derby and Wareham can be dismissed; Dolley and

Elmore Jones were also sceptical of an attribution to East or West Dereham in Norfolk, which does not fit the *DERNE* and *DERNT* signatures. Freeman 1985, 234–8; Dolley 1960a; Elmore Jones 1962.

EANBYRI. Named as a mint on two pennies of Cnut *Quatrefoil*. Michael Dolley suggested a number of possible locations, including Hanbury, Staffordshire, Yarnbury Castle, Wiltshire and Emborough, Somerset, though in no case with great conviction. He pointed out that the one recorded moneyer (Swet) is also named at Dorchester, and that stylistically the coin is West Saxon. Dolley 1955–7a, 100–1.

ERL. Named as a mint on a penny of Æthelred II *Last Small Cross*. The dies are of Winchester style. No very obvious candidate presents itself; one possibility is the large royal estate of Earley, Berkshire (DB *Erlei*) (cf. Smith 1956, I, 154). Allen 2012a, 395 n. 83.

FRE. Named as a mint on a penny of Cnut *Short Cross* from the Lenborough hoard. It is possibly a variant on the name *FRO* (below), but many other candidates exist, not least in places with the first name element *freo* ('free') or *Frisa/Fresa* ('Frisian') (Smith 1956, I, 154). Williams 2016, 302–3.

FRO. Named as a mint on very rare coins of Cnut *Short Cross*, Harthacnut *Jewel Cross* and Edward the Confessor *Pacx* and *Trefoil Quadrilateral*. Dolley tentatively identified this location as Frome, Somerset, although Freeman noted alternatives (specifically the rivers named Frome in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire) and the lack of any decisive connection with other Somerset mints. See also *FRE* (above). Dolley 1955–7c; Freeman 1985, 424.

GODABYRI. Named as a mint from Æthelred II *Long Cross* to Cnut *Quatrefoil*, and again from Harold I *Jewel Cross* to Harthacnut *Arm and Sceptre*, as *GODABYRI*, *GEOD*, *GEODA*, *GIOÐ*, *GIODA*, *GODA*, *GUÐA*, *IOÐA*, *IOÐAB*, etc. Dolley and Elmore Jones summarised earlier suggested identifications, including Godalming in Surrey, Jedburgh in Roxburghshire, Dewsbury in Yorkshire, Woodborough in Nottinghamshire and Idbury in Oxfordshire, as well as two lost locations from Anglo-Saxon written sources: Bede's *Ythanceaster* near Bradwell-on-Sea in Essex and the *Iudanbyrig* of the *ASC* where Wulfstan I, archbishop of York, was imprisoned in 952 (these two perhaps being one and the same). However, Dolley and Elmore Jones noted die-links and moneyer connections with south-western mints, particularly in Devon, leading to the proposed attribution to Castle Gotha, an abandoned Stone-Age settlement near St Austell in Cornwall. This has not proved satisfactory to philologists, and although there is a die-link with London, a location somewhere in the south-west remains probable. Plummer 1892, II, 148–9; Carlyon-Britton 1907b; Dolley and Elmore Jones 1955–7b, 270–7; Lyon 1970, 202–3; Padel 1982; Allen 2012a, 19.

HORIVA CASTR/RORIVA CASTR/SORIVA CASTR. Named as a mint on a unique Viking penny of the 920s (see Chapter 11, section (j), p. 303). Based on the style and numismatic context, it could have been minted either north or south of the Humber. The initial letter of the inscription is problematic. Williams, reading a minuscule *r*, has suggested Rocester, Staffordshire (G. Williams 2008c). This settlement's status as a Roman fortress with good road access makes it an attractive candidate, but it would require a substantial extension westwards of known Viking control south of the Humber in the 920s. Identification of Rocester as the mint-place also depends on the unattested derivation of its modern name from **Durobrivae*. This is entirely plausible based on other, better attested cases, although it should be noted that several different locations with this same name (or the same first element *Doro-/Duro-*) are known even among the limited corpus of Romano-British place names, including several in the south-east midlands (such as Chesterton, Huntingdonshire) which could be viable candidates for the mint-place of this coin (Rivet and Smith 1979, 346–54). Alternative readings of the first letter of the inscription are also possible. It could conceivably be a

minuscule s, but both an r and an s of regular capital form appear elsewhere in the inscription. For this reason a reading of the first letter as minuscule or uncial h is perhaps most likely. HORIVA could reflect the OE name element *horu* ('dirt'); if CASTR[um] were a Latinisation of OE *burh* (cf. CASTRA EORT above), this would signify an earthen fortress. Horbury in West Yorkshire might therefore be a possibility (Smith 1961–3, II, 150), at a fording place on the river Calder. G. Williams 2008c; 2011a, 149; 2014a, 34; Blackburn 2009, 55.

LÆWVDE. Named as a mint on two coins of Cnut *Pointed Helmet*. In the past these have sometimes been wrongly attributed to Lewes, Sussex, but the style of the coins is associated with Lincoln, suggesting a northern location. A place name formed from the elements OE *lagu* ('lake') or *hlæw* ('mound', but rare as a first element) (Smith 1956, I, 248–50 and II, 12) with *wudu* ('wood') is probable, but no location stands out as likely. Stewart 1978b, III.

LANDC. Named as a mint on coins of Harold I *Jewel Cross*. The name may relate to British *llan*- ('enclosure, church'), found in some English place names: possibilities include Landican, Cheshire (DB *Landechene*, an estate near to the important trading site of Meols: Dodgson 1970–97, IV, 266–7), Street, Somerset (formerly known as *Lantokay*: Abrams 1996, 153–4) and Landkey, Devon (Gover *et al.* 1931–2, II, 341). SCBI 40.247–9.

LV.... A unique fragment of the *Reform* type of Lincoln style with this mint-signature, tentatively assigned to Louth, Lincolnshire (DB *Lude* or *Ludes*) by Dolley and Jonsson. Dolley 1955–7b; Jonsson 1987b, 146–7.

LVDEY/LVDES. Named as a mint on a unique fragment of Æthelred II *First Hand* type. This location could be identical with LV... (above) or LVVEIC (below). This name and/or the other two may refer to settlements on the river Lud in Lincolnshire: Louth was one, though LVDEY may be closer to Ludney, Lincolnshire (**Hludan-ea*: Ekwall 1960, 306). SCBI 6.655.

LVVEIC. A possible mint known from exceptionally rare coins of Edward the Martyr. It could be either an otherwise unknown mint (perhaps Louth, Lincolnshire) or a corrupt mint-reading for Chester, Lewes or elsewhere. Stylistic evidence tentatively suggests an association with Lincoln. Blunt and Lyon 1979, 116–17; Jonsson 1987b, 147.

NIWAN. Named on pennies of Æthelred II *First Hand*, die-linked to coins of the same moneyer from BRYGIN and Shaftesbury. A location somewhere in the vicinity of Shaftesbury is therefore likely for both unlocated mints, and NIWAN should probably be separated from NIWEPORT (below). Dolley 1955–7d; Lyon 1970, 202.

NIWEPORT. One or more places with this name are recorded intermittently on many coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The first appearance of NEWWE, NIWE or NIWANPO is under Eadwig (CTCE, nos. 92–4) and in the pre-reform coinage of Edgar (CTCE, nos. 220–1), on coins of a style associated with the area from Oxford to Huntingdon. In Edgar's reform coinage and under Edward the Martyr coins of the moneyer Ingolfr (of distinct style) with the mint name NIWV or NIEWEN have been tentatively assigned to Newark, Nottinghamshire. Other coins with a similar mint-signature were issued in Æthelred II *Last Small Cross* and Cnut *Pointed Helmet*. A few decades later, NIWEPOR(T) is named on very rare coins of Edward the Confessor *Expanding Cross*, *Pointed Helmet* and *Hammer Cross*. Traditionally, the tenth-century mint has been attributed to Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire; the reform-period–Cnut mint to Newark, Nottinghamshire; and the mid-eleventh-century mint to either Newport Pagnell, Newport in Essex, or another location (Michael Dolley believed it to have been a different location from the mid-tenth-century NIWANPO; NIWAN in the south-west (see above) is a possibility). However, the possibility should not be ruled out that all the coins in fact

belong to one source, most likely Newport Pagnell, a location which would satisfy the criteria laid out above and also possessed urban characteristics in DB. *BMC* II, pp. cxvii, 160; Carlyon-Britton 1909b, 32–4; Dolley 1964a, 28–9; 1956a; Freeman 1985, 214–17; Jonsson 1987b, 151–2; *CTCE*, p. 259; Blackburn *et al.* 1993, 125.

NVM. Named as a mint on a penny of Æthelred II *Long Cross* from the Lenborough hoard. Locations named Newsham (OE (*æt*) *neowan husum*) in Lincolnshire and further north present a possibility (Cameron 1985–2001, II, 64–6); so too do places in south-west England known by a name incorporating the unusual element *nymed/nymet* (a term originating in Celtic languages referring to a grove with supernatural associations: Hooke 2010, 46–8). Williams 2016, 302–3.

OCO. Named as a mint on a unique penny of Æthelred II *Last Small Cross*, of western ('Gloucester') style (largely found in western England, but widely distributed in early *Last Small Cross*). Oakham, Rutland (DB *Ocheham*) may be a possibility (Cox 1994, 102). *SCBI* 7.1036.

POISENG/ROISENG. The enigmatic monogram on the reverse of a rare group of pennies (1261, plus a second specimen in the BM) issued in probably the 880s has been extensively discussed since the coins' first appearance in the Cuerdale hoard of 1840. The basic form of the monogram is similar to the London Monogram reverse design of Alfred the Great. Edward Hawkins and John Lindsay (citing the suggestions of Daniel Haigh) wisely refrained from passing judgement on its intended meaning, and offered tentative suggestions that it might reflect the name of London or Dorchester. In a later publication Haigh (reading the letters as ROISENG or ROISENGER) also proposed Castle Rising, Norfolk, or Rishangles, Suffolk. However, the reading of the monogram is still far from certain. The letters which can be made out are G, R (or D), O, I, H, E and S, possibly also N, and the right-hand side of the monogram on both surviving specimens is unclear. The literate legends elsewhere on the coin, and the clear difference of the monogram from those of London and Lincoln, does point to a specific meaning; a mint name is a strong possibility (presumably of a location in English Mercia or Wessex). Hawkins 1842–3, 12–13; Lindsay 1842, 85 n.; Haigh 1870, 31; *MEC* I, p. 639.

SMRIE(RL). Named as a mint under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, no. 293), with readings including SMRIE, SMRIC and SNRIERL. The style of the coins indicates a location somewhere in East Anglia. Most explanations for this peculiar mint reading have suggested that it is some sort of abbreviation, perhaps for *Sanctae Mariae ecclesia*, signifying North Elmham (seat of the northern East Anglian bishopric), with a cathedral dedicated to St Mary (Clayton 1990, 125, 130); or (in an unpublished paper by Michael Dolley cited in Eaglen 2006, 16) for *Sancti martyris Eadmundi*, signifying Bury St Edmunds. There are Carolingian parallels for abbreviations of broadly similar form (e.g. Morrison and Grunthal 1967, no. 1277), but they were generally avoided in the Anglo-Saxon coinage. Another possibility is a place name including the element OE *smeoru* ('butter, fat') (Smith 1956, II, 130). The location of the mint remains an open question. Blunt 1974, 78–9; Eaglen 2006, 16.

[SPES. Listed as a separate and unidentified mint in Jonsson and van der Meer 1990, 102, but probably a variant on the mint-signature of Ipswich: see Pagan 2011, nos. 121–2.]

STES. Named as a mint on two specimens of Edward the Confessor *Radiate Small Cross*. It is grouped by Freeman with coins of Ipswich, where a moneyer of the same name (Beorhtric) is known. STES could (like SPES above) therefore be a variant mint-signature for Ipswich, though Beorhtric is a common moneyer's name, and not compelling evidence for an attribution. Staines, Middlesex (Gover *et al.* 1942, 18–19), or Steane, Northamptonshire, may be possibilities (both *Stanes* in DB), especially the former: it was an important river crossing, and was associated with

forty-six burgesses in DB. Maitland believed the burgesses to be attached to the manor but living in London, though Darby and Campbell left the possibility open that they were in fact at Staines. *SCBI* 18.751; *SCBI* 45.179; Maitland 1897, 181; Darby and Campbell 1962, 131; Freeman 1985, 229.

WADI. Named as a mint on a penny of Cnut *Short Cross* from the Lenborough hoard. A plausible candidate is Wedmore, Somerset (*ASC* A 878 *Wepmor*; DB *Wedmore*): a royal estate of long standing, where part of the ceremonial surrounding the baptism of Guthrum took place (under Alfred's tutelage) in 878, and which was still in royal hands in the time of Edward the Confessor (Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 317). Williams 2016, 302–3.

WEARDBVRH. Named as a mint (with the forms WEARDBV, WEARI, WRDBREI CIFITAS, VRDBY) under Æthelstan (Blunt 1974, nos. 222–3) and again in Edgar's pre-reform coinage (*CTCE*, nos. 280–1). Unusually, this lost place name is also well attested in textual sources, and was one of three *byrg* established by Æthelflæd in 915 (together with Chirbury, Shropshire, and Runcorn, Cheshire). The style and typology of the coins suggests a location in the west midlands, possibly in the vicinity of Gloucester, Hereford and Shrewsbury. Place-name scholars have proposed two possible locations for WEARDBVRH: Whitchurch, Shropshire, and Gwespyr, Flintshire, of which the former is more compatible with the numismatic evidence. Elmore Jones and Blunt 1955–7; Blunt 1974, 103–4; Coates 1998; Carroll 2010, 251–4.

WEINGI. Named as a mint on a penny of Æthelred II *First Hand* of early southern style. Wonston, Hampshire (DB *Wenesistune*) is a possibility. Allen 2012a, 395 n. 87.

WILTV. Rare pennies of Æthelred *Last Small Cross* by the moneyer Wensige carry the mint-signature WILTV. Normally this would be taken to mean Wilton in Wiltshire, but the dies are of a style otherwise only associated with East Anglia, and no other *Last Small Cross* pennies of Wilton are known. For this reason it has been suggested that the coins belong not to Wilton in Wiltshire but to another location in East Anglia with a similar name – possibly Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norfolk. Blunt and Lyon 1990, 29–31.

WYDIO. Named as a mint on a coin of Æthelred II (probably *Last*) *Small Cross* from the Lenborough hoard. Its location is debatable: a number of potential candidates can be identified among places with name elements including OE *wid* ('wide') or *wipig* ('willows') (Smith 1956, II, 264, 271), such as Widdington, Essex. Williams 2016, 302–3.

3. Unnamed mints

The majority of coins produced in England from c. 600 onwards carried no mint name at all. Before c. 800 mint-signatures were exceptional, and they remained rare in the ninth and early tenth century. Only in the reign of Æthelstan (924–39) did mint names temporarily become widespread. They then fell into abeyance again until the time of Edgar (959–75), only becoming universal towards the end of his reign.

Attribution of coins to unnamed mint-places poses many challenges, for which reason the total number of unnamed mints in various regions offered in Table 22 needs to be treated as tentative. Three principal forms of evidence have traditionally been drawn upon:

1. Stylistic affinities with coins of more confident attribution. However, dies were sometimes distributed very widely from one or more major centres, and imitation could take place far from the original centre of production, for which reasons stylistic evidence on its own is of limited value.

Table 21. *Named mint-places in England, c. 600–1066 and their periods of activity. See Map 9 for locations of mint-places.*

	Mint	Shire	Before c. 880	Tenth century		Late Anglo-Saxon			Norman Post-1066
				c. 880–924	924–early 970s	Early 970s–1016	1016–42	1042–66	
<i>Mints of probable or certain attribution</i>									
1	Axbridge	Somerset				•	•		
2	Aylesbury	Buckinghamshire				•	•	•	
3	Barnstaple	Devon			•	•	•	•	•
4	Bath	Somerset		•	•	•	•	•	•
5	Bedford	Bedfordshire			•	•	•	•	•
6	Bedwyn	Wiltshire						•	•
7	Berkeley	Gloucestershire						•	
8	Bridport/ <i>Bredy</i>	Dorset			•	•	•	•	•
9	Bristol	Gloucestershire				•	•	•	•
10	Bruton	Somerset				•	•	•	•
11	Buckingham	Buckinghamshire			•	•	•	•	•
12	Bury St Edmunds	Suffolk						•	•
13	Caistor	Lincolnshire				•	•		
14	Cambridge	Cambridgeshire				•	•	•	•
15	Canterbury	Kent	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
16	Chester	Cheshire			•	•	•	•	•
17	Chichester	Sussex			•	•	•	•	•
18	Cissbury	Sussex				•	•		
19	Colchester	Essex				•	•	•	•
20	Crewkerne	Somerset				•	•		
21	Cricklade	Wiltshire			•	•	•	•	•
22	Derby	Derbyshire			•	•	•	•	•

23	Dorchester	Dorset		•	•	•	•
24	Dover	Kent	•	•	•	•	•
25	Droitwich	Worcestershire				•	
26	Exeter	Devon	•	•	•	•	•
27	Gloucester	Gloucestershire	•	•	•	•	•
28	Grantham	Lincolnshire		•			
29	Great Shelford	Cambridgeshire	•				
30	Guildford	Surrey		•	•	•	•
31	Hastings	Sussex		•	•	•	•
32	Hereford	Herefordshire	•	•	•	•	•
33	Hertford	Hertfordshire	•	•	•	•	•
34	Horncastle	Lincolnshire		•			
35	Horndon	Essex				•	
36	Huntingdon	Huntingdonshire	•	•	•	•	•
37	Hythe	Kent				•	•
38	Ilchester	Somerset		•	•	•	•
39	Ipswich	Suffolk		•	•	•	•
40	Langport	Somerset	•		•	•	
41	Launceston	Cornwall		•			•
42	Leicester	Leicestershire	•	•	•	•	•
43	Lewes	Sussex	•	•	•	•	•
44	Lincoln	Lincolnshire	•	•	•	•	•
45	London	Middlesex	•	•	•	•	•
46	Lydford	Devon		•	•	•	
47	Lympne	Kent	•	•	•		
48	Maldon	Essex	•	•	•	•	•
49	Malmesbury	Wiltshire	•	•	•	•	•
50	Melton Mowbray	Leicestershire		•	•		

(cont.)

Table 21 (cont.)

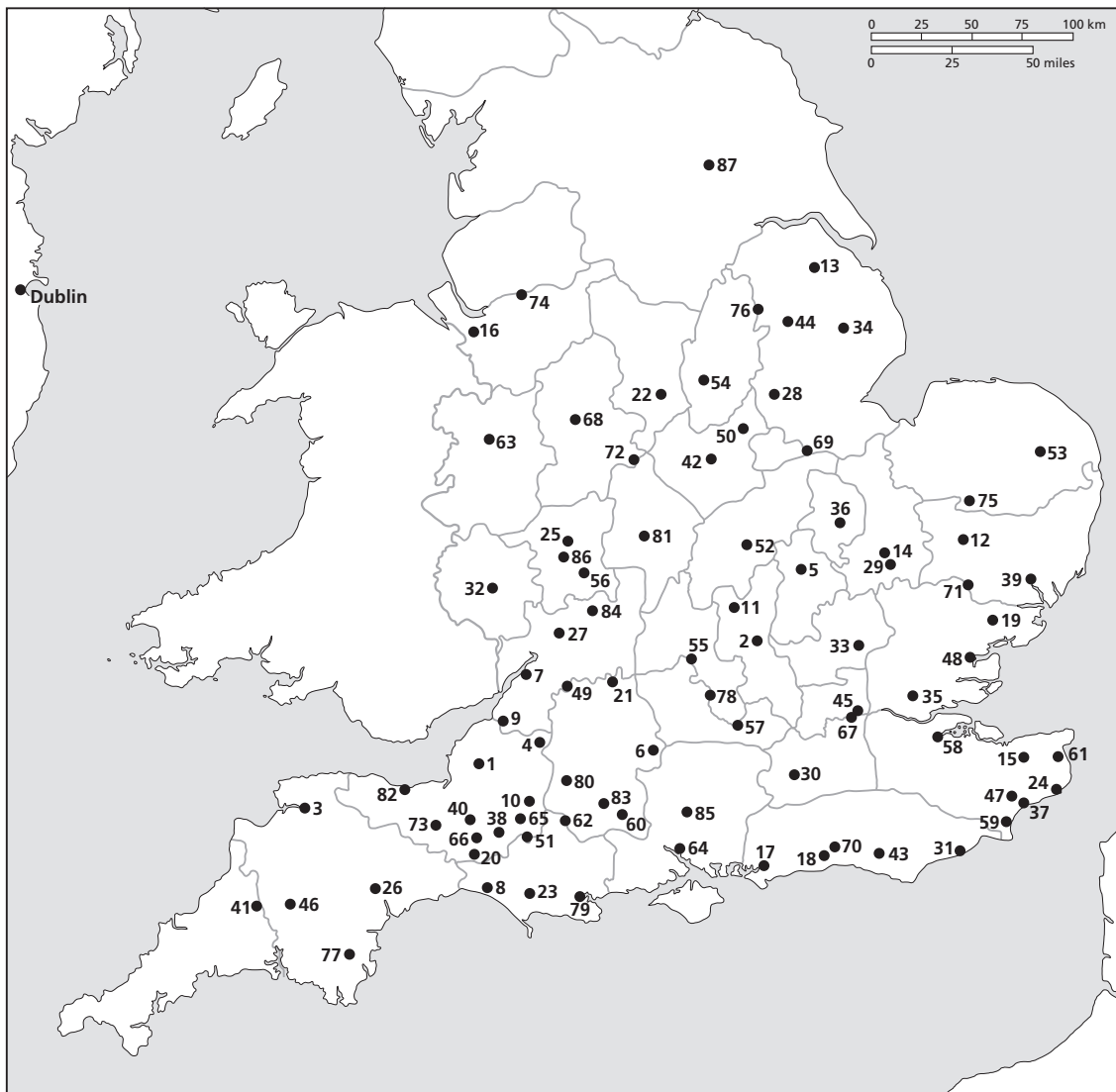
	Mint	Shire	Before c. 880	Tenth century		Late Anglo-Saxon			Norman Post-1066
				c. 880–924	924–early 970s	Early 970s–1016	1016–42	1042–66	
51	Milborne Port	Somerset				•	•		
52	Northampton	Northamptonshire			•	•	•	•	•
53	Norwich	Norfolk		•	•	•	•	•	•
54	Nottingham	Nottinghamshire			•	•	•	•	•
55	Oxford	Oxfordshire		•	•	•	•	•	•
56	Pershore	Worcestershire						•	
57	Reading	Berkshire						•	
58	Rochester	Kent	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
59	Romney	Kent				•	•	•	•
60	Salisbury	Wiltshire				•	•	•	•
61	Sandwich	Kent						•	•
62	Shaftesbury	Dorset			•	•	•	•	•
63	Shrewsbury	Shropshire			•	•	•	•	•
64	Southampton	Hampshire			•	•	•		•
65	South Cadbury	Somerset				•	•		
66	South Petherton	Somerset					•	•	
67	Southwark	Surrey				•	•	•	•
68	Stafford	Staffordshire			•	•	•	•	•
69	Stamford	Lincolnshire			• (?)	•	•	•	•
70	Steyning	Sussex					•	•	•
71	Sudbury	Suffolk				•	•	•	•
72	Tamworth	Staffordshire			•	•	•	•	•
73	Taunton	Somerset				•	•	•	•

74	Thelwall	Cheshire		• (?)				
75	Thetford	Norfolk		•		•	•	•
76	Torksey	Lincolnshire				•	•	
77	Totnes	Devon		•		•	•	•
78	Wallingford	Berkshire		•		•	•	•
79	Wareham	Dorset		•		•	•	•
80	Warminster	Wiltshire				•	•	•
81	Warwick	Warwickshire		• (?)		•	•	•
82	Watchet	Somerset				•	•	•
83	Wilton	Wiltshire				•	•	•
84	Winchcombe	Gloucestershire				•	•	•
85	Winchester	Hampshire	•	•		•	•	•
86	Worcester	Worcestershire				•	•	•
87	York	Yorkshire	(●)	•	•	•	•	•
<i>Mints of uncertain location</i>								
88	ÆSDE					•		
89	BRENE						•	
90	BRYGIN					•		
91	BYDIO					•		
92	BYR					•		
93	CASTRA EORT		•					
94	COLFR					•		
95	DARENT			•				
96	DENM/DENN						•	
97	DERW, DERP, GERW or GERP					•		
98	DYR							•
99	EANBYRI						•	
100	ERL					•		

(cont.)

Table 21 (cont.)

	Mint	Shire	Before c. 880	Tenth century		Late Anglo-Saxon			Norman Post-1066
				c. 880–924	924–early 970s	Early 970s–1016	1016–42	1042–66	
IO1	FRE						•		
IO2	FRO						•	•	
IO3	GODABYRI					•	•		
IO4	HORIVA CASTR			•					
IO5	LÆWVDE						•		
IO6	LANDC						•		
IO7	LV...					•			
IO8	LVÐEY/LVÐES					•			
IO9	LVVEIC					•			
IO10	NIWAN					•			
IO11	NIWEPORȚ				•	•	•	•	
IO12	NVM					•			
IO13	OCO					•			
IO14	POISENG/ROISENG			•					
IO15	SMRIE(RL)				•				
IO16	STES							•	
IO17	WADĪ						•		
IO18	WEARDBVRH				•				
IO19	WEINGI					•			
IO20	WILTV					•			
IO21	WYDIO					•			
TOTAL			4	17	44	91	82	76	
<i>All c. 880–early 970s: 52</i>					<i>All early 970s–1066: 113</i>				



Map 9. Early medieval mint-places in Britain and Ireland. See Table 21 for the identification of numbered mint-places.

2. Moneys' names. If a moneyer at one time produced coins with a mint-signature, it is usually inferred that other specimens by the same individual were made in the same location. This technique is only possible in the late eighth century and after when moneyers' names become common, and presents difficulties of its own. The same name could be held by multiple individuals at different places, and some moneyers might also have moved between locations in the course of their career. But if applied judiciously and combined with stylistic and other criteria, this method can be used to identify unnamed mint-places convincingly.

Table 22. *Estimates of numbers of unnamed English mint-places by region.*

	South-east England	Wessex	East Anglia	East midlands	West midlands	Northumbria
<i>c.</i> 600–675	7	1	1	—	—	1
<i>c.</i> 675–750	16–30	2	6–20	3	—	1–2
<i>c.</i> 750–875	3	1	1–2	—	1	1
<i>c.</i> 875–925	13	8	1–2	2	8	1
<i>c.</i> 925–75	11	10	3	6	10	1

3. Distribution of finds. In recent decades single-finds have become an important guide to the circulation of various types. The major caveat associated with attributions based on single-finds is that patterns of circulation do not correlate directly or consistently with place of origin (as is apparent from the find distribution of later Anglo-Saxon coins from named mints, or issues from elsewhere in medieval Europe). Conclusions gain in strength as the number of finds increases, and regional attributions can sometimes now be made with a high degree of confidence. It is significantly more difficult to arrive at a specific location within a region using find distribution, and the constantly growing body of known material makes any attribution on this basis fragile.

Despite their shortcomings, these criteria have allowed many groups of coins to be assigned to an area of origin and sometimes to a specific location. Levels of certainty range from the highly speculative (particularly in the seventh and early eighth century) to the very confident (as in the case of tenth-century coins by moneyers with distinctive names known from mint-signed coins in other reigns). Estimates may run either above or below the actual total: above, in that distinct groups of coins could in some cases have been produced by separate workshops at the same location, or even by the same agency at different times; below, in that seemingly homogeneous coinages may reflect the work of multiple distinct centres. Generally speaking, the methods used to calculate numbers of unnamed mint-places are more likely to overestimate the total down to *c.* 750, and to underestimate it *c.* 750–925. Estimates for the period *c.* 925–75 stand the best chance of reflecting the actual total.

Details of mint attributions in particular periods are discussed extensively elsewhere in this volume: see in particular Chapters 3–9 and 11.

(b) MINTS IN IRELAND AND THE IRISH SEA AREA

1. *Named mint*

DUBLIN, County Dublin. The largest mint active in Ireland, and the only one to be named on the coinage (indeed perhaps the only mint at all for much of this period). It is first explicitly referenced on coins of the 990s, probably around the time it began operating, and remained active continuously to 1170 (the end of the period covered in this volume). The Dublin mint name appeared in increasingly corrupt form on Hiberno-Scandinavian coins during approximately the first half of the eleventh century. Cf. Chapter 14, section (d), pp. 328–35.

2. Unnamed mints

Three substantial coinages can be assigned to the Irish Sea area. In no case is the mint-place named, and even a more precise regional attribution is problematic because finds are scarce and inscriptions on coins are either nonsensical or imitate those of English models. One of these three coinages (heavily influenced by products of the Dublin mint) is generally accepted as a Manx series (Chapter 13, section (d), pp. 319–21); another, modelled on the English *Quatrefoil* type of Cnut, may also have been issued on Man, although cases have also been made for an origin in north Wales and the Wirral (Chapter 13, section (e), pp. 321–2). A third group based on the English *Long Cross* type has no convincing attribution as yet, though an Irish Sea milieu is likely based on find distribution. The same is also true of two much smaller issues, each represented by three coins or fewer (for all of which see Chapter 13, section (e), pp. 321–2).

Despite occasional claims to the contrary, it is unlikely that there was much minting in Ireland outside Dublin, and certainly no other mint-places are clearly named. The most convincing case for production of coin outside Dublin has been made for a group of late Hiberno-Scandinavian ‘half-bracteates’, tentatively assigned to a mint in Co. Wexford (Chapter 14, section (e), p. 336).

APPENDIX 2

DENOMINATIONS AND UNITS OF ACCOUNT

(a) ENGLAND

1. *Literature*

Research into Anglo-Saxon units of account can be traced back to the sixteenth century (Naismith 2015). Interest in medieval social institutions including money was strong among early modern scholars, but the major impetus behind research was the significance of monetary terms in Anglo-Saxon legal texts, which revolve in large part around the compensation to be paid for assorted crimes. Understanding of Anglo-Saxon law – and, through it, understanding of important aspects of Anglo-Saxon social organisation – hence required a firm grasp of the monetary system. Work in this area was distinct from research on the coinage itself. The great literary scholar and historian H. M. Chadwick, for example, began his seminal *Studies in Anglo-Saxon Institutions* with two lengthy chapters on the monetary system, but disavowed any expertise on the coinage as such (Chadwick 1905, 37). In the twentieth century the two subjects grew closer together, and historians and numismatists came to engage directly with each other as well as with a fuller range of source material (Blackburn 1994a; Naismith 2015; cf. Lyon 1969; 1976; Nightingale 2007).

Plentiful evidence therefore exists for the terms and units the Anglo-Saxons themselves used. Laws remain a central resource but are concentrated in two groups, belonging respectively to the seventh century and to the period from Alfred to Cnut; there are thus long gaps in the eighth and ninth centuries, and in the eleventh century. Other texts which sporadically shed light on the issue include biblical commentaries, charters, chronicles, glossaries, grammatical or didactic tracts, and vernacular poetry, among others. However, fundamental difficulties are encountered in assembling these materials into a coherent whole and associating Anglo-Saxon terminology with specific coins or weights. Above all, it must be recognised that, as with the pound in modern times, the same word could simultaneously describe a weight, a coin and a unit of value: abstract ratings of worth could be assigned new meanings in reference to individuals and objects (V. Allen 2014). A unit of weight of general application was more likely to remain broadly constant, subject to local fluctuations and occasional larger-scale reforms, but its corresponding unit of value and especially its corresponding coin were much more variable (Blackburn 2007c, 58). Disentangling these different uses is not always possible.

2. *The shilling and its fractions**A. The seventh century*

There was a high level of conservatism in the monetary vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon England, but nonetheless several words changed in meaning over time. Different kingdoms also had their own ways of organising the currency. In the seventh century, Kent and (later) Wessex are the only kingdoms known in any detail, thanks to their surviving law-codes. The earliest of these belong to Kent: three codes were issued between the 600s and the 690s, in the name of King Æthelberht I (issued 601–4), Hlothhere and Eadric (685–6), and Wihtred (695–6). In Wessex, a law-code issued by King Ine in the period 688–94 was preserved as an appendix to that of his descendant King Alfred. These four law-codes (together with a small number of other contemporary texts) introduce terms which were to remain familiar for centuries.

Scilling and *sceat* (see also Appendix 4, s.v.) are the primary units of value in the seventh-century Kentish law-codes. The *scilling* is the etymological ancestor of the pre-decimal British shilling. It is related to words in other Germanic languages meaning ‘divide’ or ‘cut up’, as in the Old Norse/Icelandic verb *skilja*, and other words with the root **skell*, meaning ‘resound’ or ‘ring’ (Bosworth and Toller 1972 s.v.; *OED* s.v.; cf. Schröder 1918, 254–66). In two sixth-century Gothic documents, *skilliggs* was used as an equivalent for Latin *solidus*, the standard gold denomination of the time (Wrede 1913; cf. Hines 2010, 156–7). Though the word also meant ‘wealth’ in a broader sense, *sceat* appears, in the laws of Æthelberht, as the twentieth part of a *scilling* (Bosworth and Toller 1972 s.v., and see particularly *Beowulf* (ed. Fulk *et al.* 2008, ll. 378a (*gifsceattas*) and 1686b) and *Widsith* (ed. Krapp and Dobbie 1936, l. 92a)). This relationship in Æthelberht’s laws is inferred from certain clauses (chaps. 54, 55, 72) stating that compensation for harm to toes is to be half that for fingers: hence thirty *sceattas* for a toe-nail must be half that for a thumb-nail (three *scillingas*). The *sceat* is not mentioned explicitly in subsequent laws, but some of the fines in *scillingas* (e.g. the fifty *scillingas* for breach of the king or Church’s peace) remained identical down to the late seventh century, implying continuity with earlier units of account. However, *sceat* also persisted in use as a more general term for ‘wealth’ or ‘money’.

Pen(d)ing (later *pe(n)nig*), ancestor of the modern ‘penny’, appears for the first time in the late seventh century. The etymology of the word is unclear: possible explanations include a root **pand-* related to the Old High German *Pfand* (‘pledge’), **pan* (as in Modern English cooking ‘pan’) because of the shape of coins, or an early borrowing from Latin *pondus*; in other early Germanic languages cognate words were usually associated with a silver coin, particularly the Latin *denarius* (Birkhan 1971; Schröder 1918, 241–54). *Pening* was first used in England in the law-code of Ine (688–94), as well as in texts associated with late seventh-century commentaries from the Canterbury school of Archbishop Theodore (d. 690) (Bischoff and Lapidge 1994, 396–7). The latter state that a *pending* was a weight consisting of twenty *siliquae*: this is an otherwise unattested reckoning, which may be derived from the relationship of the earlier Kentish *sceat* to the *scilling* (Bischoff and Lapidge 1994, 564). Another anomalous (possibly corrupt) section of the same text assigns eighteen *pendingas* to an *argenteum*, here equating a *pending* with a *siliqua* (carob seed) weighing four grains of barley (*grana ordeī*) (Bischoff and Lapidge 1994, 338–9). The relationship between the *pæning* and the *scilling* in the laws of Ine is never made explicit. However, in chap. 59 a fine of five *pæningas* is juxtaposed with another of one *scilling*, implying they were not identical, and elsewhere (chap. 74) a slave is valued at sixty *scillingas*, which suggests a value of four *pæningas*.

per *scilling*, if (as in later laws) a slave was valued at one pound (e.g. II Æthelred, chap. 5, ed. Liebermann 1903–16, I, 222).

The relationship between the *scilling*, *sceat* and *pæning* is complicated yet significant, for on it depend important conclusions about the relative status of classes in early Kentish and West Saxon society. For example, in Ine's laws a *ceorl* had a *wergild* – compensation in case of death – of 200 *scillingas*, translating to probably 800 *pæningas*, while a Kentish *ceorl*, with a *wergild* of 100 *scillingas*, was presumably worth 2,000 *sceattas*. If a *sceat* was the same as a *pæning*, then on the face of it a Kentish *ceorl* was worth more than twice as much as his West Saxon counterpart (Chadwick 1905, 113–14). But the correspondence of these denominations is still unclear. In the time of Æthelberht I, when the *scilling* and *sceat* first appeared, the circulating coinage consisted solely of gold pieces, virtually all of them *tremisses* of Merovingian origin weighing about 1.30g. Early Anglo-Saxon weights appear to be predicated on this standard, or on an earlier *tremissis* of about 1.50g, based on a *solidus* of about 4.50g (Scull 1990). Philip Grierson consequently proposed that the *scilling* of Æthelberht's law-code might be identical with the *tremissis*: a novel solution, for in later English sources and also in Gothic and other Germanic languages *scilling* and its cognates normally equated with *solidus* (Schröder 1918, 254–6). He also suggested that, as there was no known silver denomination at this time, the *sceat* therefore either was a notional unit of account, or applied to a very small amount of gold bullion (0.065g), one-twentieth the weight of a Merovingian *tremissis*, corresponding to the traditionally accepted weight of a grain of barley (Grierson 1961). It followed that the identification of early Anglo-Saxon silver coins as *sceattas* was an error perpetrated around 1800 when the belief was that early Anglo-Saxon silver coins were made between the fifth and early seventh century (i.e. at the time of Æthelberht's law-code) rather than in the late seventh and early eighth century, as a replacement for gold (e.g. Turner 1799–1805, IV, 163; Ruding 1817, I, 217–19 – though in V, 19 Ruding expresses doubts about how 'sceattae' were to be distinguished from pennies; cf. Naismith 2015). Earlier scholars had noted that *sceat* was a sub-unit of the *scilling*, but did not connect it with any specific coins (Sir Andrew Fountaine in Hickeys *et al.* 1703–5, I, 165; Spelman 1664, 503; Somner 1659, s.v. *sceat*; Lambard 1568, in an unpaginated glossary following the laws of Æthelberht).

An alternative scheme recently advanced by John Hines (Hines 2010) also accepts that the *scilling* was equivalent to the gold *tremissis* in the time of Æthelberht, but takes the *sceat* as a weight of silver rather than gold. Hines notes that if the common late Roman gold:silver ratio of 18:1 was still in place, the equivalent of a gold *sceat* in silver would have approximated the weight of one of the early silver pennies ($0.065\text{g} \times 18 = 1.17\text{g}$). *Sceat* was certainly used as the equivalent of a penny in some later texts, such as *Be Myrcna Lage* (tenth-century, but possibly calling on earlier material), where four *sceattas* are reckoned to a *scilling* (the 'Mercian' reckoning discussed below) (Liebermann 1903–16, I, 462–3). Silver was widely available in seventh-century England, including at the time when the circulating coinage consisted exclusively of gold. A system of account incorporating silver *c.* 600 is therefore plausible. But there is no direct evidence that a gold:silver ratio of 18:1 applied in early Anglo-Saxon England: there were other ratios recorded even in late Roman and early Byzantine texts (Hendy 1985, 480–2), and the correspondence between gold and silver may not have remained stable in England over so long a period. It is also unclear how debasement of gold coinage in the seventh century would have affected these units of account (see Chapter 3, sections (d)–(f), pp. 45–59). Indeed, the most straightforward solution to the variable value of the *scilling* would be periodic change in reaction to debasement. This would account for

the denomination's reduction in value relative to silver by 75/80 per cent over the course of the seventh century, to a value which then became fossilised as a unit of account once pure silver coinage took hold (Whitelock 1979, 52–3). But even this proposition assumes a relatively clear break in the transition from gold to silver, and that there was a close, responsive relationship between units of account and fineness.

B. The eighth century and after

The silver penny introduced in the later seventh century was to remain the key denomination for the rest of the Anglo-Saxon period, and indeed the basic shape of the subsequent systems of account emerged quite rapidly at this time. These systems were based on a variable number of *peningas* in a *scilling*. At least three reckonings existed in various parts of England at different times (Chadwick 1905, 12–20). Since the mid-eighteenth century scholars have observed that the early Kentish *scilling* contained twenty *sceattas* (e.g. Clarke 1767, 150–8, 427–30), but they suggested a range of solutions to the contradictory pieces of evidence for later *scillingas* of four, five or twelve *pæningas*. Reinhold Schmid clarified the issue, with the realisation that reckonings of the shilling varied essentially by kingdom (Schmid 1858, 591–5).

The oldest of these systems was that of four *pæningas* to the *scilling*: this reckoning was probably found first in Ine's law-code, but in later times it was associated with territory north of the Thames. The four-penny shilling resurfaces in a charter preserved at Worcester but concerning land in London, dated to 857, which equates sixty *solidi* with a pound (S 208/B 492), and famously also appeared in the short tract known as *Be Myrcna Lage* ('On the Law of the Mercians'), which is preserved in late copies but possibly incorporates substantially earlier material from Mercia before its conquest by the Vikings (Wormald 1999, 392–3). The four-penny shilling continued to be used in the *Gerædnes betweox Dunsetan*, dealing with the Welsh borders in (probably) the early eleventh century (Molyneux 2012), and persisted even after the Conquest, for instance in the laws of William I (Chadwick 1905, 12–13).

The laws of Alfred (possibly issued after c. 885), however, seem to have been predicated on a *scilling* of five *pæningas*, which came to be the principal rival of the 'Mercian' four-penny shilling. The five-penny shilling may have originated as an adaptation of the four-penny shilling, allowing for debasement in silver coins with a surcharge of 25 per cent (Lyon 1969, 209). But the five-penny shilling did not extinguish the older valuation, and, whatever the origin of the new system, the two eventually seem to have coexisted in different regions of late Anglo-Saxon England. The five-penny shilling was generally associated with Wessex in the tenth and eleventh centuries (Chadwick 1905, 15–16). It occurred in the law-codes VI Æthelstan (associated with London) and II Æthelred, as well as in a grammatical miscellany of the early eleventh century containing works by Ælfric of Eynsham (Zupitza 1880, 296; Napier 1889, 8). Like the 'Mercian' *scilling*, it persisted beyond 1066, being cited in the *Leges Henrici primi* as particular to Wessex (chap. 34.3, ed. Liebermann 1903–16, I, 565).

Finally, by the end of the tenth century it is likely that some Anglo-Saxons had begun to use the reckoning of twelve *pæningas* to the *scilling*, which had been traditional in Francia for some three centuries. Only four Anglo-Saxon sources are known to have used the twelve-penny shilling, three of which may be associated with one another on linguistic criteria (Dodwell and Clemoes 1974, 49–52). These three are: Byrhtferth of Ramsey's *Enchiridion* (II.9, III.3, ed. Baker and Lapidge 1995, 60–1, 184–5), written 1011–c. 1020; an Old English translation of Exodus 21:10 (ed. Marsden

Table 23. *Valuations of the shilling in pennies in different Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.*

Kent (c. 600)	?Wessex (c. 690); Mercia	Wessex (c. 890)	Francia (c. 700); England (c. 1000)
<i>Scilling</i> [gold coin]	<i>Scilling</i> [account]	<i>Scilling</i> [account]	<i>Scilling</i> [account]
20 <i>sceattas</i> [gold/silver bullion]	4 <i>pæningas</i> [silver coin]	5 <i>pæningas</i> [silver coin]	12 <i>pæningas</i> [silver coin]

2008, 117); and the Old English version of the penitential of Pseudo-Ecgberht (chap. 57, ed. Raith 1964, 67). The connection with Byrhtferth, based in Ramsey, may suggest that the twelve-penny shilling was characteristic of the Fenlands, or of eastern England more generally. This is supported by the one other pre-Conquest source to use the twelve-penny shilling: the *Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi*, a twelfth-century Latin text which translates Old English material from tenth-century Ely (*Liber Eliensis*, chap. 11a, ed. Blake 1962, 89–91, with comment by Dorothy Whitelock at xvii). All four sources probably or certainly stem from a reformed monastic context, in which orthodoxy and correct usage of weights and measures was emphasised (Blair 2013, 22, 54) – though as noted above Ælfric of Eynsham, taught by Æthelwold himself at Winchester, apparently still subscribed to the ‘West Saxon’ five-penny shilling in the early eleventh century. The different forms of shilling are summarised in Table 23.

The *sceat* fades significantly from view in sources from after the time of Æthelberht: even the other seventh-century codes do not name it specifically. It recurs in *Be Myrcna Lage* as a synonym for *pening*. The poem *Widsith*, preserved in the tenth-century Exeter Book (Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3501), famously refers to a ring (*beag*) which is *gescyred sceatta scillingrime* (‘reckoned by the count of *sceattas* and shillings’) (Krapp and Dobbie 1936, ll. 90–2). The age of this text is uncertain, however, and its use of *sceat* and *scilling* may be prompted by the needs of alliteration and delight in archaism rather than contemporary usage. *Sceat* also appears in the gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Library, Nero D.IV), written in the mid-tenth century by Aldred (later provost of Chester-Le-Street). In the parable of the lost coin at Luke 15:8–10, ten *dragmas* are glossed as *fif sceattas tea siðum* (‘five *sceattas* times ten’: Skeat 1874, 155). This gloss indicates that, to Aldred, five *sceattas* equated with a *dragma*. If Aldred thought of the *dragma* as comparable to a *scilling* (which is how it was glossed in some other cases, such as Luke 15:9: ed. Skeat 1874, 154–5), his *sceat* could in effect have been a penny. It is surprising to find the West Saxon reckoning of the shilling so far north, and in a context otherwise so obscure, yet Aldred had certainly visited Wessex at least once and may have encountered the reckoning there (Durham, Cathedral Library, A.IV.19, fol. 84r). If on the other hand the glossator was thinking in terms of Roman weights, a *dragma* or *denarius* was an eighth of an ounce, meaning that a *sceat* was a fortieth of an ounce, or, put differently, half of a pennyweight by later medieval reckoning. It is unclear whether the *sceat* of the Lindisfarne Gospels gloss was the same as the *sceat* of Æthelberht’s law-code; if it was, then a seventh-century gold *scilling* would have been worth ten pennies or pennyweights of silver (assuming they were of equivalent fineness, and that the gold:silver ratio was 10:1) (Lyon 1976, 177–8). This would be a further point in favour of the original gold *scilling* of the early seventh century being divided into smaller silver units rather than gold, presumably of silver bullion rather than coins. But further corroborative evidence is needed to bridge the gap between Æthelberht and the mid-tenth century.

Alongside the central meaning of *scilling* as a multiple of pennies, it could be used as a very general term for ‘coin’ or, perhaps better, ‘monetary unit’. In this sense it was utilised to gloss a wide range of Latin terms for weight and currency: *stater*, *siclus*, *dragma*, *argenteus*, *denarius*, *obelus* and *numisma* (Bosworth and Toller 1972, s.v. *scilling*). *Lunulae*, ‘crescent shaped ornaments’, used by Aldhelm of Malmesbury (d. 709/10) to describe gold and jewelled trinkets worn round the neck (*De virginitate prosa*, chaps. 17, 26, 52, ed. Ehwald 1919, 246, 260, 308), were explained in a seventh-century glossary now preserved in copies at Erfurt and Épinal as *menescillingas*, ‘ornament-coins’ (Pheifer 1974, l. 570). *Pæning* too could be used broadly to mean simply a small unit of weight or value. In the Old English *Herbarium* and *Medicamina de quadrupedibus*, it was used to translate weights measured by the *denarius* and *dragma* as well as fractions of the *dragma* (de Vriend 1984, lxxxii–iii).

3. Larger units: the pound, mark and mancus

The largest other unit commonly employed was of course the pound. Ine’s laws suggest that an account pound of 240 pennies may already have been current in the 690s; it certainly was so by the 850s, and can be traced in Francia from the early eighth century (Chadwick 1905, 64–75; *MEC* 1, 102). Other reckonings of the pound may have existed for specific purposes, such as compensating for the difference between a pound by account and a pound by weight or assay (melted and purified). DB (I, fol. 16r) mentions a case of the surcharge for assayed and weighed silver amounting to 30 per cent (i.e. a pound of 312 pence by number). A pound of 300 pence would have been the result if the common eleventh-century rate of a 25 per cent surcharge were used (Lyon 1969, 204–5, 209; for further discussion of the complex Domesday systems of account, see Lyon 2006; 2008; Nightingale 2008), and there is also evidence for a pound reckoned at 250 *sceattas* in a Mercian tract, with a *sceat* in this context taken to be the same as a penny (*Be Myrcna Lage*, chap. 1.2, ed. Liebermann 1903–16, I, 462–3; cf. Lyon 1969, 216–17).

From the time of the Scandinavian settlements the pound was joined by the mark, normally counted as two-thirds of a pound (13s. 4d., or 160 pence). This Scandinavian unit of weight and value first appears in the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum (c. 880–90) (chap. 2, ed. Liebermann 1903–16, I, 126–7). It became a popular alternative to the pound in later Anglo-Saxon laws and documents, especially but not exclusively in the Danelaw. The sub-unit of the mark was the ora, again of Scandinavian derivation. Like the shilling, the ora varied in size: references survive to both a sixteen-pence and a twenty-pence ora. The former is found in a Latin law-code attributed to Æthelred II (IV, chap. 9.2, ed. Liebermann 1903–16, I, 236), where a pound is said to consist of fifteen oras, and recurs in a number of post-Conquest contexts (Chadwick 1905, 24–5; Lyon 1969, 210). DB is the principal source of the twenty-pence ora, though this would correspond with the broader Scandinavian and northern European pattern of a mark containing eight oras (Nightingale 1983, 252). The twenty-pence ora features as one of four methods of qualifying valuations of renders in DB, alongside tale, weight and assayed or blanched (i.e. melted and purified), and is particularly associated with royal lands (though specification of type of payment is also generally restricted to royal dues). The twenty-pence ora may for practical purposes have been synonymous, or almost so, with blanching (yielding a surfeit of either 25 or 30 per cent), as a mechanism for the king to secure full and profitable payment on his own lands and dues (Harvey 1967). Alternatively, it could have been introduced in the period 1066–86 in connection with changes to the weight standard of the coinage (Harvey 1983; Lyon 1976, 205–9). If so, it is likely that comparable changes

were taking place before the Conquest, perhaps being one factor behind the changing weight of the late tenth- and eleventh-century coinage (see Chapter 10, section (g), pp. 248–52).

The term *mancus* (often *mancosus* in Latin documents) first appeared in England at the end of the eighth century, and continued to be used down to the Norman Conquest. It was initially closely related to gold, but by the tenth century could also be used as a more generic unit of account for 30d. The *mancus* entered England from Italy, where it first appeared more or less simultaneously in the regions around Rome and Venice in the 770s. Its original meaning in Italy is unclear: cases have been made for the gold coinage of the Byzantine provinces of Italy and especially Sicily, based primarily on the fact that these gold pieces were somewhat debased, and hence needed to be kept distinct from other kinds of gold coin (taking *mancus* as the Latin adjective meaning ‘weak, powerless’, as in modern French *manquer*, ‘to lack’: Grierson 1954, 1065–74; Prigent 2014); and alternatively for Arabic gold dinars (*MEC* 1, 327; *MEC* 6, 567). The latter were of a slightly different weight standard to Byzantine gold *solidi* and have been found in some number in eighth- and ninth-century Italian contexts; dinars are also significantly more common among finds from outside Italy than Sicilian gold *solidi* of the same period, and were widely imitated, not least by King Offa (Ilisch 2004; for other possible English imitations see Naismith 2010b; Lowick 1973). An alternative derivation of the word *manc(os)us* is provided by the past participle of the Arabic verb ‘to strike’, *manqush*, which was actually inscribed on some tenth-century coins (Linder Welin 1965). Whatever the origin of the term, it is likely to have soon come to refer to Arabic as well as Byzantine gold, at least outside Italy, and in the complex monetary conditions of eighth-century Italy the *mancus* may from its inception have been used for several different kinds of coin (Delogu 2008; Cosentino 2012, 431–9; Prigent 2014). In the Anglo-Saxon context, the term *mancus* continued to be closely linked to gold coins, and possible *mancuses* were modelled on Roman, Arabic, Byzantine and Lombard gold pieces. Surviving examples tend to weigh approximately 4.00–4.50g, the same as about three silver pennies from the time of Offa onwards, which is consistent with the later valuation of a *mancus* at 30d. (assuming a gold:silver ratio of approximately 10:1 or 12:1) (Chadwick 1905, 23–4, 47–51; Blackburn 2007b, 66). Because of the rarity and special status of gold in the later Anglo-Saxon period, coined gold remained closely related to gold bullion: *mancus* was used to describe both forms, most famously in the will of King Eadred, which instructed executors to take *twentig hund mancusa goldes 7 gemynetige to mancusan* (‘two thousand *mancuses* of gold and mint them into *mancuses*’) (S 1515; ed. Miller 2001, no. 17). By the eleventh century, however, *mancus* could evidently be used as a more general unit of account and weight: one will dating to 1008×1012 specifically refers to *mancuses* of pennies (S 1492). A lead weight, impressed with a die of Edward the Confessor’s *Small Flan* type, has also tentatively been identified as a *mancus* weight (Biggs 2013, 81).

4. Other units of account

Other units of account were used from time to time. *Thrymsa* has often been used to describe the earliest Anglo-Saxon gold coins (e.g. *BMC* 1, xxxv–vi; *T&S*), and from the sixteenth century has correctly been identified as deriving from the Latin and vernacular terms for ‘three’, corresponding to the Latin *tremissis*, a third of a *solidus* in value or coin (Lambarde 1568, s.v. in an unpaginated glossary following the laws of Æthelberht). In practice, *thrymsa* was used quite vaguely in Anglo-Saxon documents. In one early series of glossaries (Épinal, Erfurt and Corpus) originating in the

late seventh century *thrymsa* glossed the lemma *as*: a Roman copper-alloy coin or a pound by weight, depending on usage. However, in another late seventh-century glossary (Leiden) it was matched with *solidus* (Chadwick 1905, 10), a point in favour of the link drawn between the *scilling* and coins traditionally identified as *tremisses* (see p. 362 above). In the tenth-century gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels, *thrymsa* glossed *stater* – perhaps as the *stater* was a unit of weight reckoned at three *solidi/aurei*, or half an ounce (Isidore, *Etymologiae* XVI.25, ed. Lindsay 1911, II, 220–3, trans. Barney *et al.* 2006, 332–4), while in the Old English *Herbarium*, *thrymsa* translated the weight *drachma*. More transparently, the law-code *Northleoda lagu* employed *thrymsa* to mean a unit of three pence in the calculation of compensations (Chadwick 1905, 20–3).

‘Styca’ has been applied to the small, debased Northumbrian coins of the ninth century (660–926: see Chapter 5, section (g), pp. 119–25) since the 1690s, when William Nicolson (1655–1727) first drew a connection between the coins of this form recently unearthed at Ripon, and a gloss found in the Lindisfarne Gospels (Nicolson 1696–9, I, 107; Pirie 1982, 84–5). There, the *duo minuta quod est quadrans* offered by the widow in Mark 12:42 were described in Old English as *tuoge stycas*, *[þæt] is feorðung penn[inges]* (‘two *stycas*: that is, a quarter of a penny’) (Skeat 1871, 100). Nicolson’s deduction was that the base coins from Ripon must be the smallest denomination available; thus half a farthing as defined by the gloss. However, it is now known that the Lindisfarne Gospels gloss was added in the mid-tenth century by Aldred, approximately a century after the coins Nicolson was concerned with had been made. The plural form presented in the Lindisfarne Gospels is anomalous (*stycca* being more usual), and the normal singular of the word was not ‘styca’ but *styce*. *Styce* in general meant simply a ‘small piece’ of something, and was thus quite a close approximation of the Latin *minutum*; it was also used to gloss *frustum* (‘crumb’) (Bosworth and Toller 1972, s.v. *styce*). There is no evidence that *styce* was ever used to describe Northumbrian pennies of the ninth century, nor indeed that it ever meant anything more than ‘piece’. The only other occurrence of *styce* in a monetary context conforms to this interpretation. It comes in a brief note in the manuscript London, British Library, Harley 3271 (s. xiⁱⁱⁱ), fol. 90r entitled *De triginta argenteos* – the thirty pieces of silver for which Judas betrayed Christ – where the writer uses the term *þritig seolfor sticca* to refer to the thirty silver *argentei*, but only when translating them into *scillingas* (on the understanding that each *argenteus* contained thirty-six pennies); *styce* was thus used quite literally to describe ‘thirty pieces of silver’ (Napier 1889, 8; cf. Anlezark 2009, 143).

Alongside *pending*, there are also a few glosses which translate *denarius* with the more direct Latin borrowing *dinere*. This word seems not to have been in wide use, however, and does not appear outside the context of Latin–Old English glossaries and translations (Bosworth and Toller 1972, s.v. *dyneras*). *Casering* derives its name from any coin which carried a portrait of a Roman emperor or *caesar/casere*, and never seems to have had any more specific meaning than ‘coin’. As well as appearing in the Canterbury commentaries from the late seventh century, where it seems to have been synonymous with both *solidus* and *argenteus* (Bischoff and Lapidge 1994, 328–9, 564–5), *casering* was used in the Rushworth and Lindisfarne Gospels to gloss both *drachm* and *didrachm* (Skeat 1887, 143; 1874, 155). *Mynet* was a direct borrowing from the Latin *moneta* with no more specific meaning than ‘coin’, though it usually seems to have been used to translate the word *nomisma*. It already served this purpose in the late seventh-century glossaries (Pheifer 1974, I, 670), and at the end of the ninth century the Old English translator of Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica* rendered *aureum* ... *nomisma* into *gyldne mynet* (ed. Miller 1890–98, III, 174).

The most widely used Old English term for ‘money’ in general was *feoh*. Like its Latin cognates *pecus* and *pecunia*, *feoh* could carry a sense of ‘livestock’ or ‘cattle’ as well as ‘money’ (DOE s.v. *feoh*). By the eleventh century *feoh* was sometimes being used with the specific sense of coinage. Wulfstan, archbishop of York, wrote several times in the 1000s and 1010s of *feos bot*, ‘improvement of the money’, probably referring to the process of recoinage (see Chapter 10, section (e), p. 231). Other terms used to denote payment or money more widely could likewise be assumed to mean coin. A famous illustrated manuscript of the Hexateuch in Old English (London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B.IV; cf. Dodwell and Clemoes 1974), probably made at Canterbury c. 1025–50, illustrates several references to payment (e.g. using the verb *sellan*) or general terms for money such as *sceat* with the handover of coins (e.g. fols. 22r (Genesis 12:16), 54r (Genesis 37:28) and 55r (Genesis 37:36)).

5. Numismatic denominations

The wide range of units of account apparent from documents and literary texts is reflected only partially in the coins themselves. The overwhelming majority of Anglo-Saxon coins can be assigned to one of two denominations:

1. In the seventh century (c. 600–65/75) gold coins modelled on Frankish *tremisses*/*trientes* were the prevailing currency (**1–14**). The earliest specimens were of high-quality gold (>90 per cent pure), but fineness deteriorated quickly. Like their Frankish models, most specimens weigh approximately 1.20–1.30g. As noted above, there is reason to believe that these early Anglo-Saxon gold pieces (and their Merovingian equivalents) were the *scillingas* of the seventh-century law-codes; in Latin, they were presumably known as *tremisses* or *trientes*.
2. Late in the seventh century (c. 665/75) the deteriorating gold coins metamorphosed into new silver pieces, initially of similar size, weight and format to the earlier gold issues (**15–627**). There is little doubt that these were the *pæningas*/*denarii* of contemporary sources. In the mid-eighth century Kentish and Mercian-controlled mints adopted the broader, thinner format of silver coin pioneered in Francia (**954, 999–1003**). This broad silver penny would remain the foundation of the English currency until the later Middle Ages.

Other denominations were minted, albeit on a much smaller scale:

1. Round halfpennies were produced between the 870s and Edgar’s reform a century later (**1295, 1406, 1448, 1617, 2363, 2369, 2436–41, 2524–5, 2534–5, 2580**). Anglo-Scandinavian mints apparently issued more round halfpennies in the late ninth and early tenth century than their English counterparts. These small silver pieces suggest some level of demand for lower-value coins. Few specimens survive because they were not generally included in hoards, and their small size makes them more prone to deterioration and damage in the soil. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that they were ever issued on the same scale as pennies.
2. After the reform of the early 970s round halfpennies were no longer produced, save for one surviving specimen from the reign of Edward the Confessor (Lyon 1965). In their stead regular pennies were commonly cut into halves or quarters to make halfpennies and farthings. Cut fractions are significantly more common than the round halfpennies of earlier times, and in some contexts (such as urban excavations) cut fractions are in fact more numerous than whole

coins (see Chapter 10, section (c), p. 221). An early precursor to the cutting of English coins came in the Isle of Man, where pre-reform pennies were cut into halves (see Chapter 13, section (c), pp. 317–19).

3. The only known examples of an Anglo-Saxon silver coin larger than a penny date to the reign of Alfred the Great (see Chapter 8, section (f), pp. 172–3). Two specimens survive, one of them damaged; the intact one weighs 10.47g. They were probably intended as multiples of the penny, potentially a sixpence, though if so the basic unit would have been a Carolingian silver *denarius* of c. 1.75g rather than the pennies of Alfred's own kingdom. The reverses of both coins bear the inscription *ELIMO[sina]*, 'alms', indicating a donative religious context, presumably as a gift to Rome or another continental church, and there was probably little expectation that these pieces would enter into regular circulation in England (Dolley 1954b, 78–82).
4. Gold *solidi* of English manufacture existed in the seventh century, albeit in small quantity. Only six examples survive, two being unique specimens of their respective types (modelled on late Roman issues) and four others belonging to a coherent group based on a combination of late Roman and Byzantine precedents (1). Adherence to a similar weight standard suggests these coins were made with some expectation of serving as a store of wealth or means of exchange, though most were later pierced or mounted to serve as ornaments. See Chapter 3, section (d), pp. 45–9.
5. Gold coins were reintroduced in England in the later eighth century and continued to be issued sporadically down to the time of Edward the Confessor (Blackburn 2007c). Their form and function differed significantly from contemporary silver issues. The designs of multiple ancient and foreign coinages provided inspiration during the late eighth and ninth century, including gold pieces of Roman, Byzantine, Carolingian and Arabic origin (as well as English silver pennies), and they name either a ruler or moneyer but never both (Naismith 2012c, 112–17); later specimens which survive in the names of Edward the Elder, Æthelred II and Edward the Confessor were struck using regular penny dies by moneyers at Lewes, Warwick and an uncertain location in southern England (Blackburn 2007c, B6–8). In total only eight gold coins survive which bear a meaningful inscription and can be attributed with certainty to England after c. 770, although foreign gold coins were widely used and it is possible that some other imitations of Arabic and Carolingian gold were also made in England (cf. Blackburn 2007c, 80–2; Naismith 2010b). What united all surviving gold coins and most of their foreign counterparts was a considerably higher weight than that of the silver pennies, usually c. 4.00–4.50g, which was presumably intended to constitute the equivalent of thirty silver pennies, i.e. a *mancus* (though the standard of a *solidus* or *dinar* may also have been intended). Being of much greater value than silver, heavy gold coins were of necessity restricted to high-value transactions among the elite. Anglo-Saxon charters which mention payment in relation to land refer to gold almost as often as to silver despite the rarity of surviving gold finds (Naismith 2013d, 308–13). Because of its high-status associations, gold was much more international in its circulation than silver coins of the same period, and also had a closer relationship to uncoined metal (see Chapter 1, section (f), pp. 18–22).

Claims have also been made for the existence of other denominations:

1. Debased Northumbrian coins of the ninth century have historically been known as 'stycas' (660–863, 880–926; see above, p. 367); however, no contemporary evidence survives to indicate

by what name these coins were known. It is entirely possible that they went on being referred to as pennies by users who knew no other regular currency. Users who encountered debased Northumbrian coins in southern England may have treated them as a fractional denomination (Naismith 2012c, 207–8).

2. In the 1950s Philip Grierson proposed that certain coins in the name of Alfred the Great might represent a third of a penny (Grierson 1955–7); however, Michael Dolley and Christopher Blunt subsequently demonstrated that the coins in question were imitations from Viking-held territory, almost certainly intended as halfpennies (Dolley and Blunt 1961, 89; cf. *MEC* I, 270).

(b) IRELAND

Knowledge of early Irish units of account is very extensive, coming largely in the form of compensations and equivalences in legal compilations. These include material dating back to the pre-Viking period, albeit often preserved in later texts which were driven by a concern to quantify early units in contemporary terms: hence there is a tendency to provide values in silver, which was not frequently encountered in earlier times (Charles-Edwards 1993, 478). Extrapolation of early medieval units shows several common measures of value:

1. The cow was especially prominent, but appeared in many different forms, among them the milch cow (*bó mlicht* or *laulgach*), a cow in calf (*bó inláeg*) and a recently calved cow with its calf (*bó treláeg*). The heifer (*samaisc*) was usually worth half a milch cow, the yearling (*colpthach*) in turn about half a heifer.
2. A vaguer unit, *sét* ('article of value'), was variable in value, but referred to a unit of livestock, most commonly a heifer (Charles-Edwards 1993, 480–2; Kelly 1997, 589–91).
3. The female slave (*cumal*). Male slaves (*moga*) also occasionally appear, but much less frequently (Kelly 1997, 591–2).
4. The *miach* (pl. *méich*), a bushel of grain (Kelly 1997, 588–9), perhaps specifically barley (Charles-Edwards 1993, 478).
5. The silver scruple (*screpul*, pl. *screpuil*) (Latin *scripulum*), twenty-four of which made up an ounce (*uinge*, pl. *uncid*) (Latin *uncia*). This was derived from the Roman system of weights and measures (Kelly 1997, 593–5), and a scruple was also thought to contain three pennies (*pinginne*) (Kelly 1997, 594). The penny only appears in Middle Irish legal glosses and commentaries, and probably entered Irish through the Old Norse *penningr* (Kelly 1997, 596). Another unit, *oiffig*, may derive from the name of Offa of Mercia, denoting a penny (Kelly 1997, 595), or (more probably) from *officina*, with a more general monetary significance (Bieler and Carney 1972, 52). Gold was (at least in one eighth-century case) rated at twelve times the value of silver (Charles-Edwards 1993, 482).

Use of these units did not of course always mean that barley, cattle and slaves actually changed hands in every case (Breatnach 2014). There are seventh- and eighth-century instances of a *cumal* or slave-girl's worth of silver (Charles-Edwards 1993, 479) – and it was already expected in the seventh century that precious metal would make up an appreciable portion of payments among the high elite (Breatnach 2014, 12–17).

The relationship between these measures of value is complicated, and varies between sources. Some of the most widely accepted valuations were:

- 1 ounce = 24 scruples
- 1 bushel of grain/*miach* = 1.5–2 scruples
- 1 slave-girl = 3–10 cows/ounces
- 1 ounce = 1 milch cow
- 1 milch cow = 2 heifers
- 1 heifer = 2 yearlings

This summary derives from a selection of specialised modern studies (Gerriets 1985a; 1985b; Charles-Edwards 1993, 478–85; Kelly 1997, esp. 587–99; Davies 2012; A. Woods 2013b, 1, 281–92; Breatnach 2014) which provide further details on this topic.

(c) WALES

Units of account in Wales and other Brittonic-speaking areas during the early Middle Ages are poorly recorded. The memoranda added to the Lichfield Gospels (Lichfield, Cathedral Library, MS 1) between the ninth and tenth centuries include payments made by members of the elite, two in livestock alone, another with 4lb 8oz (*quatuor libras et octo uncias*), presumably in silver (Jenkins and Owen 1983; 1984). The charters preserved in the twelfth-century Book of Llandaff (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS 17110 E: see Evans and Rhys 1893; Davies 1979) include copies of a number of land or dispute settlement payments from the eighth century and later, of varying reliability: several of these provide values for animals (dogs, hawks and horses) as well as objects (clothes, horns, linen, musical instruments, swords) in numbers of cattle, a practice which finds parallels elsewhere in western Britain, Ireland and other parts of Europe as far back as ancient Greece (Davies 1978, 53; McInerney 2010; Peacock 2013; cf. Jarrett 2014). Gold and silver – measured, as in the Lichfield memoranda, by weight – also appear in the eighth-century Llandaff material, but the general impression is that they played a limited part in transactions, and reckoning by weight implies that (even if coin was being used) their function as currency was secondary (Davies 1982, 54–5). Weights (pounds, ounces and *scripuli*, with some unusual Welsh adaptations of Latin monetary terms such as *dou punt* for *dupondius*) occur in a set of Old Welsh glosses to terms for weights, measures and values in the *Liber Commonei* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium, F.4.32 (s. ix), fols. 22v–24r) (Lambert 2003). However, precious metals become more prevalent in the tenth and eleventh centuries, when units familiar from Anglo-Saxon sources such as the pound (Evans and Rhys 1893, 260; Davies 1979, 127) and mancus (Evans and Rhys 1893, 237; Davies 1979, 124) also appear (Davies 1978, 51–4, 59–60).

The extensive and complex series of related law texts from various parts of Wales known as *Cyfraith Hywel* ('the law of Hywel') contains many references to the units used to pay compensation: some are based on the standard set of silver-based denominations of late Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest England (i.e. pounds, shillings and pence), and there are also some payments in ounces, presumably of precious metal, and in cattle (each cow apparently being valued at the equivalent of 60d.) (Jenkins 1986; Charles-Edwards and Russell 2007). However, although the *Cyfraith Hywel* includes some material from before (perhaps long before) the Norman era in Wales, manuscripts of the laws all date to the thirteenth century or later, and incorporate several generations of addition and modification (Charles-Edwards 2013, 267–72); the monetary compensations in particular are likely to be a later addition.

COIN LEGENDS AND EPIGRAPHY

(a) ELEMENTS OF EARLY MEDIEVAL COIN INSCRIPTIONS IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Meaningful inscriptions on coins of the period covered by this volume consist predominantly of names, typically those of the ruler who presided over the issuing kingdom, the moneyer responsible for production and the mint-place at which he was based. It was only in the tenth and eleventh centuries that all three of these elements became standard, however; in earlier times only the name of the ruler and/or the moneyer was generally used, and before the mid-eighth century any meaningful inscription was unusual. Details of these elements of the inscriptions (ruler, mint and moneyer) are arranged in the Indexes on pp. 873–901. Other words, mostly religious formulations, also occur from time to time.

Names were generally of non-Latinate origin (Old English together with some of Old Norse, continental Germanic and Irish derivation), while titles and other words were in Latin, occasionally Old English or very rarely Old Norse (2605). The Greek letters alpha and omega and of course runes were the major non-Roman elements of numismatic epigraphy; the Offa dinar constitutes an unusual attempt to reproduce Arabic lettering in England, but the placement of OFFA REX upside down relative to the Arabic suggests its makers did not understand the inscriptions (Chick 1a – though some other coins placed parts of Latin inscriptions upside down). In addition, a large number of early medieval coins carry pseudo-legends replicating the general appearance but not the meaning of an inscription. The use of these symbols demonstrates the importance that attached to writing as part of the design of a respectable coin, even when the maker was apparently illiterate, but these pseudo-legends are not considered here; the focus below is on meaningful inscriptions.

1. Rulers' names and titles

Rulers' names and titles are traditionally used to define the obverse of a coin, although there are some cases (such as the issues of Viking Northumbria: see Chapter 11, section (i), pp. 292–301) where the die carrying the ruler's name apparently occupied the reverse (i.e. upper) position in technical terms, or where rulers' names occupy both faces. Some of the first Anglo-Saxon coins to carry a royal portrait in the time of Offa of Mercia placed the portrait alongside the moneyer's name, with the king's name and title on the other face, and it is not clear which side should be regarded as the obverse and reverse. In the 'Anonymous' coinage of Canterbury of the

early 820s, the moneyer's name replaced that of the ruler around the portrait, with a mint name occupying the reverse (995–8). For present purposes, the face with the ruler's name is taken to be the obverse.

Most legends with rulers' names on Anglo-Saxon coins, from the time of Aldfrith of Northumbria onwards (628–30), open with a cross, followed by the name itself. Normally this is presented in its nominative vernacular form, without inflection or Latinisation. Exceptions occur; as with names in inscriptions in other media, different linguistic and inflected forms could often be mixed together (e.g. Okasha 1971, no. 64). Early Northumbrian kings' and archbishops' names are Latinised (628–46, 651–3), and a small number of coins of Edward the Confessor's *Sovereign/Eagles* type Latinise his name to EADVVEARDVS (2223, 2229–30), probably under the influence of craftsmen of non-Anglo-Saxon origin. The names of two of the early rulers attested on coins at Viking York, Sigferth and Æthelwold, are also usually Latinised on coins to SIEFREDVS, ALVALDVS or similar (2526, 2528–9, 2573–6). In eighth-century Northumbria and in southern England during the time of Offa, the king's name often stood alone, with no further title. Some early coins of Offa also used a Frankish-influenced abbreviated royal style of OF[fā] R[ex] M[erciorum]/A[nglorum] (999–1003, 1005–6, 1015), while the first kings of Kent to issue silver coins used an R with a slashed leg as an abbreviated form of *rex* ('king' in Latin) (Naismith 2006). However, by far the most common title appended to kings' names was the word REX. A variation on this title occurs on the very first coins in the name of an English ruler, the gold *scillingas* of Eadbald of Kent (d. 640) (3–4), which carry the word REGES after the king's name: this could be a representation of the genitive form (normally *regis*; cf. Shaw 2008, 107), or perhaps a spelling based on the contemporary pronunciation of *rex*, analogous to **ress** in runes on some coins of Beonna in the mid-eighth century (R. I. Page in Archibald 1985, 39).

Royal styles beyond *rex* were much more common in some kingdoms than others. They generally consisted of additional Latin words or abbreviations referring to the people over whom the king presided, not, it should be stressed, to the territory as such: as in charters and other written sources, the norm was 'king of the English' (*vel sim.*) rather than 'king of England' (cf. Scharer 1988). Mercian rulers down to Burgred and Ceolwulf II were very often named REX M[erciorum]; a few coins of Offa and Ceolwulf I actually spell out most or all of the title REX MERCIORVM ('king of the Mercians') (1011, 1074). Cuthred and Baldred are sometimes named REX CANT[uariorum] (960–7), and the latter was also named REX H on some pennies of Rochester, an obscure title which may signify 'king of Rochester' (*Hrofesceastir*) (Naismith 2012c, 83). A few coins of Æthelstan of East Anglia label him REX ANG[lorum] ('king of the [East] Angles') (Naismith 2011a, E32), but otherwise no ethnic determiners are found on East Anglian coinage, and none at all were used in pre-Viking Northumbria. Viking rulers are also never given a more specific title than 'king' (though for the case of EBR ('*Eboracum*/York') found after some kings' names, apparently used as an obverse mint-signature, see 1526 and Chapter 11, section (d), p. 285); indeed, some rulers, such as ALVALDVS, probably the West Saxon pretender Æthelwold, are not even referred to explicitly as REX. The most outstanding feature of royal titulature in Viking Northumbria is the use of the vernacular (Old Norse) royal title CVNVNG(R) (*konungr*, 'king') on coins of the period 939–44 (2605). This title was also occasionally used early in the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage. One die made in Chester for use in Dublin referred to Sihtric Silkbeard as REX IRVM ('king among (?) the Irish'), rather than REX DYFLIN ('king of/in Dublin'), as was more usual (Chapter 14, section (d), p. 331). Remarkably, a non-royal Viking ruler (possibly at Great Shelford near

Cambridge) was described as COMES SITRIC ('Earl Sihtric') on a rare late ninth-century coinage (see Chapter 11, section (g), p. 289).

The West Saxon kings of the ninth century used additional titles beyond *rex* only occasionally. Only Ecgbert's small West Saxon mint referred to him as REX SAXONIORVM (1174–5), while the moneyers at Rochester adopted and expanded the same design in the early years of his son Æthelwulf, calling him REX OCCIDENTALIVM SAXONIORVM ('king of the West Saxons'), the only time this royal style appeared on coins (1194). In the mid- and late 870s, Alfred the Great's coinage flirted with a broader range of styles. A Two Emperors-type penny, probably minted at London, names him REX ANG[lorum] (Blackburn and Keynes 1998, no. 5), perhaps in reference to the wider authority the West Saxon ruler possessed in Mercia as well as Wessex at that stage; in a similar way, a small number of Cross and Lozenge pennies entitle Alfred REX s[axonum et] m[erciorum] (Blackburn and Keynes 1998, no. 27), while most others use REX SA[xonum] or similar (Keynes 1998b, 14–18; Blackburn 1998a, 120). REX SAXONVM appeared on a late and possibly eleemosynary type of Alfred (see Chapter 8, section (f), pp. 172–3), and persisted into the early years of Edward the Elder, who was otherwise named only REX. The reign of Æthelstan brought important changes to royal styles in both the coinage and other texts, which mirror one another closely and thus imply central co-ordination (see Chapter 9, section (j), pp. 202–3). On his Circumscription Cross coinage, Æthelstan was named REX TO[tius] BR[itanniae] or similar ('king of all Britain'), with reference to the submission of rulers from elsewhere in Britain to him at Eamont Bridge in 927 (Foot 2011, esp. 155–6). Some regions did not take this up, however, and used only REX (the royal style to which the Bust Crowned type generally reverted later in the reign), while at Derby the style REX SAXORVM was used. Subsequent rulers in the mid-tenth century were mostly known simply as REX on their coins. Edgar, however, resurrected the more diverse titles of Æthelstan's reign, including REX TO[tius] BR[itanniae] and also the new style REX ANGLORVM ('king of the English'), sometimes abbreviated. With his later reform this royal style became standard across the kingdom, typically abbreviated to REX ANGLOR[um]. Some form of REX ANGLORVM remained the norm until 1066; abbreviations could be extreme, however, cut down to as little as A or AN under Cnut and his successors, under whom REX too was sometimes reduced to R or RE.

Archbishops of Canterbury and York (and one bishop of London) were also named on coins between the eighth and early tenth century. Their names were presented in much the same way as those of the kings: preceded by a cross, and followed by an abbreviation of *archiepiscopus* or (under Archbishop Æthelheard and on one coin of Jænberht (Chick 149 and 240–6)) the variant episcopal style PONTIFEX.

2. Mint-places and moneyers

Inscriptions on the reverses of coins in this period normally conveyed information about the moneyer, including his name, occupation and/or location. As on the obverse, very commonly a cross was used to mark the beginning of this inscription (and crosses could sometimes occur elsewhere within a text: Okasha 2011, 16–18). Also as with the 'obverse' inscriptions discussed above, it is not always clear that the face with these details actually occupied the reverse position in production, and description of the mint/moneyer face of the coin as reverse is a matter of convention. There are in addition some coins, concentrated in the period before the mid-eighth century, which carry only a moneyer's name or mint name and no ruler's name. Several early gold shillings

and silver pennies probably refer to a moneyer (Naismith 2012b, 300–1; 2012c, 142–4: **15–21, 90–1, 561–8, 580**) but to no ruler. The earliest known coin from England, made in the Merovingian tradition, names both its moneyer (EVSEBII MONITA) and mint (Canterbury: DOROVERNIS CIVITAS) (see Chapter 3, section (d), p. 51), and the first coins to bear the name of an English king carry partial and corrupt versions of the mint names of Canterbury and London (**3–4**). A further group of early pennies names its mint: DE LVNDONIA (**412, 436**).

In the mid-eighth century, the new coinage of Beonna adopted the local East Anglian practice of naming the moneyer, but unlike Offa's portrait coins, for example, transposed his name on to the opposite face to that naming the king (**561–8**). These issues established a precedent for naming the moneyer on the reverse of royal coinage which would persist until the Norman Conquest and beyond. The few other mint-places active in southern England quickly took up the same custom, as did Northumbria in the 790s. At this stage, only the name of the moneyer was used, but in the early ninth century moneyers in southern England started to place MONETA or a shorter contraction of the same word after their name, which was at this stage normally couched in the Latin genitive case – the implied interpretation being 'die/coin of (the moneyer) *n*' (e.g. **962–3, 1051–2**: Stewart 1962). Although the genitive was abandoned after this brief experiment at Canterbury under Coenwulf (save for a limited resurrection in the west midlands in the mid-tenth century: Stewart 1962, 31–8), MONETA and its contractions stuck, becoming a commonplace of coins throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. There is a certain amount of ambiguity over whether MO, MON, MOT, etc. stood for *moneta* ('die/coin') or *monetarius* ('moneyer'): the latter never occurred in its full Latin form, but some abbreviations and occasional vernacular inscriptions indicate that 'moneyer' was understood, at least in the mid-tenth century and later. Viking coins issued at York in the years around 940 adapted this part of the legend to be in the vernacular as MINETRI or similar (for OE *mynetere*) (**2605**). A *Last Small Cross*-type die of Æthelred II from London also apparently uses an abbreviated form of *mynetere*, in the formulation MTR ON (BEH 2477). An alternative means of stating the role of the moneyer was used occasionally in the Anglo-Viking imitative coinage of East Anglia and the east midlands: the words ME FECIT ('made me') were placed after the moneyer's name (e.g. **2358, 2375–9, 2384–7, 2436**). In such cases, the coin quite literally speaks to the reader. Inscriptions of similar form (in Latin and Old English) are known from other objects including swords and jewellery, not least the Alfred Jewel (Okasha 1971, nos. 4, 17, 19, 41, 100, 109; cf. Okasha 1994; Peirce 2004, 152).

Mint names were rarely placed on coins before the tenth century. When they did appear, it was often temporarily or under unusual circumstances. Mint names thus replaced the moneyer's name on the reverse of the exceptional 'Anonymous' issue of the early 820s at Canterbury (**995–8**), and occurred at Rochester around the same time on coins which may have been issued under episcopal authority (Naismith 2011a, R3). A unique gold coin of Coenwulf named London – apparently the 'Strand settlement' of *Lundenwic* – as its mint (DE VICO LVNDONIAE), and a penny of Ecgberht as king of the Mercians also bore the name of London, though in this case referring to the (Roman) city: LVNDONIA CIVIT[as] (Naismith 2011a, G2a, L30a; 2012c, 114–16). Archiepiscopal pennies from Canterbury carried the name of their place of production in the time of Wulfred (805–32) and at times under Ceolnoth (833–70). The earliest such coins of Wulfred include several dies with a spelling based on pronunciation: DOROVERNIAE CIFITATIS (for CIVITATIS) (Naismith 2012c, 77–8). Most commonly, the mint name on coins from ninth-century Canterbury was arranged as a central monogram or cluster of letters (on numismatic monograms in England and early medieval Europe see Naismith 2012c, 72–4; Garipzanov 2006; Emmerig 2013).

Mint names made a limited reappearance under Alfred and Viking rulers in eastern England (see Chapter 8, section (c), p. 168 and Chapter 11, section (d), pp. 285–6). Some six locations were named on English issues of the late ninth and very early tenth century, with another six or so named on Viking coins of the same period. Several of these mint-signatures replaced the moneyer's name. London was named in the form of a monogram, while the mint-signature of Gloucester was preceded by the Old English preposition *ÆT* ('at/in'), not otherwise known on coins but paralleled in various other contexts (e.g. *æt Hamme* in S 1203 (875; Brooks and Kelly 2013, no. 94); cf. Ekwall 1960, xix). Winchester and Exeter were named in abbreviated forms (EXE and WIN) on a rare and possibly eleemosynary issue (see Chapter 8, section (f), pp. 172–3). Yet mint names remained unusual until the middle part of Æthelstan's reign, at which point mint-signatures for the first time became a regular part of the information presented on a coin. They were included after the moneyer's name (normally separated from it by a contraction of *moneta* or *monetarius*), occasionally preceded by the preposition *IN* ('at/in') (Stewart 1962, 41). Some degree of abbreviation was usual: thus Chester became LEG(E), London LVND, and so on. Some mint names are clearly garbled; others have not as yet been associated with a known location (see Appendix 1, pp. 337–59; cf. Carroll and Parsons 2007, xiii–xvii). An unusual feature of mint-signatures in Æthelstan's reign was the inclusion of a descriptive label for the mint-place on some coins: either CIVITAS or VRBS, depending seemingly on the prior history of the location as (respectively) a Roman/episcopal centre or a relatively new fortified foundation (Blunt 1974, 45). Two earlier Viking mint names of as yet unidentified locations, CASTRA EORT and HORIVA CASTR (see Appendix 1, pp. 347–9), also identified the location as a fortress or *castrum* (or Latinises the OE place-name element *-burh* or *-cæster*). The length of the mint-signature depended on a number of factors, among them the size of the coin and of the lettering, whether a long cross interrupted and abbreviated the legend at its four terminals, how many ligatures were used to combine letters and the length of the moneyer's name (which always came first, and in full).

The short word or abbreviation joining the moneyer's name to the mint (sometimes referred to as the copulative) became more varied in the late tenth and eleventh century. Some form of *MO* (*moneta/monetarius*) was common in the earlier types of Æthelred II, with various marks of contraction including a macron, a symbol similar to a comma, or (in *Long Cross*) an omega. The two last types of Æthelred (*Agnus Dei* and *Last Small Cross*) introduced an alternative formulation, based on the vernacular preposition *ON* ('at/in'). It was used on its own, and in some cases – especially where an additional *O* or some form of punctuation was placed between *M* and *ON* – as part of a formulation signifying *monetarius/mynetere on* ('moneyer in'). *ON* alone was widely used by the end of Æthelred II's reign, and became virtually universal by the end of Cnut's.

3. Other inscriptions

Apart from the names and titles outlined above, the most common inscriptions were religious terms or invocations. In some cases these could reflect a specifically ecclesiastical context for the production or use of a coin. Some early pennies carry the words *MONITA SCORVM* (i.e. *moneta sanctorum*, 'money of the saints') (Naismith 2014b) or *SEDES* ('seat', presumably of a bishop) (322–4). The unique gold *solidus* of Wigmund, archbishop of York, carries the words *MVNVS DIVINVM* ('divine gift'), taken from Carolingian gold *solidi* of Louis the Pious (814–40) (see Chapter 5, section (g), pp. 125–6). At Rochester in the reign of Ecgberrht the patron saint of the local cathedral, St Andrew,

was invoked on the reverse of some possibly episcopal coins as s[an]c[tu]s ANDREAS (APOSTOLVS), in lieu of the moneyer's name (1189), and in the latter part of Alfred the Great's reign large silver pieces carried the word ELIMO[sina] ('alms'), implying production for religious donation (see Chapter 8, section (f), pp. 172–3). Religious inscriptions also occur on coins with no obvious indication of ecclesiastical production or use. A few such cases relate directly to the images on the coin. One half-penny of Edward the Elder shows the hand of God labelled with the word DEXTE[ra] ('right hand' – perhaps an allusion to Psalm 117:16) (1406), and some *Agnus Dei* pennies of Æthelred II add the abbreviated label AGNV[s] to the tablet before the lamb (Keynes and Naismith 2011, nos. 1–4, 9–14, 18–20). Certain late Anglo-Saxon coin types incorporated words laden with religious significance into the reverse design: CRVX ('cross') at one stage under Æthelred II, and PACX/PAX under Edward the Confessor and Harold II (1816–70, 2098–109, 2332–53) (cf. Keynes 1978b). Probably the most common religious invocation among coin inscriptions was the pair of Greek letters alpha and omega, A and Ω/ω, the beginning and the end of the Greek alphabet, identified as a figural reference to Christ in Revelation 1:8. As a pair or monogram, alpha and omega appeared sporadically from the beginning of the ninth century onwards, and featured prominently in the *Hand* and *Agnus Dei* types of Æthelred II.

A particularly varied range of religious formulae was found on coins of York in the Anglo-Viking coinage of the late ninth and early tenth century. Biblical and other Christian phrases on these coins were so common that – when taken with an equally elaborate range of cross motifs – the input, if not necessarily the control, of the clergy in York has been suggested (see Chapter 11, section (i), pp. 294–5 and 298). Words and phrases found on these coins include D[omi]N[u]s D[eu]s (O) REX ('O Lord God, king', echoing a line of the Gloria), MIRABILIA FECIT ('he has worked wonders', from Psalm 97) and SCI PETRI MONETA ('money of St Peter').

Finally, although not a letter as such, crosses were an almost ubiquitous element of inscriptions on coins (as they were in other contexts such as charters and inscriptions in other materials: Okasha 2011). They served an important role, marking the beginning of a legend and setting what followed into a Christian context (Naismith 2012c, 69–72).

(b) OBSERVATIONS ON ANGLO-SAXON NUMISMATIC EPIGRAPHY

Even allowing for the existence of multiple impressions from the same die, coins make up by far the largest body of surviving inscriptions in both Roman and runic script from Anglo-Saxon England. Runes on Anglo-Saxon coins have received attention from both numismatists and runologists (Page 1999, 117–29; Blackburn 1991c), but their Roman-script counterparts have never been the subject of extended epigraphic or palaeographical analysis, traditionally being seen as distinct from mainstream research on inscriptions (cf. Koch 2007, 24; Sydow 1952; Emmerig 2013; a report on an unpublished paper is Andrew 1927–8). The corpus of meaningful inscriptions on Hiberno-Scandinavian coins is relatively small and limited to the products of a single mint-town, Dublin, between the 990s and the deterioration of its coins' literacy in the eleventh century, for which reason coins make up a smaller share of surviving inscriptions from Ireland; they are also modelled very closely on English numismatic tradition. The brief comments below will therefore concentrate on the epigraphy and palaeography of Anglo-Saxon non-runic inscriptions.

The vast majority of early medieval coin inscriptions (in England and elsewhere) were executed in capitals, and contain a mix of classical and non-classical letter forms sometimes known as

'Anglo-Saxon capitals' (Okasha 1993, 19–27; see for wider background Bischoff 1990). Among the non-classical letter forms were a top-barred A and forms of A with no cross-bar or a chevron-shaped cross bar, a sickle-shaped G, uncial D, uncial E, angular C, G, O and S, and an M made up of three verticals crossed by a horizontal (sometimes known as 'gate-M': Charles-Edwards 2013, 120; Higgitt 1982, 312). These forms were not original to Anglo-Saxon coins, let alone to Anglo-Saxon England: parallels can be found in earlier non-numismatic inscriptions from Brittonic-speaking areas and from elsewhere in early medieval Europe (see for broader context Handley 2001; Tedeschi 1995). The repertoire of letter forms seen on Anglo-Saxon coins thus stemmed from contact with other inscriptional traditions including (but not limited to) those on coins. Most of the forms encountered in other inscriptions can be paralleled on coins; so too can a taste for wedges and serifs, characteristic of many Insular scripts (Okasha 1968, esp. 331; for Insular script see M. P. Brown 2012). There is no evidence for a specifically numismatic register of script; however, coins were clearly an influential category of writing. Several other inscribed objects survive which are modelled on the appearance of coins (e.g. Okasha 1971, nos. 66, 154), or on the content of their inscriptions (Okasha 1971, no. 5), and it is likely that the same craftsmen were responsible for making seals and nummular brooches as well as coin-dies (Kershaw and Naismith 2013, 297–8). The similar appearance of lettering on these objects derives from shared methods of creating small inscriptions on metal surfaces, which differed from those commonly employed with stone, bone/ivory and wood. The normal process used to carve inscriptions into coin-dies and at least some metal seals (cf. the example in Kershaw and Naismith 2013) depended on punches corresponding to the strokes used in various capital letter forms: the same upright stroke, curve or wedge can often be found several times when a coin is examined under magnification. Some strokes or letters could also be engraved directly on to the die, and up to and during the time of Offa this technique was seemingly more common.

Similarities between typical inscriptional script and bookhands were limited owing to fundamental differences in the personnel and processes of production, but display scripts used in manuscripts to write titles and other headings had rather more in common with inscriptions. Indeed, the linear character of such 'Insular display/geometric capitals' used in manuscripts has prompted the suggestion of inscriptional influence on manuscript display scripts, though surviving inscriptions using closely comparable lettering on stone or metal are rare (Gray 1970, 22–7; Higgitt 1982, 314–15; 1990; Charles-Edwards 2007a; 2007b, 83–6; Koch 2007, 91–4; M. P. Brown 2012, 128–40).

As with inscriptions in other media, one of the few consistent features of numismatic letter forms was inconsistency (Okasha 1968, 321). Multiple different letter forms might be used even on the same coin: one notes two forms of D used in the name of the moneyer Dud under Offa (**IOID**), and many instances of different forms of A on the same coin. A similarly high level of variability can be observed in other inscriptions using capitals, and in manuscript display scripts. Uniformity was apparently not expected of high-status scripts used for texts in which space and aesthetics were the primary concerns. Certain chronological and regional variations in numismatic inscriptions are nonetheless detectable. Northumbria had a particularly distinct and diverse tradition of numismatic epigraphy which admitted numerous forms from other majuscule scripts. From the time of Aldfrith and Eadberht until the end of the kingdom's coinage around the 860s, uncial D, half-uncial/minuscule G, uncial/half-uncial H, half-uncial/minuscule S (which on coins resembles a capital gamma: Γ) and uncial/half-uncial T (with a rounded toe) can be found alongside capitals. Elsewhere there was a more marked preference for capitals. Variations included a taste for 'gate-M'

in ninth-century East Anglia; A with no crossbar which became particularly popular in legends of the mid-eleventh century, while chevron-barred A had been common in the early tenth; and round G which gained ground at the expense of square G in the time of Cnut and his successors. Uncial M was especially popular in the later eighth and early ninth century, and was used with a high degree of consistency for the abbreviated Mercian royal style (Naismith 2012c, 82–3).

Specifically Old English letters – *eth*, *thorn* and *wynn* – were treated in the same way as others, which is to say they generally appeared as capitals, interspersed with letters of Latinate origin. *Eth* first appeared as a capital (Ð) on the coinage of Eadbald of Kent; however, the minuscule form (ð) occurred in the midst of an otherwise capital inscription on the coinage of Offa and Cynethryth (1009, 1021–2, 1025, 1171–2: cf. Shaw 2013, 128–34). It is less straightforward to distinguish the capital and minuscule forms of *thorn* and *wynn*, but both normally seem to have been capitals on coins from the time of their first appearance under Offa. Æ, essentially a ligature of A and E, was universally of capital form, although the cross-bar of the A-element was often omitted, and in the later tenth and eleventh century the diagonal stroke down from the top of the E used to indicate Æ often became small, even vestigial. Before the tenth century A and E were not always ligatured to form an Æ; similarly, *wynn* was used interchangeably with v(v), the latter occurring commonly down to the reign of Edgar. A single coin of Ecgbert represents the unvoiced dental fricative with TH rather than *eth* or *thorn* (Naismith 2013d). A small number of ninth-century Northumbrian coins, and some from southern England from the mid-eighth to the mid-ninth century, mixed runic letters with Roman from time to time (Blackburn 1991c, 158–66), as seen in other inscriptions (Page 1999, 215–16; Okasha 1971, nos. 66, 86).

Abbreviations for Latin words on coins other than for names of peoples and *moneta(rius)* were few. However, those which do appear find parallels in manuscript and documentary usage as well as in other inscriptions. They demonstrate that those who composed coin inscriptions were connected to the broader currents of written culture. Abbreviations for EP[iscopu]s and ARC[h]EP[iscopu]s found in the late eighth and ninth century are close to those used by bishops in witness lists of contemporary single-sheet charters (Naismith 2012c, 77). Viking issues from York at the turn of the tenth century include numerous religious formulae, which are represented using the standard *nomina sacra*: a range of abbreviations for terminology relating to God and key Christian vocabulary, current in all forms of Latin writing since late antiquity. One of these, SCORVM for *sanctorum*, already appeared in the early eighth century on a rare type of early penny (436–40). One of the innovations of Edgar's reform of the early 970s was a uniform royal style, REX ANGLOR[um], with ligatured OR and R terminating in an abbreviation widely used in Latin script to indicate the genitive plural ending *-rum*, not previously found on coins. It recurred in various types during the reign of Æthelred II. The sudden and general adoption of the *-rum* abbreviation under Edgar may be associated with the influence of SS Æthelwold, Dunstan and Oswald on the king and his court; they extended their vision of monastic regularity to script in other media, encouraging the uptake of Caroline minuscule at monasteries across England (Brown 1971; Dumville 1993a; Rushforth 2012).

GLOSSARY OF NUMISMATIC AND OTHER TERMS

The following glossary covers coin names as well as associated weights and units of account used in early medieval Britain and Ireland, along with some technical terminology relating to pertinent numismatic, historical and palaeographical subjects. Unlike the equivalent lists in other *MEC* volumes (6, 12, 14), it includes relatively few coin names: official and colloquial names for coins or coin types from the early Middle Ages are recorded only exceptionally, and those which do survive are difficult to correlate with specific issues. Some terms (such as the *mancus*, *mark* and *ora*) originated elsewhere in Europe. In Latin sources from England and its neighbours, *denarius* and *nummus* are overwhelmingly predominant for the regular silver coinage of the period. The evidence for contemporary monetary terminology is discussed in detail in Appendix 2, pp. 360–71, which also surveys earlier literature on the subject. General numismatic handbooks expand on the definitions and background given here (e.g. Grierson 1975); specific Anglo-Saxon historical terminology is now best approached through the entries and references in *WBEASE*. Bischoff 1990 provides a survey of medieval palaeography including the scripts touched on here.

Alba. A term first used by Irish writers to describe all of Britain, but which in the years around 900 started to be applied to a kingdom covering much of modern Scotland north of the Forth. For further discussion see Chapter 12, section (a), pp. 309–10.

Alloy. (Fr. *aloi*, from Lat. *alligere*, ‘to combine’, but later given a false etymology from the Fr. *à loi*, which implies to make an alloy that conforms to a ‘legal’ standard.) In a numismatic context, alloy can be either a verb, meaning to combine gold or silver with another metal, or a noun, meaning the mixture thus created or (though not normally in a British context) the base metal involved in the operation.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A modern term used to refer to a collection of English vernacular chronicles, preserved in seven manuscripts and one fragment (conventionally known since the nineteenth century by the letters A–H; for details see Keynes 2012c). They share a similar common stock put together in the 890s, but contain significantly different material for the subsequent period. Individual copies were maintained until various dates between 977 and 1154.

Anglo-Scandinavian. A term used in historical scholarship to describe the hybrid society of eastern and northern England which combined elements of local and Scandinavian culture. In numismatic literature, it is generally used to refer more specifically to the coins made in Scandinavia in imitation of English models during the late tenth and eleventh century (Malmer 1997).

Axis. See **Die-axis**.

Billon. (From Fr. *bille*, ‘bar’, i.e. the bar of metal from which coin flans were cut for striking.) Signifies silver more or less heavily alloyed with copper, and is typically used for coins of about 20–70 per cent silver. The term is not widely used in the context of medieval British coinage.

Blank. See **Flan**.

Bracteate. (From Lat. *bractea*, ‘leaf’.) Refers to very thin uniface coins – i.e. struck from only one die, normally using stretched leather or a similar surface. The word bracteate has been applied to coins by numismatists since the seventeenth century, but has no medieval authority. Gold bracteates were made and used in early Anglo-Saxon England, albeit not for use as coins. Some Hiberno-Scandinavian silver coins are bracteates, and others are referred to as ‘half-bracteates’. These are similar in physical form to bracteates but struck from two dies, although the design of one face is in most cases badly obscured.

Bullion. (From Fr. *bouillon*, ‘boil’, and in turn Lat. *bullire*, ‘to boil’.) Means a mass of (normally precious) metal. It generally refers to objects, and especially ingots or broken pieces of larger items, but may be used for any item which is regarded primarily for its metallic content.

Bullion economy. Used to describe an economic system which uses precious (and potentially also non-precious) metals in economic transactions, but based on purity and weight rather than coinage. Ingots, hacked-up objects and a mixture of coins of diverse origin might all be used together. See further Chapter 1, section (f), pp. 18–22.

Burh. (pl. *byrg*; cf. Mod. Eng. ‘borough’.) An Old English word with the basic sense of a defensible enclosure, which could be applied to high-status habitations as well as larger military and urban constructions (Baker 2013, 67–72). It is generally applied to the series of fortresses built in the time of Alfred the Great and after.

Charter. A document recording a particular transaction or decision. The generic term charter thus covers many different kinds of text: diplomas (from the king or another agent) granting land; dispute settlements; wills; **writs** (q.v.); and others. For a handlist, see Sawyer (1968), and for a general survey of texts and their uses, see Keynes (2013).

Class. In numismatics refers to a group of coins having the same basic type and believed to be part of the same **issue** (q.v.).

Counterfeit. (Old Fr. *contrefet*, and Lat. *contrafactio*, ‘setting in opposition or contrast’.) A forgery contemporary with the coin it is modelled on. Counterfeits attempted to reproduce the design and inscription of the original but were typically defective in fineness or weight, and were presumably made in order to deceive users for the gain of the manufacturer.

Cross. A very common image on medieval coins, from the sixth century onwards. Many variants were used; those occurring in this volume include:

Cross-crosslet, with each arm ending in a smaller cross.

Cross fleury, with each arm ending in a trefoil or fleur-de-lis.

Cross fourchée, with bifurcated arms.

Cross moline, with bifurcated arms which turn inwards, creating an omega (ω) at each finial.

Cross pattée, with expanding arms.

Cross pommée, with spheres at each finial.

Cross potent, with a bar at the end of each arm.

Long cross, with arms extending to the edge of the flan and usually dividing the **legend** (q.v.).

Patriarchal cross, with two cross-bars on the upper arm.

Short cross, with the cross confined to the field and enclosed by an inner circle; generally taken for granted but sometimes referred to in order to distinguish certain types.

Dál Riata. A medieval term for the early medieval Gaelic-speaking kingdom (or kingdoms) of what is now western Scotland. It contained a number of powerful noble dynasties who retained strong ties to Ireland. In the mid- and late eighth century Dál Riata came under Pictish influence, and the term was no longer applied in Britain after the ninth century. For further detail see Chapter 12, section (a), p. 309.

Danegeld. See *Heregeld*.

Denarius. (pl. *denarii*.) See **Penny**.

Die. (Mid. Eng. *de*, Old Fr. *de*, probably from Lat. *datum*, 'given' (i.e. given by fortune); for actual stamps for use in minting cf. Lat. *cuneus*; OE *mynetisen*.) An iron or steel stamp used to impress designs into pieces of metal to form coins. Normally used in pairs, with one (the anvil or lower die) embedded into a hard surface and the other (the trussel or upper die) held above by hand and struck with a hammer.

Die-axis. The relation between the orientation of the reverse type of a coin and that of the obverse. It can be expressed with small arrows (i.e. ↑, meaning the reverse is upright relative to the obverse), by analogy with the hands of a clock (i.e. ↑ would be 12 o'clock), or by following the degrees of a circle (i.e. ↑ would be 0°); this last method is the most common, and the one used in this volume.

Die-chain. See **Die-link**.

Die-duplicate. See **Die-link**.

Die-link. Die-links arise when the same die (obverse or reverse) has been used to strike two or more surviving coins. Dies could be issued as a pair, or a single die could be combined with several others, and the resultant string of die-links is known as a die-chain; these are especially large and complex in the case of ninth-century Northumbrian coinage and eleventh-century **Anglo-Scandinavian** (q.v.) coinage. Coins struck from the same pair of dies on both obverse and reverse are known as die-duplicates.

Dinar. (Arabic, but ultimately from Lat. *denarius aureus*, 'gold coin'.) The standard gold coin of the Muslim world from the seventh century onwards. Its weight, slightly below that of the Roman/Byzantine *solidus* on which it was modelled, is generally put at 4.25g. Arabic dinars circulated in western Europe from the eighth century, and gave rise to local imitations.

Dirham/dirhem. (Arabic, but derived from Greek δραχμή.) The standard silver coin of the Muslim world, especially between the eighth and eleventh centuries. It went back to the Sassanian drachma or dirham and originally weighed c. 2.90g. Dirhams were brought through Russia into Scandinavia in large numbers (and also to some extent through Spain and the Mediterranean), eventually reaching Britain and Ireland.

Dual economy. See **Bullion economy**.

Ealdorman. (OE 'elder-man'.) A term used to designate prominent noblemen, usually appointed by the king as the military and judicial leader for a given territory. Earl (OE *eorl*, ON *jarl*) supplanted ealdorman as the preferred label for leading noblemen from the time of Cnut.

Early penny. See **Penny** and *Sceat*.

Farthing. (OE *feorþling*.) A quarter of a penny. Before the thirteenth century there were no round, struck farthings; in the late Anglo-Saxon period farthings were made by cutting a regular penny into four pieces.

Field. The central space of a coin, more especially that left blank on either side of the main design.

Finds. See **Hoard**, **Productive site** and **Single-find**.

Fineness. The proportion of precious metal used in an alloy in relation to its total weight. In the case of silver, this sometimes also includes trace quantities of gold and lead, which are in practice very difficult to separate completely.

Flan. The disk of metal used in making a coin. An unstruck flan is called a blank.

Gafol. (OE ‘tribute’.) See **Geld** and **Heregeld**.

Geld. An Old English term meaning ‘payment’, but specifically used in the eleventh century to refer to **Heregeld** (q.v.) or **Danegeld**, and sometimes also applied to **gafol** (‘tribute’): occasional payments made to buy off specific Viking armies or leaders in the later tenth and eleventh century.

Grain. (Lat. *granum*.) The seed of some cereal whose average weight forms the notional base of most natural weight systems, as distinct from the artificial but more rational metric system. Most European weight systems are based on either the barleycorn (troy grain) of c. 0.065g or the lighter wheat-grain of c. 0.05g. Roman and late antique weight systems also used the heavier carob seed or carat of c. 0.20g.

Hack-metal. See **Hack-silver**.

Hack-silver. Sometimes known (especially with reference to Migration-Age finds) by its German cognate *Hacksilber*, hack-silver refers to cut-up pieces of larger silver objects. Hack-silver can derive from coins, ingots or ornamental items such as rings or brooches. Hack-gold also exists, but is much rarer than hack-silver, which is particularly associated with Scandinavian-influenced contexts in early medieval Britain and Ireland.

Half-bracteate. See **Bracteate**.

Halfpenny. (OE *healfpenig*; cf. Lat. *obolus*.) Half of a silver penny. Round halfpennies (Fr. *oboles*) were issued in Francia already in the late Merovingian period, but are not known to have been struck in England until the Cross and Lozenge coinage of the 870s. Halfpennies were made in the late Anglo-Saxon period by cutting regular pennies in half.

Half-uncial. A palaeographical term for a form of display or high-status script which combined elements of **uncial** and **minuscule** script (q.v.). It was popular in Britain and Ireland in the pre-Viking period.

Heregeld. An Old English term meaning ‘army payment’ used in the *ASC* to describe an annual payment instituted by Æthelred II in 1012 for the support of a standing force of Scandinavian mercenaries. In effect it became an annual tax, which the king continued to levy long after the original military force had disappeared. The payment continued under Norman kings, and in DB and later sources came to be known as *Danegeld*. It should be distinguished from the larger, occasional tribute payments (**gafol** (q.v.)), in the terminology of the *ASC* raised to buy off Viking armies under Æthelred II and Cnut.

Hide. (OE *hid* or *hiwisc*; cf. Lat. *familia*.) Old English term meaning ‘family’, used to refer to the amount of land notionally needed for the support of one household. In tenth-century Cambridgeshire this equated to roughly 120 acres (Faith 2014). However, as it was a measure of productivity the hide varied significantly in size, and ratings could also be manipulated to the advantage of landowners. By the late Anglo-Saxon period a hide often supported more than one household.

Hoard. A group of coins lost or hidden as a group, as distinct from coins lost separately even if sometimes found together, e.g. accumulated at the bottom of a drain.

Imitation. A common phenomenon in numismatics, for the acceptability of a coin can often be increased by having it resemble one already familiar and of good reputation. Such imitations are not necessarily inferior to their models in weight or fineness, though there was always a temptation to make them so. Certain coin types prompted extensive imitation in early medieval Britain and Ireland. Among the early pennies, imitation and borrowing of designs is so widespread that the line between 'original' issues and imitations is difficult to draw. From the late ninth century to the eleventh, Anglo-Saxon broad pennies were imitated in Scandinavian-ruled England, later Ireland and the Scandinavian homelands.

Immobilisation. The retention of a coin design or legend long after its details (e.g. the bust or name of a ruler) have ceased to be appropriate. It was common in French feudal mints, some of which retained the names and monograms of Carolingian rulers as late as the twelfth century, but was unusual in early medieval Britain and Ireland (save among **imitations** (q.v.) modelled on issues of neighbouring polities). There may have been episodes of short-term immobilisation in England during the reign of Edmund Ironside (1016) and possibly the immediate aftermath of the death of Cnut (1016–35).

Inscription. See **Legend**.

Insular. (Cf. Lat. *insulae*, 'islands'.) With a capital initial, Insular refers collectively to Britain, Ireland and other nearby islands, forming what is sometimes known as the Atlantic Archipelago or (historically) the British Isles.

Issue or **Emission.** (Cf. OE *mynetslæge*.) Coins presumed to have been issued in accordance with a specific mint directive; also used loosely for any related group of coins.

Legend or **Inscription.** The letters or words on a coin. Commonly these will include the name and title of the ruler, the name of the **mint** and the name of the **moneyer** (q.v.), but many variations are possible (see Appendix 3, pp. 372–9). Some numismatists distinguish between an **inscription**, in the sense of what is actually inscribed on the coin, and a **legend**: a transcription of the same but written out in full, with all abbreviations expanded.

Longphort. (Old Irish; pl. *longphuirt*; cf. Lat. (*navis*) *longa* and *portus*.) An Irish term used in some medieval texts and in modern scholarship for a Viking fortress in Ireland.

Majuscule. (Lat. *maiusculum*.) Larger forms of script, with less pronounced ascenders and descenders. Smaller and more cursive script with ascenders and descenders is known as **minuscule** (q.v.).

Mancus. (Arabic (?); Lat. *mancosus*, *mancusus*.) The name given in many Latin and vernacular sources in western Europe between the eighth and thirteenth centuries for certain gold coins, as well as for the corresponding weight of gold or a unit of comparable value (30d.). The word first appears in Italian sources of the 770s, but was being used in England before the end of the eighth century. It may originate in either an Arabic term (*manqush*, 'engraved, struck') or a Latin adjective meaning 'weak' (cf. Fr. *manquer*, 'to lack'); for further discussion see Appendix 2, p. 366.

Mark. (ON *mqrk*, OE *marc*.) A unit originating in Scandinavia which as a weight was generally equated with two-thirds of a Roman pound (i.e. 8oz), and taken up as two-thirds of the pound in many systems of account (i.e. 13s. 4d. or 160d.). It was also reckoned as containing eight oras (ON *eyrir*, OE *ora*), each of 20d. (though an ora was also sometimes equated with 16d.): see Appendix 2, pp. 365–6.

Mercia. The west midland heartland of the Mercians, whose name related to OE *mierce* ('border, march'). It lay in the area of the upper Trent, with major centres of ecclesiastical and secular power at Lichfield and Tamworth. 'Mercia' was also used more loosely to define the whole midland area under Mercian control in the eighth century and after, corresponding roughly to the area bordered by Wales, East Anglia, the Humber and the Thames.

Mint. (Lat. *moneta*; cf. OE *mynetsmiððe*.) A place where coined money is struck. In England and Ireland, it is likely that each individual **moneyer** (q.v.) operated his own mint, of which there could be many in a large town.

Minuscule. (Lat. *minusculum*, 'small'.) A palaeographical term used for smaller and less formal varieties of script, sometimes of cursive character (i.e. with the letters flowing together). Formally, the distinction from **majuscule** (q.v.) script is the inclusion of ascenders and descenders which go above and below the main line of script.

Module. The diameter of a coin after striking, usually expressed in millimetres.

Moneyer. (Lat. *monetarius*, OE *mynetere*.) A person responsible for minting, including all the personnel of a **mint** (q.v.). In England, it was customary for the moneyer to place his name on every coin from the mid-eighth to the thirteenth century. All known moneyers were male.

Mule. Refers to a coin produced from dies belonging to what are normally distinct issues or types. The presumption is that such coins belong to the period of crossover between the two, and so represent important evidence for chronology. However, examples are known of mules which span more than one late Anglo-Saxon coin type (see Chapter 10, section (d), p. 222).

Obverse. The face of the coin which bears the more important device or inscription (generally the name of the ruler in this period). It was often identical with the face of the coin struck by the lower (anvil) **die** (q.v.), but examples are known of the 'obverse' apparently being struck with the upper (trussel) die (e.g. Anglo-Viking York).

Ora. See **Mark**.

Ounce. (Lat. *uncia*.) Notionally one-twelfth of a Roman **pound** (q.v.), or about 27g. It contained 24 *scripula* by the Roman reckoning.

Overstrike. A coin for which the blank was an older coin, leaving traces of the earlier impression still visible after restriking. Overstriking is rare in the coinages covered by this volume, but examples are known among silver coins from the ninth century onwards, including restrikes of both earlier native and continental issues.

Peck-marks. Crescent-shaped cuts found on the surface of coins from the later ninth century onwards, becoming especially common in the late tenth and early eleventh century. The marks were made with the tip of a knife: this would be pressed into the coin at an oblique angle and raised slightly. An experienced practitioner could thereby gain an impression of the purity of the silver from its hardness, and penetrate any plating. The phenomenon is generally thought to have been associated with Scandinavian coin-users and characteristic of a **bullion economy** (q.v.) (see Archibald 1990; 2011).

Pending. See **Penny**.

Penny. (OE *pening/pending* or (later) *penig*; cf. Lat. *denarius*.) The English vernacular term for the standard silver denomination of north-west Europe from the late seventh century onwards. Its Latin equivalent was *denarius*; hence the abbreviation d. The weight and fineness of the penny varied considerably over the course of the period covered by this volume. In terms of the principal larger units of account, there were four, five or twelve pennies to the **shilling** (q.v.) and normally 240 to the **pound** (q.v.). See Appendix 2, pp. 363–4.

Pictavia. A Latin term referring to the territory of the Picts in what is now Scotland. For further discussion see Chapter 12, section (a), p. 309.

Piedfort. (Fr. *piéfort*.) A piece carrying the same typology and epigraphy of a coin but struck on a flan that was heavier and thicker than usual, and often also in a different metal. A piedfort could serve as a model for a new issue and/or to publicise its design and other details.

Pound. (OE *pund*; Lat. *libra*.) Originally the chief unit in the Roman weight system, and may have equated with approximately 323g in the metric system (Naville 1920; 1951, 108–9). It was divided into twelve *unciae* (**ounces** (q.v.)) of about 27g each. In the Middle Ages, the pound was used in two senses: (1) as the local weight standard; (2) as a unit of account consisting of 240d. In the Frankish system of account (which began to be used in England from the tenth century) these were subdivided into twenty **solidi** (each of 12d.), but the native English systems of account favoured **scillingas** (q.v.) of forty-eight or sixty to the pound (i.e. four or five pennies per *scilling*): see Appendix 2, pp. 361–5.

Privy mark. A symbol or letter often placed on a coin as an element of mint administration or control. Privy marks were used to identify mints or the individuals responsible for specific issues, or to distinguish issues of different fineness or weight.

‘Productive site’. A term created by numismatists to describe locations which have produced a large number of single-finds in close proximity, but which do not apparently stem from a dispersed hoard. It does not in itself carry any implication about the character of the site at the time when the coins were lost, and archaeological and historical evaluation has shown that ‘productive sites’ served quite different functions. Most such sites in Britain are found in eastern England.

Punch. A small tool used by engravers to impress the same mark on to the face of a die. A single punch might have contained all or part of a letter or image, or a simple pellet or wedge. No early medieval punches are known to survive, but their use is apparent from close examination of coins and dies.

Recoinage. The process of bringing in certain defined coinages, melting them down, and restriking them in conformance with desired types and standards. It could apply to the exclusion of foreign coins (which would be reminted on arrival) or the reminting of demonetised local issues. The former was practised in England from the mid-eighth century, the latter most notably in England and Ireland from the late tenth century. See also **Renovatio monetæ**.

Renovatio monetæ. (Lat. ‘renewal of the coinage’.) A term used in later medieval Europe to describe a specific form of recoinage, in which local issues were recalled by order of the ruling authority and replaced with a new and distinct coinage. This process could take place frequently – potentially every few years or even months. It served to protect the coinage from forgery, but also provided income to the minting authorities and their masters, from manipulation of weight and fineness of successive issues and/or dues levied on customers bringing old coin to the mint.

Retrograde. Refers to an inscription on a coin which reads backwards.

Reverse. The opposite face of the coin to the **obverse** (q.v.).

Sceat. (pl. *sceattas*.) An Old English word which carried the abstract sense of ‘wealth’ or ‘treasure’, and was also used as a unit of account. It appears in the laws of Æthelberht of Kent (d. 616/17) as the twentieth part of a **scilling** (q.v.) and in a few later legal texts (e.g. *Be Myrcna Lage*) as the equivalent of a penny. Around the turn of the nineteenth century the term became associated with early silver pennies, thought at that time to date from the reign of Æthelberht, but it is now known that these pennies belong somewhat later and that no silver coins would have

been current in the reign of Æthelberht; rather, early references suggest that the English silver coins were known from the first as **pennies** (q.v.). The adjectival form *sceatta* sometimes used in modern scholarship is a neologism based on the Old English genitive plural. See Appendix 2, pp. 361–4.

Scilling/Shilling. An Old English unit of account, generally equated with Latin *solidus* (q.v.). It only corresponded with a specific coin in the seventh century, when it probably equated with gold *tremisses* (q.v.) on the Frankish model issued in England. In the earliest Anglo-Saxon law-code, that of Æthelberht of Kent (d. 616/17), the *scilling* consisted of twenty *sceattas* (q.v.). An Old English unit of account, generally equated with Latin *solidus* (q.v.). It only corresponded with a specific coin in the seventh century, when it probably equated with gold *tremisses* (q.v.) on the Frankish model issued in England. In the earliest Anglo-Saxon law-code, that of Æthelberht of Kent (d. 616/17), the *scilling* consisted of twenty *sceattas* (q.v.). Later reckonings of the *scilling* varied by kingdom: Mercia and Wessex maintained different *scillingas* of four and five pence respectively until after the Norman Conquest, while a Frankish-influenced *scilling* of twelve pence began to be used in the tenth century. See Appendix 2, pp. 361–5.

Scripulum/scrupulum. See **Ounce**.

Siliqua. A small weight, the same as a carat (see **Grain**). It was used in the later Roman Empire as a unit of account, 1/24th of a gold *solidus* (q.v.), and for a silver coin having this value.

Single-find. A single coin presumed to have been deposited as a result of an act of loss (or, possibly, concealment), rather than as part of a contemporaneous group. It is therefore entirely possible for a group of single-finds to be found in close proximity (a ‘**productive site**’ (q.v.)). Some scholars (e.g. Grierson 1975) distinguish between ‘stray finds’ found by casual searchers or treasure-hunters and excavation or site finds uncovered by archaeologists, and the former are now very numerous in England and Wales thanks to the popularisation of metal-detecting since the 1970s and the reporting of finds through the PAS and EMC.

Single-sheet. Describes a **charter** (q.v.) preserved on a single detached piece of parchment rather than in a manuscript collection (known as a cartulary). A single-sheet is often, though by no means always, the original, made as part of the process of transferring land or privilege.

Solidus. Originally the standard gold coin of the late Roman Empire, introduced by Constantine I in 309, weighing 24 carats (c. 4.50g) of pure gold. It continued as the Latin name for the Byzantine *nomisma* and its derivatives (including the popular *tremissis* (q.v.)), but in western Europe from the later seventh century onwards the *solidus* was more frequently used as a unit of account, corresponding in Francia to twelve silver *denarii/pennies* (q.v.). In England it was the preferred Latin equivalent of the *scilling* (q.v.), consisting of either four or five pennies.

Standard. Strictly speaking, an authorised exemplar of a unit of weight, which would differ from one region to another. It more commonly refers, by extension, to a system of weight based on given standards.

Styca. An Old English word (more commonly encountered in the form *stycce*, pl. *stycca*) used in the tenth-century glosses of the Lindisfarne Gospels to refer to the *minuta* of Mark 12:42 in the Vulgate. It may not have been intended to carry any specific monetary meaning, but rather to correspond to the Latin sense of a ‘small piece’ of something. In the seventeenth century it was used to describe debased Northumbrian coins of the ninth century. There is no medieval authority for the name by which these coins were known, but *styca* remains common in discussion of Northumbrian coinage. See Appendix 2, p. 367.

Touchstone. A dark fine-grained stone (such as basalt) used in conjunction with touchneedles or references to determine the fineness of gold objects in particular. In the later Middle Ages, a coin or other object would be rubbed against the touchstone, the streaks treated with a nitric acid solution, and the resulting changes in colour compared with streaks in references. This form of assay is accurate to within a 1–2 per cent margin of error, and is also economical in being relatively easy and inexpensive to perform, and causing negligible damage to the coins. Touchstones were often used to assess the fineness of gold coins, but were much less reliable for silver – partly because of more subtle changes in the colour of silver rubbings, and partly because of surface enrichment during production.

Tremissis or **Triens.** The late and post-Roman one-third *solidus* (q.v.), a coin originally of pure gold and weighing c. 1.50g (later c. 1.30g in western Europe). It was the dominant denomination in the Merovingian kingdom before the introduction of silver *denarii* (q.v.), and was also issued in England, Spain and Italy, as well as in the Byzantine East.

Type. The main design on each face of a coin. By extension, a class or group of coins having the same design.

Uncial. A form of script named (probably mistakenly) for two references in the writings of St Jerome to ‘inch-high’ (*unciales*) letters. Uncial script as recognised by palaeographers was a style of **majuscule** (q.v.) script originating in the Roman period and popular in late antiquity, distinguished from capital script by its incorporation of certain cursive letter forms.

Wessex. The territory of the kingdom of the West Saxons, situated in the south-west of modern England. Its heartland included the later counties of Berkshire, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset and Wiltshire; Cornwall also gradually came under West Saxon control, while to the east and north the frontiers with other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms fluctuated.

Writ. (OE *gewrit*) A term meaning ‘letter’ in general, but normally used in scholarship to refer to a specific form of late Anglo-Saxon and Norman document, conveying notification of a decision or action from the king to an individual or group, most commonly a shire court. It was essentially a short and formalised letter, written on a narrow slip of parchment with a seal attached.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- 1867 *Catalogue* see BABINGTON 1867.
- ANS *Anglo-Norman Studies*.
- ASC *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The principal recensions for the post-Alfredian period are specified where necessary with the conventional lettering A–H. see IRVINE 2004, PLUMMER 1892 and (for translation) WHITELOCK *et al.* 1961, WHITELOCK 1979 and DOUGLAS AND GREENAWAY 1981.
- ASE *Anglo-Saxon England*.
- ASSAH *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*.
- BAR British Archaeological Reports.
- BCS see BIRCH 1885–99.
- BEH [Bror Emil] HILDEBRAND 1881.
- Belfort see BELFORT 1892–5.
- BLS see BLUNT *et al.* 1963.
- Blunt see BLUNT 1961.
- BMC *British Museum Catalogue*, see KEARY AND GRUEBER 1887–93.
- BMC Normans *British Museum Catalogue*, see BROOKE 1916.
- BNJ *British Numismatic Journal*.
- CAS *Catalogue* [J. J. Smith], *Catalogue of Coins, Roman and English Series, in the Museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1847* (Cambridge, 1847).
- CCC P. Spufford, ‘The Lewis Collection, Medieval Coins: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge’ (unpubl. typed manuscript, Cambridge, 1961) [held in the Fitzwilliam Museum].
- Catalogue Checklist* *Checklist of Coin Hoards from the British Isles, c. 450–1180* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins/projects/hoards/).
- Chick see CHICK 2010.
- CNS Corpus Nummorum Saeculorum IX–XI qui in Suecia reperti sunt.
- 1.3 see MALMER 1982.
- 3.4 see MALMER AND LAGERQVIST 1987.
- CR *Coin Register*.
- CTCE *Coinage in Tenth-Century England*. see BLUNT *et al.* 1989.
- DB Domesday Book. References are to folio number, as published in FARLEY 1783 and (with translation) in MORRIS 1973–86. See also WILLIAMS AND MARTIN 2002 (for translation) and BIDDLE 1976b (Winton Domesday).
- DOE *Dictionary of Old English* (University of Toronto: www.doe.utoronto.ca/).
- EcHR *Economic History Review*.

- EHD *English Historical Documents*, see WHITELOCK 1979 and DOUGLAS AND GREENAWAY 1981.
- EHR *English Historical Review*.
- EMC Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins/emc/).
- EME *Early Medieval Europe*.
- HE Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, see COLGRAVE AND MYNORS 1969 and LAPIDGE 2008–10.
- MEC *Medieval European Coinage, with a Catalogue of Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1986–).
- 1 see GRIERSON AND BLACKBURN 1986.
- 6 see CRUSAFONT *et al.* 2013.
- 9(a) see ALLEN forthcoming.
- 12 see DAY *et al.* 2016.
- 14 see GRIERSON AND TRAVAINI 1998.
- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.
- Naismith see NAISMITH 2011a.
- NC *Numismatic Chronicle*.
- NCirc (*Spink's*) *Numismatic Circular*.
- NNA *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift*.
- NNUM *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*.
- North see NORTH 1994.
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, see MATTHEW AND HARRISON 2004.
- OED *Oxford English Dictionary*, see SIMPSON AND WEINER 1989, with reference also to the online version (www.oed.com/).
- P&P *Past & Present*.
- PAS Portable Antiquities Scheme (British Museum: www.finds.org.uk).
- Perne Catalogue* An anonymous late eighteenth-century manuscript catalogue of the Perne collection, now held in the Department of Coins and Medals at the Fitzwilliam Museum.
- PL *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, see MIGNE 1844–64.
- PSW see SLASKI *et al.* 1959–82.
- RIC *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, see MATTINGLY *et al.* 1923–94.
- RN *Revue numismatique*.
- S see SAWYER 1968.
- SCBI *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*.
- 1 P. Grierson, *Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon Coins* (SCBI 1; London, 1958).
- 2 A. S. Robertson, *Hunterian Museum, Glasgow: Anglo-Saxon Coins* (SCBI 2; London, 1961).
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- SCMB *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin.*
- SR *Sveriges runinskrifter.*
- Sö E. Brate and E. Wessén, *Södermanlands runinskrifter, Sveriges runinskrifter III* (Stockholm, 1924–36).
- U E. Wessén and S. B. E. Jansson, *Upplands runinskrifter, Sveriges runinskrifter VI–IX*, 4 vols. (Stockholm, 1940–58).
- Sutherland *see* SUTHERLAND 1948.
- T&S *see* METCALF 1993–4.
- TRHS *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.*
- VCCBI *Viking Coinage and Currency in the British Isles. see* BLACKBURN 2011b.
- WBEASE *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England, see* LAPIDGE *et al.* 2014.

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For other abbreviations, *see* List of abbreviations, pp. xx–xxi above.

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¹ Michael Dolley is variously named in publications as 'R[eginald]. H[ugh]. M[ichael]. Dolley', 'Michael Dolley' and 'Micheál (Maolmuire) Ó Dathlaoich'. For full discussion, see THOMPSON 1986, 315–16.

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CATALOGUE

COLLECTORS, DEALERS AND DONORS

(a) FORMATION OF THE COLLECTION

1. *Introduction*

In the three decades since *MEC* 1 was written, and the almost sixty years since publication of *SCBI* 1, the Fitzwilliam Museum's Anglo-Saxon and related holdings have grown very significantly. The decision to republish material from *MEC* 1 in this catalogue reflects the desire to present in its entirety a much enlarged representative collection, alongside the coins from England after 924 and the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage which were not included in *MEC* 1. The largest additions have come from the Blunt and De Wit collections, comprising 775 and 481 coins respectively. The collection has also benefited from a steady stream of new coin finds, both hoards and individual coins, which was only beginning to flow in the mid-1980s.

MEC 1 described the formation of the collection held in 1986 (*MEC* 1, 393–8). Sources discussed there are included in the list of provenances below, but not in this brief survey of the formation of the collection, which concentrates on major additions to the collection since the 1980s. It should also be noted that the British and Irish portion of the Fitzwilliam Museum coin collection contains relatively few coins from the Grierson collection, bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam in 2006. Professor Philip Grierson (whose collection preponderates in most other *MEC* volumes) did not collect coins in the British series, but occasionally purchased relevant coins as part of larger assemblages, or in order to donate interesting specimens to the Fitzwilliam.

2. *The Blunt collection*

Christopher Blunt (1904–87) had a successful career as a merchant banker in London, and also became one of the leading twentieth-century authorities on English coinage (Stewart 1987; Allen 1974). He was part of a remarkable cohort of both professional and (in the formal sense) amateur scholars who revolutionised Anglo-Saxon numismatics in the decades after the Second World War. Blunt had shown greater interest in later medieval English coinages before the war, but later devoted himself to research on the period from the eighth to the tenth century.

Blunt took an interest in coins as a schoolboy at Marlborough, when he formed a friendship with John Shirley-Fox (q.v.), the portrait painter and numismatist, who mentored Blunt

in his early days of collecting. In 1939 Blunt unexpectedly inherited from Shirley-Fox most of the important collection he and his brother had formed; it largely consisted of later medieval English material, but included a few Anglo-Saxon pieces. Blunt's significant acquisitions of Anglo-Saxon coins began after 1945, and continued until shortly before his death. Blunt inherited the view, common in the early twentieth century and before, that a serious numismatic scholar had to have ready access to relevant coins at home (Blunt 1976, 68), and over a period of some seventy years his collecting habits were driven by a succession of specialist research interests. As such his collection, while including rich general coverage, is remarkable for its large number of rarities and unusual varieties in the areas he researched most intensively, particularly from Offa's reign to Edgar's reform. He had a representative selection of earlier pieces, and his later Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins were marked by an interest in the mints of his home county of Wiltshire.

Anglo-Saxon acquisitions came from many sources, recorded in a card catalogue (the scope of which extends far beyond Blunt's own collection) and on the coin tickets, though sometimes only in summary form: many tickets simply state that a coin was bought in London in a particular year. The most productive phase in the construction of Blunt's collection came between the late 1940s and early 1960s. During the early part of this period the market was flooded with coins from the great collection of Lord Grantley (q.v.) and others, making even choice or unusual coins relatively accessible. In 1949 Blunt bought from Welborn Owston Smith (q.v.) several vast uncatalogued lots Owston Smith had acquired at the Grantley sale of 17 June 1943. Around the same time Blunt bought extensively from the collection of the 10th Duke of Argyll (q.v.), dispersed through Spink; from the large collection of Richard Cyril Lockett (q.v.), sold by Glendining in the later 1950s and early 1960s; and at the 1952 auction of the Anglo-Saxon holdings of Valentine John Eustace Ryan (q.v.). He also acquired several specimens from the Vatican hoard. This had been found in 1928 and sold at auction in London in 1930, but its contents were still available in dealers' trays some two decades later. Blunt's contacts and dealings were extensive: he bought from most major dealers of the period, and acquired coins from numerous earlier collections. Some friends and colleagues (including Lord Stewartby (q.v.) and Pierre Le Gentilhomme (q.v.)) also donated coins they knew would be of interest.

It was Blunt's hope that his collection would pass to the Fitzwilliam after his death (for details see Blackburn 1990a). He believed that it would complement the Grierson collection of medieval European coins, and there was also a family tie to the Fitzwilliam, which held the papers of the poet and diplomat Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (1840–1922) and had (in 1984) acquired from the estate of Christopher's brother Anthony Blunt (1907–83; an art historian and one of the 'Cambridge Spies') a painting by Nicolas Poussin. In the event, it was arranged by Lord Stewartby and Blunt's executors that the collection would be accepted by the Treasury in lieu of Inheritance Tax, and pass to the Fitzwilliam. Since the collection was more valuable than the tax debt, the Fitzwilliam Museum had to find an additional £108,128, which was raised through generous contributions from the National Heritage Memorial Fund (£46,000), the National Art Collections Fund (£25,000), the Blunt family (£20,000) and the Perceval, Ritchie Ginsburg and Abbot funds of the Fitzwilliam Museum (the remaining £17,000).

In all, the acquisition included 3,663 coins, of which 751 were Anglo-Saxon and 24 Hiberno-Scandinavian or Hiberno-Manx. Two exceptional Anglo-Saxon coins were given to the British Museum (the unique penny of Heaberht of Kent, and a penny of Ecgberht II of Kent by the same moneyer).

3. *The De Wit collection*

Wim G. De Wit (b. 1926) began work as a lecturer in physics after the Second World War, but from 1947 turned his expertise to commercial insurance, and rose to become manager of an important Dutch insurance company. He also built up a large coin collection, embracing all of medieval Europe. This included almost five thousand specimens when it was dispersed in three auctions by Künker in 2007–8 (13 March 2007; 9 October 2007; 11 March 2008). One of the most outstanding portions of De Wit's collection was a selection of 481 early Anglo-Saxon, Frisian and Danish pennies, dating to the late seventh and eighth century. In 2007, these coins were bought through Spink and Künker for the Fitzwilliam Museum (with support from the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Art Fund, the Leverton Harris Fund and the Perceval Fund); a catalogue was subsequently drawn up by Künker, following De Wit's own classification (De Wit 2008).

De Wit began collecting in this series in the 1960s and 1970s, but the bulk of his early pennies were acquired in the 1980s and 1990s, when he was in a position to take advantage of the new and substantial flow of coins entering the market as a result of the popularisation of metal-detecting (although it should be noted that relatively few of De Wit's coins have a recorded find provenance). He carefully sought out the best-preserved specimens, and his collection is remarkable both for its breadth and for its aesthetic quality. From his base in the Netherlands, De Wit drew on both British and continental dealers. In the UK, early acquisitions came from the dispersal of the Elmore Jones (q.v.) and Mack (q.v.) collections through Spink and Glendining respectively. He later bought a number of important specimens at the auction of the William L. Subjack (q.v.) collection in 1998, and even more from Spink and from Patrick Finn. De Wit also made many purchases from Dutch dealers, who had especially good access to Frisian issues; those who provided De Wit with significant numbers of coins include J. C. A. van Loon/Coin Investment, Henzen, Holleman Munten and Spaar- en Voor-schotbank. Beyond the Netherlands, he bought occasionally from Belgian, French, German and Swiss sources, including Münzen und Medaillen (Basel), Kölner Münzkabinett and Jean Elsen et ses fils (Brussels).

4. *Other collections*

Since the completion of *MEC* 1, the last college collections have been deposited on loan in the Fitzwilliam. That of Corpus Christi College was deposited in the Fitzwilliam in 1991, and that of Queens' College in 2002 (for the history of both see *MEC* 1, 398). These loans completed the process (first proposed by Rev. J. J. Smith in 1846) of assembling in one location the Cambridge college collections.

There have also been a number of important gifts or purchases of pre-existing collections. Kenneth Allen Jacob (q.v.) bequeathed a dozen choice and representative coins of Cambridge to the Fitzwilliam, the rest of his collection being sold in 1996. Derek Chick (q.v.) sold a small but important collection of pennies of Offa and his contemporaries to the Museum in 2003, and donated several fragmentary coins. Also in 2003, the Fitzwilliam bought ten late Anglo-Saxon coins from the collection formed by Dr William James Conte (q.v.), who donated four further late Anglo-Saxon pennies four years later. In 2007 the collection formed by John Coubro' Mossop (q.v.), deposited in the Fitzwilliam for many years, formally became the property of the Museum. Dr Mark Blackburn (q.v.) possessed a number of coins which he either bought at an early age or received as gifts, and he bequeathed all of these to the Museum in 2011. The Fitzwilliam purchased a selection of fractional coins from the collection of David John de Sola Rogers (q.v.) in 2013.

The catalogue also includes coins held by the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge (**221, 241, 458, 912, 1279, 1817, 2030, 2050, 2181–2, 2209, 2276, 2283, 2285, 2288, 2310–II, 2466, 2482**). At the time of writing, the majority of these were on long-term deposit in the Fitzwilliam. Several among them are badly corroded on one face, as at one time they were glued directly on to a piece of plasterboard (now removed).

5. Hoards and other finds

The period since 1986 has seen the Fitzwilliam benefit from the flood of new coin finds discovered by metal-detector users. Several hoards or groups of coins from productive sites have been acquired, often in order to preserve intact the whole of, or a representative sample from, the relevant find.

Between March and October 1984, Bob Spall and his wife uncovered a hoard from the 890s, found beneath a group of elm trees in Ashdon, Essex (*Checklist* 84; Blackburn 1989a). The soil conditions were extremely damaging, leaving most of the coins in a fragmentary state: only 12 intact pennies were found, together with 102 fragments (probably reflecting 65–70 coins). Most of these were later cleaned in the British Museum and Fitzwilliam Museum, and some fragments reassembled. An inquest on 8 January 1985 declared the hoard to be Treasure Trove; subsequently the British Museum acquired four coins and Saffron Walden Museum two, while the Fitzwilliam bought the remainder in 1985. Between 1992 and 2000, a small but important hoard of the 920s consisting of twelve coins was found by a metal-detectorist (Brian Kimberley) in the parish of Thurstaston, Leicestershire (*Checklist* 109a; Blackburn 2001b). All coins were eventually acquired for the Fitzwilliam: one was donated by the finder (together with the landowner and tenant farmer) in 1997 and four in 1998; three were bought in 2000; and in 2002 the remaining four coins were acquired (two as donations, two by purchase). Ten coins are included in this catalogue; the remaining two are Arabic dirhams. On 16 March 2003 and in the following days, an important hoard of the 920s was found at Brantham, Suffolk, by six individuals during a metal-detecting rally (*Checklist* 105b; Gannon 2004; Blackburn 2006a, 206–8). Ninety coins were initially reported, which were declared Treasure at an inquest on 13 February 2004. The Fitzwilliam subsequently bought the hoard from the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, with support from the MLA/V&A Purchase Grant Fund, the Headley Trust and the Perceval Fund. Three further strays from the hoard appeared at auction in 2012 and were donated by the

buyer, Major-Gen. Adrian Lyons (q.v.), to the Fitzwilliam the following year. Lyons also donated eighteen Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Viking coins (two of them identified as modern forgeries) in 2013, in memory of Dr Mark Blackburn. These included several specimens from the 'Baldwin' hoard of unknown provenance, which emerged in trade in the 1990s (*Checklist* 98a; Blackburn and Pagan 2002).

Mark Blackburn's connections with several metal-detectorists facilitated the purchase between 1994 and 2011 of coins and other artefacts discovered at a 'productive site' near Torksey, Lincolnshire, which is believed to have been a camp-site for the Viking 'Great Army' in 872/3 (Blackburn 2011a). In all, 18 coins found at Torksey are included in this catalogue, and the Fitzwilliam's holdings extend to a total of 502 objects: 409 (including 39 coins besides those covered in the present volume, mostly Islamic dirham fragments) are recorded in Blackburn (2011a, 223–4) and 93 further finds were bought shortly after the completion of Blackburn's paper in 2011 (among them 56 dirham fragments). Many more finds, held by other institutions or sold privately, are recorded in Blackburn (2011a), and it is believed that a great deal of further, unrecorded material has also been found at the site. Another 'productive site' near Royston, Hertfordshire, has been worked since 1979 by two brothers, one of whom (Colin Stewart) has donated his finds to the Fitzwilliam. These included an initial tranche of eighty-one relevant coins (including two Merovingian *denarii*) in 2004, with additional donations in subsequent years: two coins in 2006; four in 2009; two in 2011; one in 2012; and two in 2013. Numerous other individual purchases or donations of single-finds are discussed at the appropriate place in the catalogue and list of provenances.

(b) LIST OF COLLECTORS, DEALERS AND DONORS REPRESENTED IN THE CATALOGUE

The list below is primarily intended as an index and key to the provenances recorded in the catalogue. Names and dates have been included wherever possible, together with a biographical sketch. Only the start-date of auctions taking place over several days has been given, and some lots from auction catalogues will be found to contain other items as well as the coin in question. Catalogue entry numbers of coins from each source are given except for larger auctioneers and dealers, and for very large collections such as Blunt, De Wit and A. W. Young; numbers prefixed **F** refer to the separately numbered modern forgeries and reproductions. Further biographical details for many of the individuals listed below may be found in Manville (2009).

ABRAMSON, Anthony (b. 1949). Scholar and collector in Leeds, concentrating on early Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian coins. Vendor of a coin in 2013. **2062**.

ADDINGTON, Samuel (1806–86). A London cloth merchant whose collection of English coins was acquired *en bloc* by MONTAGU in 1883. **1096, 1216, 1611**.

AGRICOLA. See JAMES, R. S.

AHLSTRÖM, B. Coin dealers and auctioneers in Stockholm since the 1950s. **1871**.

AILESBURY, Marquess of. A collection formed between the late seventeenth century and 1768 by successive earls of Ailesbury (cf. Blunt 1982) was sold by Sotheby (29 June 1903) in the time of the 5th Marquess, Henry Brudenell-Bruce (1842–1911). **1510**.

- ALLCARD, Herbert (1876–1970). An army officer and collector. He was awarded the DSO in the Second Boer War, later rescinded following his conviction for bigamy. His coins were subsequently acquired by Christopher BLUNT. **1896, 1979.**
- ALLEN, William (1808–97). A London paper stainer, and collector of coins and antiquities. He was a resident of Sunnyside, Surrey, at the time of his death. His collection was sold by Sotheby (14 March 1898). **546, 1233, 1437, 1464, 1704, 1754.**
- AMÉCOURT, Gustave, vicomte de Ponton d' (1825–88). A French polymath, perhaps best known for his pioneering work on powered flight and as inventor of the word 'helicopter'. He also cultivated an interest in early medieval coinage, and put together a famous collection (mainly of Roman and French, especially Merovingian, coins). A large part of his Merovingian collection (1,131 coins) was bought for the BN a year before his death; the remainder was sold by Rollin & Feuardenet (9 June 1890). **5, 24–5, F 1.**
- ANCIENT AND GOTHIC. Trade name of Chris Belton, a coin dealer in Dorset since the 1990s. **F 41.**
- ANDREW, Walter Jonathan (1859–1934). A solicitor from Whaley Bridge, Derbyshire, who was an enthusiastic collector and scholar of medieval coinage. He was, with P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON and Laurie Asher LAWRENCE, one of the founders of the BNS in 1903. **2542.**
- ARGYLL, 10th Duke of (Niall Diarmid Campbell) (1872–1949). A Scottish peer with a wide range of collecting interests, extending to butterflies as well as coins. His coin collection was bought *en bloc* by Spink in 1949. **936, 952, 994, 1100, 1102–6, 1109–12, 1116–18, 1120–2, 1126–8, 1131–2, 1141–4, 1146–9, 1152–6, 1159, 1162, 1165, 1220, 1222, 1271, 1289, 1402, 1436, 1449, 1498, 1518, 1602, 1646, 1652, 1655, 1665, 1671, 1712, 1743, 1775, 1815, 1869, 1914, 1944, 1973, 2000, 2011, 2053, 2070, 2123, 2198, 2224, 2229, 2308, 2350, 2376, 2515, 2614.**
- ARMITAGE, Edward Francis Peter (1908–95). An army officer. Some of his coins were sold through Seaby or purchased directly from him; the balance was purchased by Spink in 1960. **1664, 1706, 1709, 1725, 1747, 1785, 1867, 1971, 1976, 2089.**
- ASTRONOMER. See MCCLEAN, Frank.
- ATKINSON, R. Vendor of a coin in 2009. **1176.**
- AUFHÄUSER, H. Coin dealers and auctioneers in Munich since 1981. **412, 415.**
- AUKTIONES AG, BASEL. Coin auctioneers in Basel since the 1970s. **207, 212, 413.**
- AYRES, Jeremy. Vendor of two coins in 2010. **563, 1757.**
- BABINGTON, Rev. Churchill (1821–89). A clergyman scholar of wide-ranging interests, including botany, ornithology and conchology as well as archaeology; the last led him to form a collection of ceramics and coins, which he used in teaching after being appointed Disney Professor of Archaeology at the University of Cambridge in 1865. He made a number of donations to the Coin Room in the 1860s, and also wrote a catalogue of select British and English coins in the Fitzwilliam (Babington 1867). **1790, 1844, 1952, 2010, F 7/8, F 12/13.**
- BAGNALL, Albert Edward (1877–1966). A Yorkshire businessman and collector, whose English coins were bought by Spink in 1964. **977, 1170, 1476, 1478, 1884, 2609.**
- BAGSHAWE, Thomas Wyatt (1901–76). An Antarctic explorer, engineer and antiquary, with an interest in archaeological remains from Bedfordshire. His collection of coins was sold privately to Spink *c.* 1971. **2234–5.**
- BALDWIN, Messrs A. H. & Sons. One of the leading London coin dealers and auctioneers since 1889.

- BARCLAY, Robert (1751–1830). A brewer and businessman born in Philadelphia, PA, but later resident in Surrey. He acquired 553 coins from the Dorking hoard and allowed the BM to purchase a selection; some of the remainder was sold by his son Charles Barclay (1780–1855), in the auction Sotheby 21 March 1831 (as the property of an ‘Eminent Collector’). **1092.**
- BARNES, Rev. Prof. William Emery (1859–1939). Hulsean Professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge, and donor of a general collection of more than four hundred coins to Peterhouse in 1934 (deposited in the Fitzwilliam in 1960). **1284.**
- BARNETT, Thomas George (1857–1935). Owner of a successful jewellery firm in Birmingham, who built up major collections of spoons and timepieces (bequeathed to the Birmingham Art Gallery and the Ashmolean Museum, respectively); he also formed a large collection of British coins following his retirement, which was bequeathed to the BM. Records relating to the collection were unfortunately lost during the Second World War. The one coin from the Barnett collection in Cambridge was exchanged as a duplicate with the BM. **1196.**
- BARRATT, J. (c. 1753–1833). A bookseller and collector in Bath. His Grangerised copy of Ruding (1817) contains descriptions and illustrations of his coins. **947, 1210.**
- BARRON, Edward Evelyn (1862–1953), of Peterhouse. A solicitor who donated at least two coins to the Fitzwilliam in 1928 and 1938. **28, F33.**
- BARROW, R. Vendor of a coin in 2011. **1079.**
- BASCOM, George Jonathan (1845–1916). A businessman in New York specialising in books and stationery. His coins were sold by Sotheby (15 June 1914). **955, 966, 974, 990, 1525.**
- BASHAM, J. Finder of a coin in 1984. **132.**
- BATEMAN, Thomas and William. The collection was principally formed by the Derbyshire landowner and amateur archaeologist Thomas Bateman (1821–61), but included a small portion inherited from his grandfather, William Bateman (1787–1835). It contained material found by both during local excavations, as well as objects bought by Thomas from other sources. After the death of Thomas’s son, William Thomas Bateman, the collection was sold by order of the Court of Chancery (Sotheby 4 May 1893). **1456, 1458, 1492.**
- BATTELY, Rev. John (1646–1708), of Trinity College. A clergyman who eventually rose to become archdeacon of Canterbury (1688), but is best remembered as an antiquary and author of a book on the antiquities of Richborough and Reculver, published posthumously in 1711. Battely’s collection of coins, including many specimens from Richborough, was given to his nephew, another John Battely (c. 1688–1741), and subsequently donated by the family to Trinity College c. 1741. **10, 39, 58, 62, 84, 151, 194, 208, 215, 272, 292, 343, 371, 373, 463–4, 466–8, 480, 614.**
- BEAUFOY, Henry Benjamin Hanbury (1786–1851). A scientist, scholar and collector from a distinguished London family of vinegar brewers, who became a Fellow of the Royal Society as a result of his work on gun barrels. He assembled a collection of English coins, which was dispersed in a Christie sale (18 June 1909). **19, 1035, 1488.**
- BECK, Rev. James (1819–96). Rector of Parham, Sussex, who donated twenty-three coins from the Chancton hoard to Trinity College. **2163, 2190, 2913, 2196, 2199, 2202–3, 2212, 2215, 2218–19, 2230, 2243, 2257, 2259, 2263, 2271, 2272, 2303, 2340–1.**
- BEER, D. Finder of two coins in the 1980s. **342, 1016.**

- BELL, Beupré (1704–41), of Trinity College. A Norfolk landowner and antiquary who was a member and vice-president of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society. He bequeathed his coins to Trinity College; a manuscript catalogue of his collection, probably written by Charles Mason (1699–1771), Fellow of Trinity and Professor of Geology 1734–62, is on loan from Trinity to the Fitzwilliam. **2022, 2113, 2145, 2275, 2294, 2647.**
- BENNETT, W. H. A collector at Shirley, Surrey, whose collection was sold by Glendining (4 October 1972). **1500, 1505.**
- BERGNE, John Brodribb (1800–73). A civil servant in the Foreign Office and a noted numismatist. His collection was sold by Sotheby (20 May 1873). **22, 1635, 1643, 2063, 2222, 2342.**
- BERNARD, C. Finder of a coin in 1996. **1173.**
- BLACKBURN, Dr Mark Alistair Sinclair (1953–2011). Although initially trained as a lawyer and employed in the financial sector, he established himself as an authority on Anglo-Saxon and related coinages, and was recruited to work on *MEC I* with Professor Philip Grierson in 1982. He later became Keeper of Coins and Medals at the Fitzwilliam (1991–2011; Naismith 2011b). Although he did not collect coins after he began work at the Museum, he had formed a small collection of coins at a young age, supplemented by occasional gifts from Christopher BLUNT in later years, all of which were bequeathed to the Museum. Five coins from his bequest are contained in the present catalogue, and one coin was donated earlier. **1972, 2525, 2618, 2630, 2645, 2695.**
- BLISS, Thomas (c. 1848–1914). An estate agent and surveyor for the firm H. J. Bliss and Sons, London. His collection of coins was sold by Sotheby (22 March 1916). **962, 980, 1009, 1066, 1183, 1201, 1495, 1642, 2094, 2362, 2454, 2593, 2595.**
- BLUNT, Christopher Evelyn (1904–87). Scholar and merchant banker, resident at Ramsbury, Wiltshire, who built up a major collection now held in the Fitzwilliam. See above, section (a), pp. 459–61.
- BLUNT, Wilfrid Jasper Walter (1901–87). Art master at Eton College, and brother of Christopher BLUNT. He gave a coin to his brother on the latter's sixtieth birthday in 1964. **1919.**
- BONHAMS. London auctioneers, founded in 1793 but only moving into coins in the 1970s. The firm merged with Phillips Son & Neale in 2001. **2195.**
- BONSER, Michael John (1939–2013). A farmer and collector in Essex, with scholarly interests (Abramson 2013). Bonser formed connections with metal-detector users in the 1970s and afterwards, and through these channels acquired unusual coins which came his way. **848, 859, 1605.**
- BOOTH, Prof. James (1945–). A professor of English literature in the University of Hull and an authority on the work of Philip Larkin. He has also cultivated an interest in Anglo-Saxon coinage. **71, 353.**
- BORGHESI, Bartolomeo (1781–1860). An Italian scholar and collector of coins and inscriptions, who was a major figure in the developing field of numismatics. His collection was dispersed in four sales by G. Sambon (Rome) in 1879–81. Two coins from the fourth sale (31 May 1881) are now in the Fitzwilliam. **1049–50.**
- BOTT, M. Finder and vendor of coins from Torksey, Lincolnshire, in 2011. **1241, 1981, 2067.**
- BOYNE, William (1814–93). A collector who sold the tobacco importing business he had inherited in 1853 and devoted his time to prints and coins. The latter eventually amounted to more than thirty thousand specimens. He lived in Florence from 1870 until his death to

- escape creditors in Britain. His collection was sold by Sotheby on 21 January 1896. **1094, 1202, 2069.**
- BRADSHAW, Cliff. Metal-detectorist and vendor of a coin in 2002. **3.**
- BRAND, John David (1931–90). An accountant resident in Rochester, Kent, who was also a noted scholar and collector of medieval British coins (Woodhead 1990). Some of his coins were sold or exchanged privately; the bulk were sold by Glendining (2 May 1984). **2618.**
- BRAND, Virgil Michael (1862–1926). An American businessman and collector, who amassed a huge collection of coins from 1889. This collection was gradually dispersed by his brothers and daughter: the Anglo-Saxon portion was sold by Sotheby on 26 May 1983 and 20 July 1983. **1095.**
- BRETTELL, Robert Patrick Vernon (1907–98). A police inspector in the Devon Constabulary. His collection of coins from the south-west was sold in two Glendining sales (28 October 1970 and 18 June 1975). **1739.**
- BRICE, William (c. 1812–87). A solicitor, resident at Clifton, Bristol, who served as Town Clerk of Bristol 1874–80. His collection was acquired *en bloc* by Hyman MONTAGU in 1887. The MS catalogue of it is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, ex Montagu (V) 724, as are a number of his coins. **941, 946, 967, 997, 1014, 1050, 1052, 1054, 1170–1, 1213, 1217, 1226, 1285–6, 1403, 1407, 1494, 1609, 1777, 2063, 2222, 2342, F26.**
- BRIGGS, Arthur (1836–92). A partner in a family firm of stuff merchants, Bradford, Yorkshire. His collection of coins was sold by Sotheby on 22 March 1893. **985, 1117, 1159, 1247, 1504.**
- BM DUPLICATES. An auction of duplicates from the BM collection was held at Sotheby on 26 April 1811. Duplicate coins were also exchanged between the BM and other museums in the UK and abroad from time to time in the earlier twentieth century; the practice has since been discontinued. **1189, 1196, 1751.**
- BROWN, John Ellman (c. 1827–1910). Vice-Consul in Shoreham for Denmark, Germany, Norway, Sweden and Portugal, who also held several other positions relating to the port at Shoreham. His collection of coins was sold by Sotheby on 14 November 1910. **1225.**
- BROWN, S. Metal-detectorist in Norfolk who sold or donated coins to the Fitzwilliam and other recipients in the 1980s and 1990s. **231, 566, 976, 1020, 1125.**
- BRUUN, Lars Emil (1852–1923). A Danish businessman and coin collector, who built up a large collection of English and Scandinavian coins. His Scandinavian coins and his coins of the Viking kingdom of Northumbria were given to the Royal Coin Cabinet in Copenhagen, but the bulk of his English coins were sold by Sotheby on 25 May 1925. **955, 1064, 1081, 1174, 1403, 1405, 1407, 1456, 1526, 1546, 1652, 1765, 2448.**
- BUDE, Ron. An American radiologist and collector and student of Anglo-Saxon coins. Donor of two coins to the collection. **74, 869.**
- BURN, Miss B. K. Donor of two coins to the Fitzwilliam in 1978. **1906, 1908.**
- BURN, Jacob Henry (1794–1869). A bookseller in London with an interest in manuscripts and other antiquities, including coins and porcelain. His collection was sold by Puttick & Simpson (20 July 1869). **1202.**
- BURSTAL, Edward Kynaston (1851–1938). A civil engineer, whose collection of coins was sold by Sotheby on 6 November 1912. **1791, 1821, 1944, 1973, 2011, 2053, 2123, 2224.**
- BUTE, 3rd Earl of (John Stuart) (1713–92). A large collection formed in the eighteenth century by the 3rd Earl (who served briefly as Prime Minister 1762–3) was supplemented by his heirs,

down to the time of the 2nd Marquess (John Crichton-Stuart (1793–1848)). It consisted largely of medals, together with a number of English and European coins. Three sales were held when the collection was dispersed by the 5th Marquess (John Crichton-Stuart (1907–56)) (Sotheby 7 May 1951, 11 June 1951 and Glendining 12 May 1959). **745, 748–9, 758, 760, 803, 821, 884, 886, 896, 899, 905, 907, 908, 914, 917, 919, 926, 2354.**

BUTTREY, Prof. Theodore Vern (1929–). An American scholar of classical literature and numismatics, former Keeper of Coins and Medals at the Fitzwilliam, and donor to the Museum. **II77.**

CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Collection deposited in the Museum in 1886; a separate catalogue had been published already in 1847. **1844, 2537, 2540–I, 2543–50, 2552–3, 2562–5, 2568–9, 2572, F7/8, F12/I3, F15–16.**

CARLYON-BRITTON, Philip William Poole (1863–1938). A solicitor, scholar and collector possessed of dynamic enthusiasm and a forceful personality, who was one of the founders of the BNS. Most of his Anglo-Saxon coins now in the Fitzwilliam derive from purchases by Arthur William YOUNG at the first (Sotheby 17 November 1913) of the three sales in which this part of his collection was dispersed. Young purchased a few further coins at the second sale (Sotheby 20 November 1916; a third sale of similar material was Sotheby 11 November 1918), and some further Anglo-Saxon coins formerly belonging to Carlyon-Britton have reached the Fitzwilliam by other channels. **30, 35–7, 83, 89, 241, 296, 331–3, 406, 604, 660–2, 664, 680–I, 686, 689, 699–700, 735, 746–7, 763, 768, 776, 779, 791, 793, 796, 798–9, 810, 813, 815, 822–3, 827, 831, 855, 887, 891–2, 894, 897900, 902, 906, 921, 938, 946, 948–9, 954, 959, 967, 971, 977, 984, 986, 989, 993–6, 1013–15, 1018, 1042, 1051–2, 1054, 1055, 1064, 1089, 1091, 1093, 1099, 1102, 1122–3, 1129, 1137, 1139, 1160, 1178, 1203, 1205, 1207, 1210, 1212, 1225–6, 1250–I, 1254, 1258–9, 1275, 1304, 1403, 1407, 1433, 1450–I, 1453, 1456, 1458–9, 1464, 1473, 1478, 1484, 1488, 1493, 1501, 1505, 1509–10, 1532, 1546, 1549, 1553, 1563, 1565, 1592, 1608, 1619, 1625, 1629, 1636–7, 1643, 1646, 1661, 1672–3, 1675, 1710, 1716, 1718–19, 1721, 1724–5, 1745–7, 1752, 1763–4, 1779, 1854–5, 1857, 1894–5, 1897, 1910–13, 1974, 2060, 2064, 2075–8, 2087, 2091, 2099–100, 2105–6, 2149, 2151, 2154–5, 2157, 2207, 2210, 2223, 2235, 2308, 2332–3, 2337, 2339, 2345, 2366, 2369, 2375, 2436–41, 2460, 2464, 2470, 2475, 2477, 2524, 2538–9, 2554, 2556, 2559, 2573, 2576, 2580, 2584, F28.**

CARLYON-BRITTON, Raymond Carlyon (1893–1960). Son of P.W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON who was an important collector in his own right. He put together several collections in the course of his life, including one with an important element of Anglo-Saxon coins; the latter was dispersed through Seaby (in *SCMB*) during a period of ill health in the late 1940s. **II24.**

CASSAL, Raymond Theobald (1865–1924). A medical practitioner at Abertillery, Monmouthshire, and collector. His Anglo-Saxon coins were sold by Glendining (3 December 1924 and 22 April 1925). **1953.**

CHAFFERS, William (1811–92). A dealer in coins, plate, jewellery and ceramics, who became a notable authority on gold and silver plate and author of a standard introductory book on ceramics. His collection was sold by Sotheby on 9 February 1857. **1611, 2611.**

CHANTRELL, F. Joint finder and donor with Brian KIMBERLEY and David PETTY of the Thurcaston hoard (see above, section (a), p. 462). **1287, 1303, 1401, 2599, 2602.**

CHAPMAN, Keith. Coin dealer in London since the 2000s. **2217–18.**

- CHAPMAN, Samuel Hudson (1859–1935) and Henry (1857–1931). Coin auctioneers in Philadelphia, PA, established in 1878. The business split following a disagreement between the brothers in 1906. **2228**.
- CHESTER, Rev. Greville John (1830–92). A clergyman with scholarly interests, particularly in Egyptology. According to Christopher Blunt, Rev. Chester donated two coins from the obscure Thwaite hoard (*Checklist* 232) to the Fitzwilliam; these cannot be individually identified, but are presumably among its holdings of Edward the Confessor and Harold II.
- CHICK, Derek Sidney (1933–). An antique restorer and collector, latterly in Broadstairs, Kent. Via London dealers, he built up a small but extremely important collection of coins of Offa and his contemporaries as part of a long-standing research interest in the coinage, which culminated in the publication of a new catalogue (Chick 2010). Fifteen coins were bought from him by the Museum in 2003 (with the aid of the National Art Collection Fund and the MLA/V&A Purchase Grant Fund), and Chick also donated seven fragmentary coins. Other coins formerly in Chick's collection were sold, and entered the Fitzwilliam through different channels. **20, 23, 49, 999, 1001–2, 1004, 1012, 1016, 1018, 1020, 1022–3, 1025, 1027–9, 1031–4, 1038, 1172, 1173**.
- CHILDERLEY, D. Donor of a coin in 1957. **1941**.
- CHILVERS, Cyril Arthur (1896–1976). A collector at Snettisham, Norfolk, who sold coins to the Museum and others in the 1960s. **560, 993, 1190, 1488, 1780, 2083, 2395, 2607**.
- CHOWN, John Francis (b. 1929). A tax adviser in London. Spink 14 March 2001. **2692, 2696**.
- CHRISTIE. London-based auctioneers, founded by James Christie (1730–1803) in 1766, and now with offices in numerous other locations including Geneva and New York. **1003, 1442, 1445, 2349, 2485**.
- CLARK, Henry (d. 1908?). A collector residing at Nottingham, whose collection was sold by Sotheby (23 May 1898). **1586**.
- CLARK, J. G. Donor of a coin in 1910. **2208**.
- CLARKE, Louis Colville Gray (1881–1961), of Trinity Hall. An archaeologist and art collector who became Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum 1937–46, and was a frequent benefactor to the coin collection. **1951, 1994, 2075, 2171, 2239, 2241**.
- CLASSICAL NUMISMATIC GROUP. Coin auctioneers and dealers founded by Victor England in 1975, based in Lancaster, PA, and also London from 1991, taking over the operation of B. A. SEABY. **479, 1030, 2134**.
- CNG. See CLASSICAL NUMISMATIC GROUP.
- COATS, Thomas (1809–83). A successful thread manufacturer and collector of coins. His collection was presented to the University of Glasgow in 1924, but one coin in this collection allegedly has a Coats provenance. **1087**.
- COIN INVESTMENT (J. C. van Loon). Coin auctioneer and dealer in Lisse, Netherlands, operating under this name since 1975. **163, 200, 240, 270–1, 276, 286–90, 293**.
- COLES, Col. Arthur Horsman (1856–1931). An army officer and coin collector; at least one of his coins later passed to Gilbert Creswick DRABBLE. **1050**.
- COLLINS & CLARK. A Cambridge firm of antique dealers. See WYATT.
- CONTE, Dr William James. An American physician, scholar and collector of coins and other antiquities. Ten late Anglo-Saxon coins from his collection were bought by the Museum in 2003;

- Conte also donated four additional coins in 2007. **1788, 1871, 2059, 2090, 2097–8, 2099, 2118, 2160, 2184, 2205, 2234, 2317, 2332.**
- CONYBEARE, Rev. Edward (1843–1931), of Trinity College. Uncle of the novelist Rose Macaulay. While vicar of Barrington, Cambs. (1871–98), he made a large collection of coins found locally. It passed to his daughter, Miss D. F. Conybeare, and ultimately to her niece, Miss F. M. McCormick, who donated it to the Museum in 1975. **219, 1278.**
- CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE. The collection bequeathed to the College by Rev. Samuel Savage LEWIS was deposited on indefinite loan to the Fitzwilliam in 1991. References are provided to a manuscript catalogue kept in the coin room, prepared by Peter Spufford in the 1960s. **687, 730, 950, 1098, 1101, 1140, 1166, 1234, 1237, 1240, 1246, 1248, 1467, 1803, 1853, 1862, 2082, 2227.**
- COTTON, Sir Robert Bruce (1571–1631). A well-known antiquary associated with the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries (cf. Sharpe 1979; Wright 1997). Cotton enjoyed prominence under James I, during whose reign he held a seat in parliament for Huntingdonshire and was often consulted on matters pertaining to historical precedent. However, Cotton fell under suspicion of seditious activities in the reign of Charles I, and his library was closed to public access. This library had been gathered since Cotton's youth, and contained a critically important collection of manuscripts, documents and other materials from across the Middle Ages, including coins (for the latter see Archibald 2006). Most of Cotton's coins stayed with the bulk of his collection in London, passing into the British Museum in 1753. Some, however, were abstracted from the collection in the century after his death and ended up elsewhere. **984.**
- COX, Joseph. A collector at Manchester, whose collection was sold by Sotheby on 6 April 1892. **2693.**
- CRAWFORD, D. Vendor of a coin in 2005. **1617.**
- CRICHTON. Uncertain (possibly John Crichton-Stuart, Marquess of BUTE). **2614.**
- CROMPTON-ROBERTS, Charles Montagu (1865–1931). A landowner in Monmouthshire. He formed a collection of coins in the 1880s and 1890s which was purchased by Spink *c.* 1920, then sold in the *NCirc* 1920–1. **1171, 1190, 1206.**
- CROSS, John. An insurer and collector in Suffolk. **953.**
- CROWTHER, Rev. George Francis (1855–1933). A clergyman who published extensively on British coinage in the late nineteenth century. His collection was sold by Sotheby on 10 November 1904. **1194, 1212, 1495.**
- CUFF, James Dodsley (1780–1853). A clerk in the Bullion Office of the Bank of England and collector, especially of Anglo-Saxon coins. The sale of his collection (Sotheby 8 June 1854) was spread over a record period of eighteen days. **937, 947, 967, 977, 1042, 1095, 1212, 1216, 1271, 1281, 1295, 1407, 1464, 1467, 1493, 1611, 2227, 2611.**
- CURETON, Harry Osborn (1785–1858). A 'curiosity dealer' in London who sold coins and other antiquities to museums and collectors in the mid-nineteenth century. He later worked in the BM. **1087, 2092, 2555.**
- DANIELS, James Herbert (1864–1936). A Brighton coin dealer, who sold coins to the Duke of ARGYLL. **1148, 1153.**
- DAVEY, W. E. Finder and vendor of a coin in 2000. **932.**
- DAVIDS. Uncertain; possibly a misreading of DANIELS. **2308.**

- DAVIDSON, Dr James (1896–1985). A physician and collector, primarily interested in Scottish coins. **1506**.
- DAVIES, Major A. A member of the Numismatic Society of London 1878–84 resident at Redhill, Surrey. He was probably a source of coins for J. S. HENDERSON. **266**.
- DAWSON, Very Rev. Henry Richard (1792–1840). Dean of St Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, and an assiduous collector of antiquities, many of which were purchased by the Royal Irish Academy. His coins, however, were sold by Sotheby 30 June 1842 (as the property of the 'Dean of St Patrick's'). **963, 1036, 2604**.
- DEAN OF ST PATRICK'S. See DAWSON.
- DEKKER. Uncertain collector, whose coins were acquired by Wim DE WIT in 1985. **291, 318**.
- DEVONSHIRE, 2nd Duke of (William Cavendish) (1672–1729). His collection was preserved by the family until it was sold anonymously on behalf of the 6th Duke (William George Spencer Cavendish (1790–1858)) in two parts by Christie: (I) 18 March 1844, Greek and Roman; (II) 28 March 1844, Anglo-Saxon, English. **974, 994, 1060, 1407, 1486, 1494, 1609, 1755, 2611**.
- DEVORE, Weber Gerhardt (1897–1992). An executive with Heintz Manufacturing Co., Philadelphia, PA, and a collector of Anglo-Saxon and other coins. Some of his coins were later acquired by Christopher BLUNT. **1421, 1607, 2228**.
- DEWDNEY, George. A farmer and miller, who occupied the land on which the Dorking hoard was found in 1817. He acquired a hundred coins from the hoard, and allowed Taylor Combe to choose from these any which the BM desired; the rest were sold. **1042**.
- DEWICK, Rev. Edward Samuel (1844–1917), of St John's College. A distinguished antiquary, who donated a large collection of coins to the Museum in 1918. **2351, 2567**.
- DE WIT, W. G. (1926–). Manager of a Dutch insurance company, and collector of a wide range of medieval coinages: see above, section (a), p. 461.
- DIMSDALE, Thomas (1758–1823). A banker and collector of artworks and coins, whose collection was sold by Sotheby on 6 July 1824. **1403**.
- DIX, NOONAN AND WEBB. Auctioneers in London, first set up in the early 1990s as Buckland, Dix and Wood, but operating as Dix, Noonan and Webb since 1996. **930**.
- DOLLEY, Prof. (Reginald Hugh) Michael (1925–83). A major scholar of Anglo-Saxon and Irish coinage, employed as Assistant Keeper in the BM Department of Coins and Medals 1951–63, and subsequently at Queen's University, Belfast (1963–78). Dolley did not himself collect coins, but occasionally passed on to others coins which he had come across. **1884**.
- DOLPHIN COINS. Coin dealers based in London and Leighton Buzzard since the 1960s (under the name of 'The Sovereign' or 'The Double Sovereign' from the mid-1990s).
- DOOLAN, Stephen. Donor of two coins in 1994. **21, F25**.
- DRABBLE, Gilbert Creswick (1875–1939). A businessman in Argentina, latterly resident in Sandown, Isle of Wight, whose collection was sold by Glendining (4 July 1939 and 13 December 1943). **1018, 1049–50, 1072, 1083, 1096, 1170, 1251, 1405, 1442, 1640, 1718, 1721, 1815, 1951, 2070, 2075, 2102, 2184, 2358, 2369, 2438, 2441, 2608**.
- DUART SMITH, Frederick William (1868–1945). An accountant in Tuffley, Gloucestershire. His collection was sold by Glendining on 27 November 1945. **1070**.
- DUDMAN, John (1846–1913). Proprietor of a grocery business in Hampstead, London. Sotheby 11 May 1914. **1768**.

- DUNCANSON, Thomas John Gibb (1873–1933), of Emmanuel College. In 1930 he presented to the Fitzwilliam Museum the coin collection inherited from his uncle Francis Gray SMART. **1774, 1795, 1921, 2007, 2036, 2084, 2180, 2211, 2262, 2295, 2467, 2528, 2535, 2551, 2575, 2594, 2605, 2620, 2640, 2676, F21, F40.**
- DUPREE, Sir David, Bart. (1930–2013). Schoolmaster and a keen botanist, resident in Derbyshire. His collection was bought by Spink in 1989. **653, 969.**
- DURLACHER, Alexander (c. 1822–1896). A dealer in antique furniture and coin collector, whose non-Anglo-Saxon coins were sold at auction in 1851 and 1899, but both coins in this collection were apparently acquired privately by Hyman MONTAGU. **1481, 2235.**
- DURRANT, Lt.-Col. William (1779–1846). An army officer residing at Lowestoft, Suffolk. His collection was sold by Sotheby on 19 April 1847. **1194, 1403, 2069, 2342.**
- DUSSEN, A. G. van der. Coin auctioneer and dealer since the 1960s in Maastricht, Netherlands, also operating premises at Fontainebleau, France. **259.**
- DYMOCK, Rev. Thomas Frederick (c. 1807–58). Rector of Hatch Beauchamp, Somerset, and an important collector and numismatic scholar. His large collection was sold by Sotheby on 19 June 1841, 25 November 1848 and 1 June 1858. An earlier sale was held on 3 May 1830. **947, 974, 997, 1094, 1194, 1212, 1281, 1450, 1609, 1755, 2069, 2611.**
- EASTWOOD, George (c. 1819–66). London coin dealer, active in the mid-nineteenth century. **1400, 2044.**
- EDWARDS, T. P. Finder and vendor of two coins in 2005/6. **38, F45.**
- ELKINS COINS. Coin dealers in Norwich since at least 2000. **1065.**
- ELMORE JONES, Francis (1898–1982). A chartered surveyor in London, successively resident in Finchley and Twickenham. He had a long-standing interest in British numismatics, especially of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman period. His Anglo-Saxon coins were sold by Glendining on 12 May 1971, but several of those now in this collection had been disposed of prior to the auction. **27, 51, 303, 337, 1058, 1718, 1958, 1972, 2149, 2184, 2223, 2299.**
- ELSEN, Jean (1944–). One of the foremost coin dealers and auctioneers in Brussels from 1976 onwards. **250, 362, 514, 553.**
- EMMANUEL COLLEGE. The College's coin collection has been deposited on indefinite loan to the Museum since 1937, with one of the relevant Anglo-Saxon coins retained by the college until 1957. **1, 1008.**
- ENGLEHEART, Nathaniel Brown (1790–1869). Proctor in Court of Arches, and son of the famous miniature artist George Engleheart. Sotheby sold his collection on 11 April 1820. **1194.**
- ERNST, Axel (1891–1964). A lawyer in Odense, who also collected coins. These were sold in Copenhagen after his death, with two auctions held by Bruun Rasmussen on 31 May 1965 and 18 April 1966, though these do not contain the Ernst coins in this collection. **1985, 2028.**
- ERSKINE, Hon. Robert William Hervey (1930–), of King's College. A London-based collector and dealer in prints and objets d'art.
- EVANS, Edwin Hill (d. 1926). A draper in Hampstead, London; his coins were sold by Sotheby on 30 May 1894. **1050.**
- EVANS, Sir John (1823–1908). One of the most eminent numismatists of his day. His English collection passed to Spink and was prepared for auction, but in the event the American financier and art collector John Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) bought the entire collection.

- Morgan selected coins for his own collection and sold the remainder through Spink: a large portion passed into the hands of P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON. The rest was sold through *NCirc*, other than a small residue which stayed in the hands of Sir John's son (Sir Arthur Evans, 1851–1941) and was eventually given to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. **542, 935, 941, 1024, 1075, 1078, 1085, 1139, 1195, 1266, 1472–3, 1509, 1532, 1549, 1568, 1592, 1894, 1929, 1950, 1954, 2079, 2099, 2609.**
- EVANS, P. L. Finder and vendor of a coin in 1983. **1047.**
- FAULKNER, H. W. Finder and vendor of a coin in 2006. **2621.**
- FEATHER, David Barrett (1915–94). A surgeon in Leeds, Yorkshire. His coins were sold by Sotheby on Sotheby 6 November 1997. **56, 78, 638, 642, 646, 655.**
- FEUARDENT FRÈRES. See ROLLIN AND FEUARDENT.
- FINN, Patrick (1942–2000). A coin dealer in London who previously worked for Spink. He was known for his exceptionally rich offerings of early Anglo-Saxon coins in the 1990s.
- FORD, John Kermack (c. 1818–83). A collector in Southsea, Hampshire. Sotheby 12 June 1884. **2075.**
- FORD, J. D. Finder and vendor of a coin in 1997. **1074.**
- FORRER, Leonard Steyning (1895–1968). Son of L. Forrer of Spink, for which firm he initially worked. He set up independently in London as a coin dealer in the late 1940s, but his firm closed in 1955 and he joined J. Schulman's in Amsterdam, where he worked until his death. **1122, 1141, 1147.**
- FRANCESCHI, Bartolomeo (1907–91). A coin dealer in Brussels in succession to Charles Dupriez (d. 1952) from the 1940s until his retirement in 1986. The firm continued under his son Druso. **235, 294.**
- FRERE, Emily (d. 1870). Widow of Philip Howard Frere (1813–68; Trinity), bursar of Downing College and author of several works on agriculture. Emily was daughter of Rev. Henry Gipps, vicar of Keswick, Cumberland, and Canon of Carlisle. She gave a miscellaneous collection of seventy-three coins to Trinity College. **1219–20, 2493.**
- FRIENDS OF THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM. Long-standing benefactors of the Coin Room, supporting acquisitions of Anglo-Saxon coins notably during the interwar period. **3, 21, 1820–3, 1825–6, 1830–1, 1875–6, 1878, 1881–3, 1887, 1924–6, 1928–32, 1934, 1936, 1938, 1942, 1949–50, 1953–5, 1988, 1990, 1992–3, 1995, 2017, 2061, 2073, 2161, 2172, 2185–6, 2188, 2210, 2232, 2238, 2242, 2281, 2284, 2290, 2292.**
- GALATA COINS (Paul and Bente R. Withers). Coin and book dealers since the 1970s in Wolverhampton and later Llanfyllin.
- GALLWEY, Lt.-Col. Hubert Dayrell (1915–83). An army officer and collector of coins, from an Anglo-Irish family. **1411.**
- GANTZ, Rev. William Lewis (1873–1940). A clergyman and serial collector. His first collection was bought by Seaby in 1926, and a second large collection was dispersed after his death: the Anglo-Saxon and other English coins were sold by Glendining on 23 June 1941. Some coins passed through his hands which do not appear in the auction catalogue. **1257, 1651.**
- GARNETT, Enid E. Vendor of a coin-brooch in 2010. **2248.**
- GARRETT, John Work (1872–1942). American diplomat and grandson of the railroad magnate John Work Garrett (1820–84). His collection was on loan for many years after his death to Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD, eventually being sold at Numismatic Fine Arts

- (Malibu, CA) and Bank Leu AG (Zurich); his Anglo-Saxon coins were in the auction of 16 May 1984. **33**.
- GIBBS, James (1825–86). A judge of High Court in Bombay. His coins were bought by Spink after his death. **993**.
- GIBSON, William Stonier (fl. 1930s). A medical practitioner and collector. **1128, 1132, 1165**.
- GILLIS, Andrew G. A coin dealer in Barnsley since the early 1990s. **2205**.
- GLENDINING & CO. A London auction firm founded in 1900 by Douglas Glendining and specialising in coins and medals, of which it handled virtually all important collections put on the market in London between the 1920s and 1970s.
- GOLDSMITH, P. Finder and vendor of a coin in 1995. **1022**.
- GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE. The college collection was deposited on loan in the Fitzwilliam in 1938. **1966**.
- GOOD, H. A collector resident in Southampton, who sold a coin to Christopher Blunt. **1490**.
- GORDON, Miss. Resident of Wyke Regis, Dorset; source of a coin acquired by Christopher Blunt. **1209**.
- GRANTA STAMP AND COIN SHOP, Cambridge. **126, 384, 405, 567–8, 570, 574, 1947, 2001, 2051–2**.
- GRANTHAM, Maj. Edward (c. 1823–1908). Officer in the 98th Foot, whose coins were sold by Sotheby on 3 February 1897. **972, 1750**.
- GRANTLEY, 5th Baron (Richard Brinsley Norton) (1855–1943). An aristocrat and landowner who led a colourful private life (Blunt 1976, 72–4), and dedicated immense time and resources to numismatics, amassing more than fifty thousand coins. His huge collection was dispersed by Glendining in eleven sales over the years 1943–5, the early medieval British ones mainly in those of 27 January 1944 and 22 March 1944. **5, 21, 24–5, 50, 94, 101, 104, 147, 154, 156, 178, 201, 258, 295, 297–8, 305, 311, 335, 449, 542, 559, 590, 598, 610, 619, 945, 970, 1024, 1067–8, 1075, 1078, 1085, 1094, 1110–11, 1115, 1118, 1159, 1162, 1175, 1179, 1188, 1194, 1197, 1202, 1235, 1239, 1247, 1261, 1269, 1274, 1276, 1286, 1295, 1399, 1437, 1472–3, 1494, 1504, 1515, 1533, 1552, 1581, 1614, 1616, 1624, 1638, 1683, 1693, 1704–5, 1750, 1754, 1775, 1800, 1843, 1847, 1903, 1925, 1930, 1932, 1934, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1942, 1965, 2009, 2073, 2123, 2253, 2281, 2290, 2292, 2368, 2375, 2384, 2470, 2524, 2590, 2608–9, 2611, 2613, F2–3, F27**.
- GREENHALGH, David. A well-known re-enactor of early minting techniques, signing his coins ‘Grunal’. Vendor of a coin in 2004. **2039**.
- GRIERSON, Prof. Philip (1910–2006). Founder of *MEC*. Born into an Anglo-Irish family, Grierson was educated at Marlborough and Gonville and Caius College, where he was elected a Fellow in 1929. He remained a Fellow of Gonville and Caius for the rest of his life, becoming a major authority on the numismatics and monetary history of medieval Europe. For the history of his collection, see *MEC* 1, 395–6. Grierson donated many coins to the Fitzwilliam in his lifetime and bequeathed the entirety of his collection to it, together with his numismatic library and papers. Britain and Ireland were not Grierson’s primary interest, but his collection included early pennies from Frisia and Denmark covered by this volume, and a few Anglo-Saxon, Hiberno-Scandinavian and related pieces. Since 1991 a substantial number of coins have been bought for the Museum through the Grierson Fund, endowed by Grierson for this purpose. **24, 25, 93, 94, 101, 104, 132, 147, 154, 156, 160, 166, 178, 280, 294–8, 356, 404, 542, 560, 598, 710, 1039, 1270, 1404, 1865, 2083, 2334, 2462, 2488, 2499, 2508–10, 2519–23, 2672, 2674, 2682, 2685, 2687, 2697, F1–3**.

- GRIFFITH, Arthur Foster (1856–1933). A solicitor and alderman of Brighton who studied at Cambridge. He was the brother of the Egyptologist Francis Llewellyn Griffith. Griffith collected widely, and gave most of his acquisitions to Brighton museums, but a small number of coins minted in Cambridge and once owned by him are now in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. **2181, 2182, 2276, 2310–II.**
- HAINES, Thomas. Coins sold by Sotheby on 18 December 1878. **1225.**
- HALL, Henry Platt (1863–1949). A director of Platt Brothers & Co. Ltd, machinery manufacturers in Oldham, who built up an important collection of coins. He began collecting while at school in Manchester in the 1870s, and continued to acquire coins throughout his life. These were sold by Glendining on 26 July 1950. All the coins from Hall's collection now in the Fitzwilliam are Northumbrian pennies which were auctioned off in batches with no detailed description; it is therefore not possible to assign specific lot numbers. **666–7, 684, 691, 693, 695, 701, 708, 714, 720, 737, 762, 765, 809, 811, 817, 819, 846, 852–3, 872.**
- HALLIDAY, Cecil A. A coin dealer in Oxford, active until at least 1936. **1152?, 1641.**
- HALLIDAY, John Edmund (1838–1913). A collector residing in Wiltshire. Sotheby 8 July 1902. **28.**
- HANHAM, Sir John Ludlow, Bart. (1898–1955). A barrister and landowner in Dorset, and Apparitor-General to the archbishop of Canterbury. He had strong interests in ornithology and numismatics: a collection of coins he formed was sold by Spink (3 March 1982), but his Anglo-Saxon collection had been sold privately to Baldwin's in 1973. **1194.**
- HARDAKER, T. Vendor of a coin in 2013. **2062.**
- HARMER ROOKE. Coin auctioneers and dealers in New York, in business since the 1960s. **2517.**
- HARVEY, Michael. Finder and donor of a coin in 2015. **2110A.**
- HASLUCK, Frederick William (1878–1920), of King's College. A classical scholar and archaeologist whose collection was divided between the BM and the Fitzwilliam, which received some 1,600 coins, mainly acquired in the Near East but including some others. **678, 757, 759, 909, 1151, 1794, 2045, 2055, 2126, 2176, 2221, 2291, 2297, 2322, 2331, 2457, 2459, 2461, 2655, F43.**
- HAWTHORNE, S. Finder and vendor of a coin in 1994/5. **2597.**
- HAY, Maj. William Edmund (1805–79). An officer in the Bengal army. His coins were sold by Sotheby on 8 April 1880. **1055, 1088.**
- HENDERSON, Prof. George David Smith and HENDERSON, Dr Isabel Bisset. Prof. George Henderson and his wife Dr Isabel Henderson are both noted scholars on medieval art resident in Cambridge, Isabel focusing in particular on the Picts. They bought a coin in 1997 for donation to the Fitzwilliam. **630.**
- HENDERSON, James Stewart (d. 1933). Son of a wealthy Australian banker who moved to the UK at an early age, later residing in Hastings, Sussex. He was extremely secretive about his personal life, but was a collector of antiquities on a lavish scale and bequeathed his collection to the Fitzwilliam, including more than three thousand coins and medals. **29, 54, 198, 222, 242, 266, 284–5, 317, 668, 724, 752, 882, 915, 1181, 1213, 1216–17, 1228, 1253, 1256, 1268, 1285, 1428, 1466, 1486, 1492, 1512, 1554, 1609, 1621, 1627, 1639, 1654, 1681, 1737, 1755, 1777, 1810, 1859, 1874, 1916, 1943, 1964, 1998–9, 2003, 2006, 2023, 2034, 2037, 2042, 2063, 2069, 2072, 2079, 2085, 2107, 2162, 2167, 2191–2, 2217, 2222, 2250–1, 2255, 2265, 2296, 2301–2, 2304, 2306–7, 2314, 2316, 2342, 2349, 2468, 2472, 2531, 2557, 2622, 2626–7, 2629, 2662–3, 2665–6, 2670, 2691, F26, F30.**

- HENZEN, G. A coin dealer at Amerongen, Netherlands, since the late 1980s. **148, 158, 185, 229, 232–3, 247, 267, 309.**
- HERZFELDER, Hubert (1911–63). A scholar and coin dealer in Paris, active in the mid-twentieth century. **FI.**
- HILL, Dr Philip Victor (1917–95). A scholar of ancient and medieval coinage, and a Senior Research Assistant in the BM. **201, 281, 311, 534, 554, 559.**
- HODGSON, James (c. 1837–1904). A colliery agent for Wigan Coal and Iron Company, resident at Ulverston, Cumbria. His coins were sold by Sotheby on 16 May 1905. **2339.**
- HOLLEMAN MUNTEN. Coin dealers in Enschede, Netherlands, since the 1970s.
- ‘HOLTON COLLECTION’. Sold by Sotheby on 10 May 1897. **1024.**
- HUGHES, Thomas McKenny (1853–1917), of Trinity College. Woodwardian Professor of Geology, and donor to Trinity College of a coin found at Haslingfield (Cambridgeshire). **1057.**
- HULL, J. Donor of a coin in 1999. **1080.**
- HUMPHRY AND STOKES. In 1915, Isabella Lucy Humphry (*née* Stokes), wife of Dr Laurence Humphry (1856–1920), of Trinity College, along with her brother Sir Arthur Stokes, gave to the Museum a collection of seventy-six Roman, medieval and modern European coins, which may once have belonged to their father, Prof. Sir George Gabriel Stokes (1819–1903), Master of Pembroke College. **750.**
- HYDE-SMITH. Cmdr Bryan and John Jeremy. The two sons of Capt. Richard Edmund Hyde-Smith (d. 1972) of the Wilbraham Temple estate in Great Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, donated a coin, possibly found on the estate, to the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in 1980. **458.**
- IBSTED. Vendor of coin to Christopher BLUNT in 1984. **1548.**
- IMAGE, Rev. William Thomas (1831–93), of Trinity Hall. Vicar of Wickham Market, Suffolk. He sold or donated a coin to Trinity College in 1869. **1799.**
- JACKSON, T. Vendor of a coin in 2011. **1198.**
- JACOB, Kenneth Allen (1910–95). A tailor and school outfitter in Cambridge, who cultivated a deep interest in the city and its medieval mint, on which he published extensively. He bequeathed a dozen choice and representative coins to the Fitzwilliam; the remainder were sold by Baldwin (2 May 1996). **1827–8, 1879–80, 1927, 1987, 1989, 2018, 2074, 2187, 2335–6.**
- JAMES, John Henry (1825–1904). A London solicitor and collector of English coins, which he sold on retirement (Sotheby 7 August 1888). **1268.**
- JAMES, R. S. Owner of the so-called ‘Agricola collection’, sold Spink 31, 12 October 1983. **499.**
- JAMES, S. Vendor of a coin in 2009. **1191.**
- JENKINSON, Francis John Henry (1853–1923), of Trinity College. A University Librarian (1889–1923), who early in his career interested himself in numismatics and bequeathed to the Museum a collection of more than three hundred coins and medals formed in the 1880s. **1945, 2268, 2348, 2623, 2633, 2651.**
- JERMIN. Uncertain; source of two BLUNT coins in 1959. **903, 910.**
- JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. See GARRETT, John Work.
- JOHNSTON, William Harrower (1844–75). A coin dealer in London; his stock was sold by Sotheby on 3 May 1876, but some coins were apparently disposed of earlier. One coin now in this collection was acquired by Samuel LEWIS three days before Johnston’s death.
- JOHNSTONE, M. Finder and vendor of a coin in 2010. **2191A.**

JORDAN, John. His coins were sold by CNG (Triton II 1 December 1998). **487, 575.**

JUBB, M. Finder and donor of a coin. **1696.**

KEEBLE, George Jeremiah (1839–86). A silversmith and pawnbroker in Bury St Edmunds. **1853, 1862.**

KENYON, Joseph (d. 1851). An attorney's clerk and subsequently a schoolmaster at Preston, Lancashire, who collected coins and apparently had access to material from the Cuerdale hoard before the inquest. Most of his coins were sold by John Burton (Preston) 15 December 1851. **1170, 2436.**

KIMBERLEY, Brian. Joint finder and donor, with David PETTY and F. CHANTRELL, of the Thurcaston hoard (see above, section (a), p. 462). **1287, 1303, 1401, 2599, 2602.**

KING, Rev. Charles William (1818–88). An expert on antique gems, his collection of which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. He was for many years a Senior Fellow of Trinity College and a generous benefactor to its collection. **1145, 1479, 2231, 2570, 2578, 2582.**

KÖLNER MÜNZKABINETT. Coin dealers and auctioneers in Cologne since 1968. **52.**

KRICHELDORF, Hans Hellmuth (1909–80). Coin dealer, auctioneer and numismatic publisher, working successively in the firms of MMAG Basel and Freiburger Münzhandlung Helga Frey (later Blaser-Frey) before setting up under his own name at Stuttgart in 1955; the firm continued to operate after his death. **274.**

KÜNKER. Coin dealers and auctioneers in Osnabrück, Germany, since the 1970s. **545, 597.**

KUNST UND MÜNZEN AG. Coin dealers and auctioneers in Lugano, Switzerland, since the 1960s. **354.**

LAKE-PRICE, William (1810–96). A noted artist, lithographer and photographer, whose collection of coins was sold by Sotheby on 27 May 1880. **997.**

LAMB. Source of a coin of Christopher BLUNT. **1768.**

LANCASTER, Duchy of. A duchy held in trust for the crown, which received the Cuerdale hoard after it was declared Treasure Trove at an inquest on 15 August 1840. Between 1841–6 a committee appointed by the duchy oversaw the distribution of the hoard's contents to at least 173 different recipients all over Europe, including 42 institutions and 131 individuals (Graham-Campbell 2011, 28–9). **2537, 2540–1, 2543–53, 2562–5, 2568–9, 2572.**

LANE, Stuart Nassau (d. 2007). A coin dealer in London in the 1970s. **2687.**

LANGFORD. London auction house, founded by Abraham Langford (1711–74), who inherited the auction room of Christopher Cock (d. 1748). **1728.**

LARSEN, Leon Vernon (1918–97). A chemical engineer residing in Coshocton, OH. Glendining 1 November 1972. **1434.**

LAWRENCE, Frederick George (c. 1851–1927). A dealer in antiquities and coins in Wandsworth, Surrey. Sotheby 2 May 1900. **2281.**

LAWRENCE, Laurie Asher (1857–1949). An American-born London ophthalmic surgeon, scholar and collector, and author of many important papers on English coinage. Some of his English coins were sold by Sotheby, 24 February 1903; his main collection of English and Roman coins was sold in six sales by Glendining, 1950–1. Most of those here stem from the second of these sales (14 March 1951), and two others that reportedly belonged to him did not apparently pass through the sales. **15, 95, 404, 560, 998, 1061–2, 1073, 1092–3, 1113, 1184, 1192–3, 1200, 1202, 1276, 1552, 1624, 1729, 1754, 2378, F27, F34.**

LEE. Vendor of a coin to Christopher BLUNT in 1950. **2360.**

LE GENTILHOMME, Pierre (1909–47). French scholar and curator at the Cabinet des monnaies, in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. He periodically donated coins to Christopher BLUNT. **2532, 2581.**

LEWIN-SHEPPARD, Rev. John (1794–1821), of St John's College. Curate of Pershore, Worcester-shire; his coins were sold by Sotheby on 14 January 1861. **2363.**

LEWIS, Rev. Samuel Savage (1836–91). A graduate of St John's College, but Fellow and librarian of Corpus Christi from 1865. His early life was chequered: failing eyesight led him to divert temporarily from his studies in Cambridge to take up farming in Canada, and later a teaching position in London. Corrective surgery in 1864 enabled him to return to academic pursuits. Lewis was a dedicated antiquary who built up an important collection of coins, gems and seals which was subsequently bequeathed to Corpus Christi, and deposited on indefinite loan in the Fitzwilliam in 1991. **687, 730, 950, 1098, 1101, 1140, 1166, 1234, 1237, 1240, 1246, 1248, 1467, 1803, 1853, 1862, 2082, 2227.**

LINCOLN, W. S. & Son. Coin dealers in London between the mid-nineteenth century and the early 1930s. The effective founder was Frederick William Lincoln (d. 1909). **2632, 2637, 2660.**

LINDSAY, John (1784–1870). A barrister in Kings' Inns, Dublin (but resident in Maryville, Co. Cork), and a scholar and collector of coins. He wrote a number of important numismatic works, including studies on the coinage of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy (Lindsay 1842) and of Scotland (Lindsay 1845), and what was for a long time the standard book on Irish coinage (Lindsay 1839). Collection sold by Sotheby (14 August 1867). **1261, 1499, 1614.**

LINZALONE, J. P. & Sons. Coin dealers in Ridgewood, NJ, since the late 1980s. **537, 2097, 2517.**

LISTER, Maj. Clement Wynter (1920–2010). An army officer, and owner of a coin which later entered the collection of Christopher BLUNT. **1714.**

LITCHFIELD, Edward (c. 1787–1864). A fruiterer in Cambridge who founded his own small museum of antiquities. Most of his coins were sold by Sotheby on 6 March 1865, but he gave a few, mostly false, to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1847. **F8, F11, F12/13.**

LOCKETT, Richard Cyril (1873–1950). A Liverpool shipping magnate, numismatic scholar and one of the greatest collectors of the twentieth century, mainly of ancient Greek coins and coins of the British Isles. His collection was dispersed in thirteen Glendining sales between 1955 and 1961, the early medieval British coins appearing in those of 6 June 1955, 4 November 1958 and 26 April 1960. **21, 295–6, 298, 361, 406, 449, 546, 582, 584, 619, 647, 935, 954–5, 959, 974–5, 981, 990, 997, 1007, 1014–15, 1040, 1050, 1066–7, 1096, 1108, 1171, 1188–9, 1201, 1203, 1207, 1229, 1250, 1299, 1302, 1395, 1409–10, 1414, 1418, 1425–7, 1429, 1432–3, 1451, 1470, 1482, 1489, 1496, 1515, 1525–6, 1533, 1538, 1544, 1545–6, 1565, 1568, 1643, 1698, 1716, 1725, 1741, 1754, 1788, 1791, 1961, 1967, 1974, 1982–4, 1986, 1991, 2094, 2102, 2136, 2149, 2184, 2207, 2223, 2234, 2239, 2241, 2278, 2299, 2361, 2363, 2448, 2452, 2529, 2542, 2576, 2580, 2619, 2696, F23.**

LOCKETT EXECUTORS. The executors of the will of Richard Cyril Lockett gave rebates on sales of coins to museums, and made a number of gifts of coins in which museums expressed an interest. **647, 990, 1982–4, 1986, 1991.**

LONDESBOROUGH, 1st Baron of (Albert Denison Conyngham) (1805–60). A landowner and avid collector of antiquities, who served as the first president of the British Archaeological Association. The portion of the family collection including silver objects and a modest selection

- of coins (including some from the important Sevington hoard) was sold by his son, William Denison, 1st Earl of Londesborough (Christie 4 July 1888), though some coins from the collection were disposed of through other channels. **582, 619.**
- LONGFIELD, M. Finder and donor of a coin in 1991/2. **2483.**
- LUCAS, Cmdr John (d. 1988). A resident of Shillington, Bedfordshire, whose family has lived in the village since the late eighteenth century. The coins sold by Cmdr Lucas in 1976 (Glendining 9 June 1976) included a group from the Shillington hoard of 1871 (*Checklist* 402), but the exact circumstances behind the family's acquisition of the coins are unclear. **1430.**
- LYON, Colin Stewart Sinclair (b. 1926). An actuary and scholar of Anglo-Saxon coinage. He donated several forgeries from the MACK collection in 1999. **F27.**
- LYONS, Major-Gen. Adrian William (b. 1946). A collector, and donor of a number of coins in 2013 (see section (a), p. 463 above). **1311, 1324, 1333, 2489–90, 2492, 2495–8, 2500, 2502–7, 2514, 2516, 2517–18, F24, F29.**
- MCCLEAN, Frank (1837–1904). A successful civil engineer who devoted his later years to astronomical research; however, he was also an avid collector of books, manuscripts and art as well as coins. His coins were sold by Sotheby on 11 June 1906 (as the holdings of an 'Astronomer'), while the rest of his collection was bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum. **955, 967, 971, 997, 1054, 1089, 1226, 1403.**
- MACK, Cmdr Richard Paston (1901–74). A naval officer, collector and author of standard works on the coinages of ancient Britain and of the reign of Stephen. His collection was published in *SCBI* 20, and subsequently dispersed in two Glendining sales: (I) 18 November 1975 and (II) 23 March 1977; some other coins were bought by Spink. **19, 49, 95, 201, 311, 356, 404, 406, 449, 460, 534, 554, 559, 582, 598, 610, 612, 619, 627, 1039, 1091, 1409, 1453, 2332, F27.**
- MCCORMICK, F.M. See CONYBEARE, E.
- MAISH, Walter Machado (1850–1918). A chemist and collector, whose coins were sold by Sotheby (25 March 1918). **985, 1050.**
- MALLINSON, Rev. Arnold (1896–1985). Vicar of St Frideswide's, Osney, Oxford, and collector. His collection was sold by Spink (sale 39, 6 December 1984). **1011.**
- MANGAKIS, Demosthenes (1914–99). An advertising and marketing executive. His collection was bought by Spink in 1969, although some coins had been sold earlier. **1071.**
- MANN, Alexander (1859–1916). A resident of Richmond, Surrey, previously in business in Ecuador. His collection of English coins was sold by Sotheby on 29 October 1917. **406, 1015, 1042, 1642.**
- MANNINGS, P.W. Uncertain source (in Bath) of a coin in the Christopher BLUNT collection. **1412.**
- MANTON, James Odom (1851–1946). District Superintendent, Midland Railway, and a student of seventeenth-century tokens of Buckinghamshire. His collection was sold by Sotheby on 10 February 1947. **1510.**
- MARSHALL FIELD. Formerly a department store in Chicago, IL, with a 'Rare Coin Department'; part of the Macy's, Inc., chain since 2005. **677.**
- MARSHAM-TOWNSHEND, Hon. Robert (1834–1914). A landowner in Kent, son of the 2nd Earl of Romney. His English coins were sold by Sotheby (19 November 1888). **938, 955, 984, 1061, 1081, 1190, 1201, 1250, 1556, 2087.**
- MARTIN, Rev. Joseph William (c. 1776–1858). Rector from 1800 of Keston, Kent, and a respected authority on English, Scottish and Irish coins. His collection was sold by Sotheby on 23 May 1859 (English coins). **1215, 1295, 1494, 2089, F26.**

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Anglo-Saxon and English hammered coins in the collection (sold by Stack (New York) on 29 March 1973) seem to have been assembled by Charles Francis Adams (1807–86), US Minister in London in the 1860s and son of former President John Quincy Adams. **1749.**

MATTHEWS, Rev. Douglas Gilbert. Rector of Southover, Lewes, 1931–63. His collection, sold to Spink in 1970, included a number of rare but damaged coins. **1091, 1266, 1404, 1473, 1532.**

MILLER, Henry Clay (1844–1920). A graduate of Williams College, Miller worked as a chemist, miner and teacher before becoming a financier in New York in 1895. His important collection was sold by Elder Coin & Curio Company (New York) on 26 May 1920; other portions were sold in New York 1897–1917. **1496, 2529.**

MILLS. Vendor of a coin to Wim DE WIT in 1987. **310.**

MITCHELL, Peter David (1933–). Managing director of A. H. Baldwin and Sons 1967–97. **1344, 1517, 2109, 2603, 2692, 2696.**

MMAG BASEL. See MÜNZEN UND MEDAILLEN AG BASEL.

MONTAGU, Hyman (1846–95). A wealthy London solicitor who, in the course of two decades, put together an immensely valuable collection of classical and English coins and medals. The main sale of his holdings was Sotheby 18 November 1895, and unless otherwise stated, references are to this sale; further auctions were Sotheby 7 May 1888 and 16 November 1897. **449, 582, 619, 938, 941, 946, 948, 955, 967, 971, 974, 980, 984, 993, 997, 1009, 1014, 1015, 1050, 1052, 1054, 1061, 1068, 1081, 1089, 1096, 1170–1, 1181, 1190, 1194, 1201, 1206, 1213, 1215–17, 1226, 1250, 1285–6, 1295–6, 1403, 1407, 1456, 1458, 1463, 1466, 1481, 1486, 1489, 1494, 1526, 1554, 1556, 1609–11, 1614, 1621, 1639, 1642, 1719, 1737, 1755, 1777, 1916, 1974, 2063–4, 2075, 2087, 2089, 2222, 2235, 2296, 2301–2, 2304, 2306, 2314, 2316, 2342, 2368, 2626, 2646, 2666, F26, F30.**

MOON, James Edward (1838–1913). A pianoforte manufacturer in Plymouth, Devon, whose coins were sold by Sotheby (7 May 1901). **1912.**

MORGAN, John Pierpont. See EVANS, Sir John.

MORRIS, A. Finder and vendor of a coin in 1994–5. **999.**

MORRIS, S. Vendor of a coin in 2009. **953.**

MOSSOP, Henry Richard (1919–88). A farmer and collector in Lincolnshire, and scholar of the Lincoln mint (Mossop 1970). He was the brother of John Coubro' MOSSOP (see below). His collection was sold by Glendining on 6 November 1991; another portion of his collection was bought by Baldwin in 1966. **1827–8.**

MOSSOP, John Coubro' (1913–96). A collector from near Spalding, Lincolnshire, and brother of Henry Richard MOSSOP (see above). His collection, deposited in the Museum in 1990 and conditionally bequeathed in 1996, formally passed into the Museum's ownership in 2007. It consisted largely of coins of Asia Minor, but included a small number of early medieval pieces. **669, 672, 706, 715, 797, 895, 1397, 2140, 2330, 2456.**

MÜNZEN UND MEDAILLEN AG, Basel. Coin dealers and auctioneers. The firm, one of the most important in Europe, was founded in 1933 by the brothers Erich (1913–93) and Herbert Cahn (1915–2002), sons of Ludwig Cahn and grandsons of Adolph E. Cahn, under the name of Münzhandlung Basel. The name was changed to the present one in 1942.

MURAWSKI, Paul. A coin dealer in Cambridge and later Norwich, who donated a coin in 1999. **407.**

- MURCHISON, Capt. Roderick Maingey (c. 1831–73). Army officer, and nephew of the geologist Sir Roderick Impey Murchison. His ancient British and Anglo-Saxon coins were sold by Sotheby (28 May 1866), his later English ones having already been sold on 27 June 1864. The Fitzwilliam Coin Room possesses a scrap-book of coin illustrations made by Murchison (Henderson bequest, ex Montagu (V) 644), but not all of them represent coins in his own collection. **971, 974, 997, 1094, 1174, 1215, 1281–2, 1295, 1484–5, 1494, 1609, 1656, 1755, 1952, 2082, 2089, 2454.**
- MURDOCH, John Gloag (1830–1902). Initially trained as a cotton printer in Scotland, he later established a successful publishing company in London (which branched into the sale of musical instruments) (Stewartby 2003). His huge collection of coins and medals of the British Isles was dispersed by Sotheby in eight sales in 1903–4; Murdoch's Anglo-Saxon coins appear in that of 31 March 1903. **974, 989, 1068, 1215, 1250, 1295, 1719, 1739, 2235, F30.**
- NAPIER, Prof. Arthur Sampson (1853–1916). Merton Professor of English Language and Literature, Oxford, and a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. He was a noted scholar of Old English language and literature. His coins were sold by Sotheby (3 August 1916). **1050.**
- NOBLE NUMISMATICS. Auctioneers and dealers in Sydney, Australia, created out of the Australian branch of Spink & Son in 1993. **1524.**
- NORBLIN, Louis Pierre Martin (1781–1854). A cellist residing in Paris, whose important collection was catalogued by F. Poey d'Avant and sold by Rollin on 2 July 1855 (though this does not include the one coin in this collection). **I.**
- NORRIS, H. Finder and vendor of coins in the 1980s and 1990s. **1001–2.**
- NORTH, Jeffrey James (1920–). A collector and scholar of English medieval coins, and author of the standard handbooks to English hammered coinage. **1588.**
- NORTHEY, R. Finder and donor of a coin in 2013. **2566.**
- NORWEB, R. Henry (1895–1983) and Emery May (1895–1984). Born in England, R. Henry Norweb emigrated to the United States at an early age and became a distinguished diplomat. He and his wife built up a major coin collection, the early medieval British portion of which was sold in Spink sales 45 (13 June 1985), 56 (19 November 1986) and 59 (17 June 1987) (with continuous numeration). **606, 1958, 2184, 2234, 2576.**
- NUMISMATIK LANZ. Coin dealers and auctioneers in Munich since 1977 under Hubert Lanz, who took over the Munich firm Kastner, which had been trading there since 1972. **179.**
- NUNN, John Joseph (c. 1835–96). A solicitor in Downham Market, Norfolk; collection sold by Sotheby (27 November 1896). **938, 1205, 1481.**
- O'BEE, Michael. Finder and donor of coins in 2010 and 2013. **862, 2390.**
- O'BYRNE, James (1835–97). A Liverpool architect whose collection was sold by his family in several parts beginning in 1962. Coins represented in this collection were sold by Christie on 14 May 1962. **1280, 1288, 2377, 2587.**
- OGDEN, J. Finder and vendor of two coins in 1992–4. **360, 2624.**
- O'GRAY, James. Collection sold by Sotheby (11 December 1879). **1460, 1514, 1570.**
- O'HAGAN, Henry Osborne (1853–1930). A London company promoter. His coin collection was dispersed in two Sotheby sales, (I) (English coins) 16 December 1907; (II) (Continental and others) 27 April 1908. **1081, 1611, 2064.**

OLD UNIVERSITY COLLECTION. A collection from assorted uncertain origins which was kept at the University Library until its transfer to the Fitzwilliam by a Grace of 30 April 1856. **1021, 1760, 1968, 2066, 2148, 2165, 2200-1, 2206, 2246-7, 2668.**

OMAN, Sir Charles William Chadwick (1860-1946). Chichele Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and a Fellow of All Souls College, who became particularly famous as a military historian. His collection of British coins, with some presumably minor additions by his son Charles Chichele Oman (1901-82), Keeper of Metalwork at the Victoria and Albert Museum, was sold by Christie (31 October 1972). **1501.**

OWEN, T. Vendor of a coin to FINN. **2062.**

OWENS, Roy. Vendor of two coins in 1995. **III, II35.**

OWSTON SMITH, Welborn (1877-1954). After a career including the law and the Indian Educational Service, in the 1930s Owston Smith became involved with several numismatic societies. He built up a collection of coins at this time, not least through the purchase of large quantities of duplicates from the GRANTLEY collection at the sale Glendining 17 June 1943; he subsequently sold these to Christopher BLUNT. **1269, 1800, 1843, 1847, 1903, 1940, 1965, 2009, 2253, 2613.**

PALMER, Rev. R. Vendor of a coin in 2006. **1870.**

PALMER, Rev. William (d. 1851), of Trinity College. Rector of Eynesbury, Huntingdonshire (1808-51), and donor to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1845. **1019.**

PARKES, R. Finder and donor of a coin in 2008. **II80.**

PARSONS, Henry Alexander (1876-1952). A Post Office employee and collector, whose coins were sold by Sotheby (28 October 1929) and Glendining (11 May 1954). **1454, 1884, 2394, 2542.**

PASSMORE, Arthur Dennis (1876-1958). An archaeologist and antiques dealer from Swindon, focusing on the heritage of Wiltshire (see Phillips 2004); collection sold by Sotheby (23 April 1959). **1511.**

PATTERSON, E. J. Donor of a coin in 2000. **II57.**

PECK, Ernest Saville (1866-1955). A pharmaceutical chemist in Cambridge. He formed an extensive collection of pestles and mortars (now in the Fitzwilliam Museum), and also possessed a small number of coins, now in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. **2283, 2285, 2288.**

PEMBROKE, 8th Earl of (Thomas Herbert) (1656-1733). A politician and connoisseur, and a great collector of what a contemporary airily described as 'statues, dirty gods and coins' (*ODNB*, s.v.). Illustrations of the last were published in 1746, and the collection was finally sold by Sotheby (31 July 1848), during the time of the 12th Earl, Robert Herbert (1791-1862) (though after he went to live in exile in Paris in the 1830s the family affairs in England were left in the care of his younger half-brother, Sidney Herbert (1810-61)). **984, 1052.**

PERCEVAL, Spencer George (1838-1922), of Trinity Hall. An amateur antiquary and geologist resident in Somerset, and a generous benefactor to the Museum. In addition to a substantial legacy, he gave during his lifetime many objets d'art, including (in 1920) a miscellaneous collection of more than five hundred coins. **783, 794, 805, 883, 1134, 1136, 1150, 1163, 1185, 1970, 2143.**

PERNE, Andrew (c. 1519-89). A graduate of St John's College who, at various times, was a fellow of St John's and of Queens' College, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge (on five separate occasions between 1551 and 1581), Master of Peterhouse (in 1553) and dean of Ely Cathedral (in 1557). He is well known for weathering the numerous changes of religious regime during the

- mid-sixteenth century. Coins from his collection entered the OLD UNIVERSITY COLLECTION, and are listed in a manuscript catalogue of the eighteenth century (*Perne Catalogue*), though this includes some seventeenth-century coins, evidently added after Perne's death. **1021, 1760, 1960, 2066, 2148, 2165, 2200, 2206, 2246.**
- PETERHOUSE. A collection was given to the college by W. E. BARNES in 1934, and deposited in the Fitzwilliam in 1960. **1284, 2220, 2338.**
- PETTY, David. Joint finder and donor, with Brian KIMBERLEY and F. CHANTRELL, of the Thurcaston hoard (see above, section (a), pp. 459–63). **1287, 1303, 1401, 2599, 2602.**
- PEUS, Busso (Frankfurt) (1902–83). A coin dealer, auctioneer and scholar, and one of the leading figures in the German numismatic world in the middle years of the twentieth century. He entered the firm of Adolph Hess Nachf. in 1924, and became its proprietor in 1934 with Paul Rothenbächer. In 1940 he changed its name to Dr Busso Peus and Co. He retired in 1967, and the firm continues as Dr Busso Peus Nachf., under Christoph Raab. **17, 2026.**
- PHILLIPS, M. and S. (Biggleswade). Dr Marcus Philips (1945–) and Susan Philips (née Tyler-Smith) (1951–), scholars, collectors and coin dealers since 1986, who have donated and sold several coins to the Museum. **F31.**
- PIGGOTT, Cecily Margaret (née Guido) (1889–1979). Wife of the prehistorian Stuart Piggott (1910–96), and a noted archaeologist in her own right. She donated or sold a coin in 1937. It is possible – though not known for sure – that the coin was found in the course of some of her excavations, which included sites in Cambridgeshire. **2015.**
- PLATT, Maison. A firm of Paris coin dealers and auctioneers founded by Clément Platt (1874–1952) in 1906. He moved into the old business premises of Serrure in 1919 and in due course was succeeded by his son Marcel in association with René Kampmann (d. 1977). **160.**
- POTTER, R. Finder and vendor of a coin in 2009. **580.**
- POWNALL, Archdeacon Assheton (1822–86). Rector of South Kilworth, Leicestershire, from 1847, and Archdeacon of Leicester from 1884 until his death; collection sold by Sotheby (20 June 1887). **1773.**
- PRANKERD, Percy John (1859–1908). A barrister in London and Tunbridge Wells, Kent. His collection was sold by Sotheby (15 November 1909). **1831.**
- QUAI VOLTAIRE, Paris. Street in the 7th arrondissement known for its antique shops. **1907.**
- QUEENS' COLLEGE. About 175 coins in total have been deposited on loan in the Fitzwilliam since 2002, though only a few belong to the period covered here. Their provenance is not known for certain, but some may have been donated by George William SEARLE, a Fellow of Queens', as several Queens' coins have tickets in his handwriting, or that of the Cambridge dealer A. H. SADD, Searle's contemporary. It should be noted that all tickets accompanying the coins in the Fitzwilliam as of 2014 were printed with the words 'Ex Barnes Williams', but Mr Barnes Williams – who collected the early modern Kentish tokens which made up the bulk of the college collection – was not the source of coins of this period. **1161, 1819, 2013, 2025, 2152, 2189, 2194, 2463, F18–19.**
- RANSOM, William (1826–1914). Pharmaceutical chemist in Hitchin, and a collector of antiquities, whose collection was sold by Sotheby on 30 March 1925. **2161.**
- RASHLEIGH, Jonathan (1820–1905). A landowner in Cornwall. He greatly expanded a collection formed by his great-uncle Philip Rashleigh (1729–1811), which included the bulk of the coins from the famous Trewiddle hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins and metalwork (*Checklist* 59). The collection was sold by Sotheby on 21 June 1909 as the property of Jonathan Rashleigh's son,

- Evelyn William Rashleigh (1850–1926). **89, 598, 610, 820, 861, 937, 947, 963, 966, 970, 977, 979, 994–5, 1042, 1091, 1106, 1178, 1207, 1261, 1271, 1281, 1424, 1450, 1493, 1545, 1553, 1565, 1643, 1718, 1767, 2332, 2337, 2345, 2363, 2376, 2436, 2454, 2574, 2611.**
- RAUCH, H. D. Coin auctioneers and dealers in Vienna, established by Hans Dieter Rauch in the 1960s. **601.**
- RAYNES, William Luard (1868–1961), of Pembroke College. A successful solicitor and twice Mayor of Cambridge (1914–15, 1931–2). Raynes inherited a small family collection formed in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, which he built up with additional purchases from the late nineteenth century onwards. It was sold by Glendining (15 February 1950). **1458.**
- READY, William Talbot (1857–1914). Initially a repairer and cleaner of antiquities at the BM, but from the mid-1880s became a dealer, especially of coins; he took over the management of the London business of Rollin & Feuarent after the death of Francis Whelan. His coins were sold by Sotheby (15 November 1920). **653, 958, 1040.**
- REYNOLDS, Henry Musket (1853–1948). Collection sold by Sotheby (4 May 1914). **2234.**
- RICH, William Bennett (1791–1864). A rope maker in Bermondsey, Surrey, who emigrated to Canada in 1833, where he became a prominent citizen of Ontario. Coins sold anonymously, Sotheby 7 July 1828. **1215.**
- RICKETT, J. Finder and vendor of several coins in 2001. **709, 1056, 1236.**
- RIDGEWAY, Sir William (1858–1926). Disney Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge, with a wide range of scholarly interests. One of his best-known works was a study on the origins of weight systems and metallic currency. His bequest to the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology included a few coins. **221, 912.**
- ROBERTSON, John Drummond (1857–1934), of Trinity College. Proprietor of The Gramophone Company Limited (precursor of EMI), and a scholar of medieval British coinage, especially of Scotland. He donated coins to Trinity College in 1878. **2114, 2127, 2129, 2141.**
- ROBINSON, Thomas William Usherwood (1826–88). Owner of a family brewery at Houghton-le-Spring, Co. Durham. His coins were sold by Sotheby (1 May 1891). **21, 335, 2590, 2595.**
- ROGERS, David John de Sola (1946–99). An anaesthetist and collector who assembled two specialised collections, one consisting of toy coins (cf. Rogers 1990), the other of fractional coins, including halfpennies and farthings of this period. Rogers's collections were acquired by Galata Coins: the former was donated to the Fitzwilliam in 2003, and twenty-six of the latter were bought by the Fitzwilliam in 2013. **1046, 1264, 1770, 1778, 1782, 1812–14, 1963, 1996, 2065, 2093, 2095–6, 2110–11, 2133, 2138, 2173, 2178, 2226, 2233, 2244, 2289, 2326, 2347, F20, F32, F35–9.**
- ROLFE, William Henry (1778–1859). Resident of Sandwich, Kent. His collection was sold privately to Sir John EVANS; it included a portion of the important St Martin's (Canterbury) hoard. **1266.**
- ROLLIN & FEUARENT. Paris coin dealers, auctioneers, publishers and scholars. The firm was founded in 1834 by Charles Louis Rollin (1777–1853), who was initially a moneychanger but after the first decade of the nineteenth century interested himself more and more in coins, and from 1834 onwards dealt in them exclusively. The firm was carried on by his son Camille (1813–83) and grandson, another Camille (d. 1906), but in 1860 it had been joined by Felix Feuarent (1819–1907), a bookseller and printer from Cherbourg with strong numismatic interests. For many years Rollin & Feuarent had a branch in London and for more than half a century they played a leading role in the French numismatic world. After the death of the younger Camille Rollin the firm carried on as Feuarent Frères. **1467, 2227.**

- ROSE, W. F. A resident of Devizes, Wiltshire. His collection was sold anonymously in Glendining 13 March 1974. **1806, 2125.**
- ROTH, Bernard (1852–1915). A leading London surgeon who interested himself in numismatics during the last two decades of his life and published important studies on Iron-Age and Hiberno-Scandinavian coins. His collection was dispersed in two Sotheby sales: (I) 19 July 1917 and (II) 14 October 1918. **582, 2299.**
- RUDD, Chris. Coin dealer in Aylsham, Norfolk, since 1991. **7, 63, 124, 129, 133, 544.**
- RUSHTON. Collection sold by Chapman (Philadelphia) on 21 October 1939. **1421, 2228.**
- RYAN, Valentine John Eustace (1882–1947). A member of the prominent Ryan family of Tipperary, and an accomplished Alpine mountaineer. He also built up an important collection of Greek, Roman, English and Scottish coins. The Anglo-Saxon series was included in the second (Glendining 22 January 1952) of the five sales in which his rich collection was dispersed. **947, 970, 972, 985, 987, 993, 1024, 1064, 1072, 1075, 1078, 1081, 1083, 1095, 1170, 1174, 1190, 1197, 1199, 1202, 1206, 1295, 1301, 1403, 1405, 1407, 1488, 1491, 1493, 1495, 1497, 1530, 1549–50, 1555–6, 1604, 1611, 1645, 1658–9, 1710, 1745–7, 2047, 2089, 2099, 2235, 2332, 2358, 2395, 2453–4.**
- SABBATINI, Marco Antonio. Antiquarian and collector in Rome for Pope Clement XI (1700–21) and Emperor Charles VI (1711–40). **1049.**
- SADD, Alfred Henry (1852–1915). The third and last of three generations of antique dealers on King's Parade, Cambridge. His letterhead described him as 'Numismatist, Antiquary, Jeweller, Silversmith, etc. Established 1815'. Coins found locally often passed through his hands. **1249, 2384, 2481, 2577.**
- ST NEOTS UDC. St Neots Urban District Council, which in 1965 donated a coin found in excavations at St Neots Priory. **197.**
- SAINTHILL, Richard (1787–1870). A wine importer, originally from Devon but based in Cork from his teenage years. He had wide antiquarian interests, and was particularly devoted to coins and medals, on which he published a number of books. His coins were sold by Sotheby on 27 April 1870. **1614, 1754.**
- ST OSWALD, 4th Baron (Rowland Denys Guy Winn) (1916–84). Soldier, aristocrat and landowner in Yorkshire; he was also master of Nostell Priory, a country house built for the lords St Oswald in 1733. Christie 13 October 1964 was the sale of a collection formed by a member of the family in the eighteenth century, still preserved in its original Chippendale cabinet; another small group of coins, including an important element from the Bossall/Flaxton hoard, was sold in Christie 14 April 1981. **969, 2596.**
- SCHENK-BEHRENS, Karla W. Coin dealers and auctioneers in Düsseldorf, Germany, since the 1970s. **350.**
- SCHULMANN, Jacques (1849–1914). Founder in Amersfoort, Netherlands, in the 1880s of a firm of highly successful coin dealers and auctioneers. The business transferred to Amsterdam in 1902 and subsequently flourished under Jacques' sons Maurits ('Max': 1876–1943) and André (1877–1936), and André's son Jacques (1906–91). It was formally wound up in 1990 but Jacques' sons Robert (1938–) and Laurens (1948–) continued to deal in coins, at Laren and Bussum respectively. **33, 263, 291, 318, 716, 1775.**
- SEABY, B. A. One of the leading firms of coin dealers and numismatic publishers in London since 1926, founded by Herbert ('Bert') Seaby (1898–1970) and his son Peter (1920–92). The coin

- side of the firm was taken over in 1991 by Victor England of the CLASSICAL NUMISMATIC GROUP, and its publishing activities in 1993 by Batsford.
- SEARLE, William George (1829–1913). Fellow of Queens' College and vicar of Oakington, Cambridgeshire, best known for his scholarship on Anglo-Saxon onomastics and prosopography. He was also an authority on numismatics, and drew up a draft of a pan-European survey of medieval coinage ('Geographical Arrangement of Mediaeval and Modern Coins' (manuscript in 2 vols.): Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, 43 CJ1529.S45(L)). Searle eventually donated his collection of some twelve thousand ancient, medieval and modern coins in 1899, but because this gift pre-dates the establishment of a full accessions register, reconstruction of its contents is not possible. A few coins in this catalogue with tickets in Searle's handwriting presumably stem from his collection. Searle also probably donated some coins to his college, QUEENS'. **2266, 2286.**
- SHAND, Francis James (d. 1929). General manager of Nobel's Explosives Company, Glasgow; collection sold by Glendining (8 March 1949). **1042, 1300, 1305, 1424, 1465, 2361.**
- SHEA, Karl W. An Australian collector who donated two coins in 2012. **70, 358.**
- SHEPHERD, Rev. Edward John (c. 1801–74). Rector of Trotterscliffe, Kent, from 1827 to his death. A number of Anglo-Saxon coins were included in the sale of his coin collection (Sotheby 22 July 1885). **683, 688, 694, 734, 741, 769, 818, 838, 850, 904, 922, 966, 971, 1043, 1089, 1170, 1194, 1212, 1273, 1295, 1466, 1486, 1554, 1621, 1719, 1737, 1755, 2069, 2089, 2225, 2328, F30.**
- SHIELDS, Malcolm. A metal-detectorist, who sold coins to Patrick Finn. **243, 719.**
- SHIRLEY-FOX, John (1867–1939). A distinguished portrait painter and numismatist, who (with his brother Harry Bertram Earle Fox (1863–1920)) made a major contribution to knowledge of Edwardian coinage. Shirley-Fox bequeathed the bulk of the English collection formed by him and his brother to Christopher BLUNT. **739, 828, 842, 1781, 1811, 1937, 1978, 2005, 2016, 2024, 2049, 2056, 2323, 2571.**
- SHORTHOUSE, Edmund (c. 1837–1916). Brother of Joseph Henry Shorthouse, author of *John Inglesant*. His collection was sold by Roberts and Weller (Ludlow) on 29 November 1886. **26, F30.**
- SHORTT, Hugh de Sausmarez (1912–75). Author of books and articles on the antiquities of Salisbury. Exchanged a coin with Christopher BLUNT. **1209.**
- SHRUBBS, Harold T. Assistant in the Coin Room at the Fitzwilliam for many years, retiring in 1957. **1886.**
- SHUTTLEWOOD, Roger Alan (1941–2000). A banker and stockbroker in London; former owner of two coins in the De Wit collection. **634, 802.**
- SIMPSON, Stephen (1869–1954). Manufacturer in Mansfield and Exeter, and a collector. One of his coins later entered the collection of Christopher BLUNT. **1553.**
- SINGER, G. A. Donor of a coin in 2000. **383.**
- SIVARD DE BEAULIEU, Pierre-Louis Antoine (1767–1826). French politician, Administrateur-Général of the Paris mint 1799–1826 and a collector of coins and medals, which were bought by Rollin from his heirs in 1854. References in Belfort 1892–5 (nos. 330off.) show that he at some time acquired an important hoard of early Anglo-Saxon and Frisian pennies and Merovingian deniers. **24–5.**
- SLACK, P. Finder and donor of two coins in 2010. **863, 913.**

- SMART, Francis Gray (1846–1913). A homeopathic physician with scientific interests and large private means, who built up an important coin collection, especially rich in the Anglo-Saxon field. This was inherited by his nephew T. J. G. DUNCANSON (q.v. for catalogue numbers), who gave it to the Fitzwilliam in 1930.
- SMART, R. Source of a coin found in Cambridge and now held by the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. **2209**.
- SMITH, Alfred. Donor of several coins to the Museum, accessioned in October 1942; probably an assistant of that name who worked at the Cambridge University Library 1870–94 and left his books and other possessions to the University after his death on 7 June 1942. **713, 2048, 2458, F42**.
- SMITH, Aquilla (1806–90). A medical practitioner in Dublin, and a copious writer on Irish archaeology and coinage. His collection of Irish coins and tokens was bought by the Royal Irish Academy after his death and is now in the National Museum at Dublin; other coins were sold privately. **1261, 1643**.
- SMITH, Samuel (Jr) (1841–1907). A cotton broker in Liverpool. The portion of his collection including Anglo-Saxon coins was sold by Sotheby (11 July 1895). **1485**.
- SNOWBALL, B. Vendor of a coin to Mike Bonser in 1995. **302**.
- SORENSEN, David. An American research student at Queens' College in 1982–6, who gave to the Museum several Anglo-Saxon coins found locally. **384, 405, 570, 574**.
- SOTHEBY. General auctioneers in London since 1744, initially as Baker and Leigh, and established as Leigh and Sotheby in 1804; since 1925 it has been known simply as Sotheby & Co. or Sotheby's. The firm handled most important coin collections of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and was displaced by Glendining as the chief London firm of coin auctioneers only in the 1930s.
- SOUTH, R. Vendor of a coin in 1994. **1784**.
- SPAAR-EN VOORSCHOTBANK. Coin dealers in Surhuisterveen, Netherlands, in the 1980s. **72, 98, 165, 175, 182–3, 188, 330, 523**.
- SPINK & SON Ltd. In the late 1890s the brothers Samuel Marshall Spink (1856–1947) and Charles Frederick Spink (1858–1945) transformed a long-established family goldsmiths' and jewellery business in the City of London into a specialist firm of coin dealers, later diversifying into a wider range of antiques. In 1891, under the editorship of a newly recruited member of staff, Leonard Forrer (1869–1953), who was to be a prominent member of the coin world for the next half-century, the firm began the publication of (*Spink's*) *Numismatic Circular* (*NCirc*), a monthly list of coins for sale, with short supplementary notes and articles. In 1892 the firm began to hold coin auctions, and in 1979 it set up a branch in Zurich, and subsequently others elsewhere. Between 1990 and 1994, Spink coin sales in Zurich were held in conjunction with Taisei (coin dealers and auctioneers based in Hong Kong, Singapore and Tokyo).
- SPURWAY, John William (1853–1931). A resident of Leicester; collection sold by Glendining on 9 April 1984. **1579, 1594, 1680**.
- STACK. New York auctioneers, specialising in coin sales. The firm was founded in 1935 by Joseph B. and Morton Stack, members of whose family remained prominent in the firm for three generations.
- STACPOOLE, Gwendoline Clare (1884–1966). Niece of the Irish antiquary Thomas Johnson Westropp (1860–1922), Stacpoole amassed a large collection of archaeological material, which was donated to the National Museum of Ireland in 1966; objects donated by her to Prof. G. F. Mitchell of Trinity College, Dublin, were also later given to the National Museum. A coin from her collection passed into the hands of Hubert Dayrell GALLWEY. **1411**.

- STEWART, Colin. Finder and donor (on several occasions since 2004) of numerous coins found in Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire. **60–I, 64, 66, 75, 86–7, 99, II9, I25, I44, I6I–3, I74, I77, I86–7, I89, I96, 203, 206, 2II, 2I8, 226, 234, 246, 25I–3, 256, 268–9, 3I6, 364–8, 372, 374, 377–8, 380, 390, 398–9, 40I–3, 408–9, 4I6, 4I8, 42I, 425–6, 428, 430, 447–8, 465, 47I, 473, 475–6, 478, 488–9, 492, 578, 589, 592–6, 600, 602, 6II, 6I6, 6I8, 622, 624–6, 920, 96I, 2300.**
- STEWARTBY, Lord (Bernard Harold Ian Halley) (1935–). A banker and politician. Lord Stewartby's interest in coinage began as a schoolboy, and led him to build a major collection and to publish extensively on medieval English and Scottish coinage, including what remains the standard survey of Scottish coinage. He gave and sold various coins to Christopher BLUNT. **722, 738, I422, I600, I663, I789.**
- STOCKHOLM DUPLICATES. Duplicate specimens from the collection of the Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm, were sold in the late nineteenth century. **I82I.**
- STOCKS, R. Finder and vendor of two coins from Yorkshire in the 2000s. **I73I, 2396.**
- STRETTON, Col. Sempronius (178I–1842). A military officer who served with distinction in the era of the Napoleonic Wars. Sempronius and his siblings all bore unusual first names beginning with the letter S bestowed by their father, William Stretton (1755–1828), of Lenton Priory, Nottingham. A collection of Anglo-Saxon coins was sold under the latter's name as part of the contents of Lenton Priory (Sotheby 17 March 1855), but it is likely that these had been acquired by Sempronius from a hoard found in Co. Kilkenny while he was stationed in Ireland (Dolley and Martin 1959). **I7I8.**
- STUDIO COINS (Stephen and Janet Mitchell). Coin dealers in Winchester in the 2000s. **2047, 2697.**
- SUBJACK, William L. (b. 1944). An American collector, who amassed an important collection of early Anglo-Saxon coins, sold by Italo Vecchi (5 June 1998). **I5, 42, I24, I27, I33, 325, 387, 423, 439, 44I, 446, 469, 490, 5I3, 520, 548, 556, 565, 6I7.**
- TAFFS, Herbert William (1870–1955). A clerical officer in the War Office. His coins were sold by Glendining (2I November 1956). **I438, I789, I873, 2035, 2054.**
- TALBOT, J. A collector who sold coins to De Wit, and donated several coins to the Fitzwilliam in 200I. **653, I947, 200I, 205I–2.**
- TAYLOR, G. Finder and vendor in the 2000s of several coins from Torksey. **III6, II68–9, I244, I783.**
- THORBURN, Henry William (1846–1918). A pharmaceutical chemist in Bishop Auckland, Co. Durham. Collection sold by Sotheby on 27 November 1918. **I253, I256, I442, I489, I556.**
- THORBURN, Philip (1900–64). A coin collector and scholar, some of whose coins were later acquired by Christopher BLUNT. **7I7, 788.**
- TILL, William (d. 1844). A London coin dealer in the first half of the nineteenth century. His remaining stock was sold in Sotheby 20 April 1846. **I036.**
- TIMELINE ORIGINALS. Coin and antiquity dealers in Essex since the 2000s. **2492, 25I4.**
- TRINITY COLLEGE. Collection deposited on indefinite loan in the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1937. One relevant coin came to the Museum in a 1957 gift of miscellaneous items. **I0, 39, 58, 62, 84, I5I, I94, 208, 2I5, 272, 292, 343, 37I, 373, 463–4, 466–8, 480, 6I4, 705, 743, 864–5, 956, I057, II45, I2I9, I479, I799, 2022, 2II3–I4, 2I27, 2I29, 2I4I, 2I45, 2I63, 2I90, 2I93, 2I96, 2I99, 2202–3, 22I2, 22I5, 22I8–I9, 2230–I, 2243, 2257, 2259, 2263, 2267, 227I–2, 2275, 2294, 2303, 2340, 234I, 2493, 2570, 2578, 2582, 2647, F6.**
- TURNER, M. Finder and donor of a coin in 2006. **I769.**

- TWISDEN, Sir John, 8th Baronet (1784–1841). A landowner in Kent, whose collection was sold by Sotheby (21 May 1841). **1039.**
- TYLER-SMITH. See PHILLIPS.
- UNIVERSITY PURCHASE FUND. This fund provided support for acquisitions from the Middle Harling hoard in 1984. **927–9.**
- VANSITTART, Augustus Arthur (1824–82), of Trinity College. A Fellow of Trinity who donated coins to the Fitzwilliam in the mid-1860s. **1537, 1766, 2168.**
- VECCHI, Italo (1948–). An Italian scholar and dealer in coins, based in London. His firm (initially V. C. Vecchi & Sons) has held auctions jointly with other firms including BONHAM's and Schwer since the 1970s. Vecchi also held auctions in his own name during the period 1996–9; he thereafter worked for various other coin auctioneers.
- VG NUMISMATIQUE. Coin dealer in Licques, France. **2681.**
- VIDLER, Alexander Roper (1899–1991), of Sidney Sussex College. Anglican priest and scholar of theology and religious history. He eventually became Dean of King's College. It is possible that his collection was inherited from his father, Leopold Amon Vidler (1870–1954), an antiquary and coin collector in Rye, Sussex. He donated two coins in 1963. **1850, 2260.**
- VINCHON, Jean. A Paris dealer and auctioneer in the second half of the twentieth century. Some of his auctions have been held elsewhere. **81, 159.**
- VOSPER, Mike. A coin dealer in Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norfolk, previously Essex, since the 1990s. **2109, 2516.**
- WALTERS, Frederick Arthur (1849–1931). An architect best known for his work on Roman Catholic churches. Collection sold in two Sotheby sales (26 May 1913 and 24 October 1932). **1424, 1584, 2089, 2574.**
- WARNE, Charles (1801–81). A Dorset antiquary, whose coins were sold by Sotheby (24 May 1889). **1181.**
- WATTERS, Charles Aloysius (1850–1932). A businessman in Liverpool. Collection sold in Glendinning 21 May 1917. **1545, 2363.**
- WAYNE, Dr Andrew. A collector whose coins were sold in CNG Triton XIX, 5 January 2016. **8A.**
- WEBB, A. Finder of a coin during construction at the Shire Hall site, Cambridge, 1984. **1758.**
- WEBB, Henry (1809–94). A London solicitor, whose collection included an earlier one formed by John Frederick Neck (c. 1835–1910). Sotheby 25 July 1895. **1296.**
- WEBER, Dr Frederick Parkes (1863–1962), of Trinity College. A London dermatologist, son of Sir Hermann WEBER and writer on a wide variety of subjects. He donated coins to the Museum on a number of occasions early in the twentieth century. **2667.**
- WEBER, Sir Hermann (1823–1918). An eminent London physician now best remembered for his collection of Greek coins, the great catalogue of which by Forrer remains a standard work of reference. Some of his English coins, sold anonymously in Sotheby 16 June 1885, were bought by Arthur William YOUNG and passed to the Fitzwilliam. **1097, 1103, 1107, 1113, 2474, 2476, 2558, 2583.**
- WEBSTER, William (1821–85). A London coin dealer, who succeeded his uncle William Till. His stock was sold after his death in two parts: Sotheby 18 February 1886 and 22 December 1886 (though the one coin in this collection which passed through his hands was sold earlier). **1171.**

- WELLS, William Charles (1870–1949). A collector and dealer in coins. Various coins were disposed of in his lifetime, and the remainder (from which Christopher BLUNT bought a number of specimens) was acquired by Baldwin. **934, 1063, 1204, 1233, 1463–4, 1469, 1481, 1507, 1542, 1563, 1584, 1586, 1592, 1629, 1637, 1640, 1661, 1695, 1719, 1721, 1735–6, 1765, 1830, 1878, 1882, 1887, 1924, 1928–9, 1931, 1950, 1954, 1988, 1993, 1995, 2012, 2017, 2210, 2608.**
- WEST, James (1703–72). A barrister, politician and antiquary, who served as President of the Royal Society (1768–72). His coins were sold in Langford 19 January 1773. **1728.**
- WESTERHOF. A coin dealer and auctioneer in Sneek, Netherlands. **146.**
- WHEELER, Ernest Henry (1876–1933). A printer of race cards. Sotheby 12 March 1930, with further portions sold in lists by Seaby dated 6 February 1931 and 17 April 1931 (though unless otherwise stated references are to the 1930 sale). **1747, 1768, 2089, 2099.**
- WHERRETT, Trevor Spencer (1951–2009). Bequeathed coins to the Museum. **1761, 1856.**
- WHITBOURN, Richard (c. 1811–68). A resident of Godalming, Surrey. Sotheby 2 February 1869. **1068, 2436, 2611.**
- WHITE, J. D. Assistant Librarian at Trinity College and a donor of a number of coins to the College collection in 1876. **705, 743.**
- WHITE, William Archibald Armstrong (1776–1847). A barrister and London Metropolitan Magistrate. Sotheby 27 November 1848. **963.**
- WHITTON, Cuthbert Alexander (1890–1950). A midlands schoolmaster with interests in medieval English numismatics, who was heavily involved with the BNS in the 1930s and 1940s. He donated a coin to Christopher BLUNT in 1948. **2511.**
- WICKHAM, Humphrey (c. 1806–93). A solicitor in Strood, Kent. Collection sold by Sotheby (14 March 1894). **177.**
- WIGAN, John Alfred (1787–1869). A hop merchant in East Malling, Kent. He formed an impressive collection of Anglo-Saxon and English hammered coins from the 1830s onwards. The collection passed to his nephew Edward Wigan (1823–71), a collector of Greek and Roman coins. On Edward's death the pick of the Greek and Roman coins went to the BM, while the remainder of the coins were purchased by Rollin and Feuadent, and dispersed among contemporary collectors. **967, 1081, 1087, 1201, 1250, 1403, 1467, 1614, 2227, F28.**
- WILCOX, James. Glendining 29 January 1908. **1229.**
- WILLEMS, Piet. A dealer in Bennekom, Netherlands, since the 1980s. **103.**
- WILLS, F. Source of a coin acquired by Christopher BLUNT. **1524.**
- WILSON, Mrs Robert (née Harriet Crump) (1801–81). An East Anglian landowner, married first to John Wilson Sheppard (1798–1830) of Campsea Ashe, Suffolk, after whose death she married his cousin the Hon. Rev. Robert Wilson (1801–50) in 1832, and subsequently also Rev. Edward Newenham Hoare (d. 1877). Named in various sources as Mrs Sheppard and as Mrs Wilson (Martin 1955–7), she received and disposed of coins found on her land at Thwaite in 1832 (*Checklist* 232). She presented parcels to the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum and City of Liverpool Museums in 1877–8, and also (according to Christopher Blunt) a group of possibly nine coins to the Fitzwilliam. These cannot be identified, but are presumably among the Museum's holdings of Edward the Confessor and Harold II.
- WINIGER, M. Vendor of a coin in 2008. **F46.**
- WINSTANLEY, Edgar Joseph (1892–1977). A dentist in London, afterwards resident in Deal, Kent. The bulk of his collection, specialising in issues of Henry VII, was acquired by Herbert

- Schneider in 1963 and donated to the Ashmolean Museum; the remainder of his coins were bought by Baldwin. **1582.**
- WITTE, Julius (c. 1855–1908). A German émigré from Iserlohn (now in North Rhine-Westphalia) who became a shipping magnate in Manchester. His collection was sold by Sotheby (13 April 1908). **1174, 1563.**
- WOKING, E. Vendor of a coin to Christopher Blunt in 1972. **1472.**
- WOOD, R. Finder and vendor of coins to Derek Chick. **1038, 1172.**
- WYATT, James (1816–78). Treasurer of Bedford Borough Council, who in the 1860s and 1870s put together a small collection of coins, mainly of local interest. A few of them, found long after his death in furniture that had belonged to him, were acquired by the Museum in 1974 through the good offices of the Cambridge antique dealers Messrs Collins & Clark. **711, 727, 753, 780, 826, 1292, 1635, 1773, 1786–7, 1801, 2236.**
- YORKE MOORE, Major-Gen. William (1806–90). An army officer and collector whose coins were sold by Sotheby (21 April 1879), famous for surviving unscathed a fall of more than 200 feet when he accidentally rode his horse over a precipice on Dominica in 1848. **1170.**
- YOUNG, Arthur William (1852–1936). A wealthy collector of diverse interests, who presented 300 incunabula to the University Library before his death and left to the Fitzwilliam a collection of paintings, as well as more than 4,500 coins (of which more than 230 are included in this volume). These were bought from various dealers in the 1880s and after, and others came from his brother Charles Edward Baring Young (1850–1928).
- YOUNG, James Halliburton (1817–83). A Justice of the Peace in Lee, Kent. Sotheby 7 April 1881. **24, F 28.**
- YOUNG, Matthew (1771–1837). The main London coin dealer of his day. His remaining stock was disposed of in nine sales by Sotheby in the years 1839–42 (not including the one relevant coin in this collection).

ARRANGEMENT OF THE CATALOGUE

ARRANGEMENT. The catalogue begins with the largely anonymous early Anglo-Saxon issues; continental types closely related to those from England are placed between the 'Primary' and 'Secondary' phases of early Anglo-Saxon pennies. In the rest of the catalogue, coins are arranged by kingdom, and then by ruler; each ruler's coins are arranged into discernible chronological phases (if any), and then alphabetically by mint-place and/or moneyer. An important distinction from some previous catalogues is that Anglo-Viking coins are placed after the English series, in order to emphasise the continuous development of the later Anglo-Saxon currency from Alfred's reign to 1066, and to place the Anglo-Viking coinage alongside other Scandinavian issues from Dublin, Man and the Irish Sea. Associated groups of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Viking currency are cross-referenced. Within a specific group, coins are generally arranged either alphabetically by inscription or by descending order of weight, though die-linked coins are normally placed together. Rulers for whom coins survive but whose issues are not represented in the Fitzwilliam Museum's collection are indicated by the words 'not represented in this collection'.

NUMBERING. The coins are numbered separately in each volume. Cross-references between volumes use these numbers preceded by that of the volume and a full-stop (e.g. *MEC* 1.318 means no. 318 in vol. 1). Modern forgeries and reproductions are numbered at the end of the catalogue in a separate numerical sequence, prefixed with 'F'.

LEGENDS AND DESCRIPTIONS. These are normally given in full, save when they are repeated identically on multiple coins of the same type. Letter forms are reproduced as on the coin wherever possible, but punctuation on coins is not normally shown. Runic letters are given in lower-case bold script. 'Circle' in type descriptions refers to the circle enclosing the central design, which is in turn within the outer legend or other devices around the edge of the coin; all or part of an outer circle may also be visible, but this is not normally referred to in type descriptions. Moneyers' names are given in normalised form at the start of the entry.

IDENTIFICATIONS AND REFERENCES. These are given according to the standard reference works for each series. The degree of precision in the references varies according to the amount of research that has been done on each particular series, so that sometimes no more than a reign or type identification is possible. References to literature regarding the find-spot are included in the

footnote, as are references relating to the coin's provenance prior to its entry into the Fitzwilliam Museum or a related Cambridge collection. Cross-references are also provided to *MEC* 1 and *SCBI* 1, and for concordances with these publications, see pp. 878–88.

DIE-LINKS. Any die-links with other coins in this collection are noted at the end of each entry. External die-links with coins in other collections have not been checked systematically; those noted in published literature are recorded unless they are very numerous, in which case full details will be found in the references cited.

PECK-MARKS. Peck-marks (see Appendix 4, s.v.) are recorded for all English coins minted between the 970s and 1066, and for all Hiberno-Scandinavian and Irish Sea issues; they also occur occasionally on English and Anglo-Viking issues from the late ninth century to the 970s. Peck-marks are noted at the end of each coin entry, in the formula 1/1, the first number giving the number of pecks on the obverse, the second the number on the reverse.

WEIGHTS. These are given in grams (abbreviated g).

METAL. The customary symbols for gold (*Æ*), silver (*ᚱ*) and bronze/copper alloy (*Æ*) are used, along with the headings 'gold' and 'silver' when all coins in a given section are of the same metal. Where the metallic contents of the coins have been analysed, this information is given in the text, at the end of the relevant entry. For gold coins, the relative specific gravity (SG) is followed by the Au% as if the alloy were Au/Ag only.

DIE-AXES. Die-axes are given to the nearest 10°, the tops of the obverse and reverse designs being taken on the same alignment as the illustration on the plate. Where the design has no feature by which to align it, or if a coin is uniface or too damaged for the design to be discerned, the die-axis has been omitted.

SIZE. Diameters of the flans or die-faces are not normally given, since the coins are illustrated at actual size.

PROVENANCES. The first letters of the accession number indicate to which Fitzwilliam Museum or Cambridge collection the coin belongs.

BI	British Isles.
CA	Gonville and Caius College collection, on deposit at the Fitzwilliam Museum.
CM	Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum.
EM	Emmanuel College collection, on deposit at the Fitzwilliam Museum.
LS	Lewis collection, Corpus Christi College, on indefinite loan to the Fitzwilliam Museum.
ME	Prefix for coins forming part of the Medieval collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum.
P	Peterhouse collection, on deposit at the Fitzwilliam Museum.
PG	Grierson collection (bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum, 2006). Grierson numbered all the coins in his collection, and coins in <i>MEC</i> 1 and 14 are cited by their

Grierson number, e.g. PG 1952. These Grierson collection numbers have now been incorporated into the Fitzwilliam Museum's accession numbers, e.g. CM.PG.14092–2006. Coins purchased through the Grierson Fund before 2006 were also assigned Grierson collection numbers, e.g. CM.1907–2003: Grierson Fund (PG 19,269).

- QC Queens' College collection, on deposit at the Fitzwilliam Museum.
- R Retrospectively catalogued coins.
- RI Roman Imperial
- TR Trinity College collection, on indefinite loan to the Fitzwilliam Museum.
- YG Prefix for coins bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum by Arthur W. Young.

PLATES

EARLY GOLD COINAGE, c. 590–670/5

EARLY GOLD *SOLIDUS* (c. 650?)

Solidus

Obv. **DMAT TAVC**, bust r. Rev. **ITORTT[]AG / COWOD**, cross on steps.

1 *A* 4.14g 270°. SG 13.46 (47% Au). SCBI 1.217; MEC 1.665; Grierson 1953; Stewart 1978a, no. A93; Lyon 2014.

All coins **2–14** are gold shillings, also known historically as *thrymsas*, and to contemporary Latin-speakers as *tremisses*. For commentary, see Chapter 3, section (d), pp. 45–9.

EARLY GOLD TYPES (c. 590–630)

Unclassified type of uncertain attribution

Obv. **TVXIC**, bust r. Rev. geometric design (standard?) enclosed by rows of pellets. The coin does not fit into any of the well-known

Anglo-Saxon gold types, but is comparable in its general appearance with very early gold shillings.

2 *A* 1.15g 0°.

SUBSTANTIVE GOLD TYPES (c. 630–50)

Mint-signed types of Eadbalð, king of Kent (616–40)

CANTERBURY

Obv. **REGE[]NVALD**, bust r. Rev. **HDOR[]NIS M**, cross pattée on globe in circle (Abdy and Williams 2006, v.xvi.).

3 *A* 1.28g 0°. SG 15.91 (74% Au).

LONDON

Obv. **AVDV[]**, bust r. Rev. **HHNNBALLOIENVZ**, cross pattée on globe in circle (Sutherland 1948, 77–81; *T&S* 50; Abdy and Williams 2006, v.xv).

4 *A* 1.27g 0°. SG 15.66 (72% Au).

'London Derived' type (Sutherland 1948, 48–56; *T&S* 22–32;

Belfort 5552; Abdy and Williams 2006, v.xi)

Obv. bust r. Rev. **UTUO[]JUDON**, cross in circle.

5 *A* 1.29g 0°. Sutherland 1948, 56a.

'Witmen' type/Witmen-derived 1 (Sutherland 1948, 57–71; *T&S* 1–21; Abdy and Williams 2006, v.xiii)

Obv. bust r. w. trident-like device. Rev. cross fourchée in circle.

6 *A* 1.17g 0°.

'Wineetton' type/Witmen-derived 2 (Sutherland 1948, 72–4; *T&S* 77; Abdy and Williams 2006, v.xiv)

Obv. bust r. w. trident-like device. Rev. cross fourchée in double circle.

7 Rev. **TONWVWEEET**. *A* 1.27g 270°. Same dies as *T&S* 77.

8 Rev. **[]VOWM[]**, cross potent in circle. *A* 1.30g 90°. SG 18.86 (97% Au). MEC 1.666.

'York' group (Sutherland 1948, 75; *T&S* 76; Abdy and Williams 2006, v.xxi; Naylor and Allen 2014, Variety D)

Obv. standing figure facing, holding cross in each hand. Rev. cross fourchée in circle w. lozenge at centre; small crosses and hour-glass-shaped devices in outer margin.

8A *A* 1.28g 0°. SG 55% Au. Naylor and Allen 2014, 14.

1 CM.EM.5-R: Emmanuel College loan 1957.

2 CM.1559–2007: ex De Wit S 1; from Spink 1997; found north Lincolnshire (Lindsay) 1996.

3 CM.778–2002: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift); from Bradshaw (finder); found Goodnestone, Kent, September 2001 (EMC 2001.1003).

4 CM.2259–1997: from Finn; found Tangmere, West Sussex, 1997.

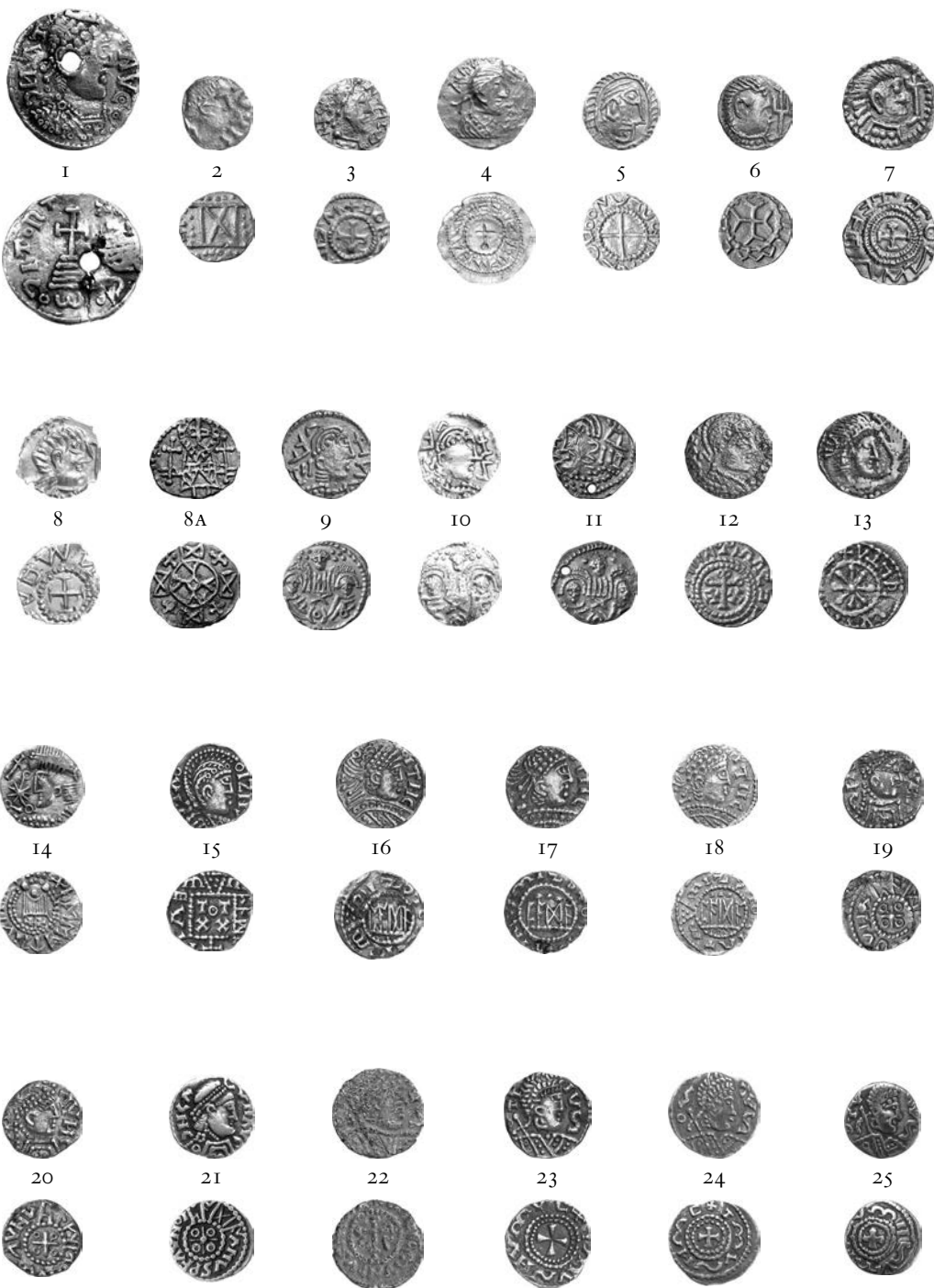
5 CM.1.20–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Grantley; ex Amécourt 652.

6 CM.1560–2007: ex De Wit S 2; from Spink 1997.

7 CM.1561–2007: ex De Wit S 3; from Spink 2001; ex Rudd (list 34, 1998, no. 20); found Dagnall, Buckinghamshire 9.11.1997 (EMC 1998.0038).

8 CM.ME.635-R: ex Sotheby sale 22.7.1982, lot 212; ex SCMB February 1976, no. G135.

8A LOANCM.3–2016: loan from a private collector; ex Wayne 845; ex Dix, Noonan and Webb auction 101, 21.6.2012, lot 555; found Harrogate, North Yorkshire, 2012 (EMC 2012.0025; PAS SWYOR–62B732).



PALE GOLD TYPES (c. 650–70/5)

'Two Emperors' type (Sutherland 1948, 31–44; *T&S* 79–80; Abdy and Williams 2006, v.xxvii)

Obv. pseudo-legend, bust r. Rev. simplified representation of two throned emperors facing with victory above.

9 *N* 1.26g 0°.

10 *N* 1.27g 300°. *SCBI* 1.218; *MEC* 1.667; Stewart 1978, no. A97.

11 Obv. bust l. *N*/*AR* 1.24g (pierced) 270°.

'Crispus/delaiona' type (Sutherland 1948, 27; Blackburn 1991c, p. 144; Abdy and Williams 2006, v.xxvi)

Obv. pseudo legend, helmeted bust r. Rev. pseudo-legend, cross w. three annulet terminals, flanked by two small crosses, in double circle.

12 Two annulets on top of cross. *N* 1.21g 180°.

'Constantine' type (Sutherland 1948, 26; Abdy and Williams 2006, v.xxiv)

Obv. praying bust r. holding cross. Rev. legend containing cross pommée and saltire in circle.

13 Rev. **†VLLPILVT** []. *N* 1.23g 0°.

14 Obv. bust l.; cross replaced w. star and annulets. Rev. **†ltoedhg** [] (retrograde). 1.21g 180°.

TRANSITIONAL GOLD TYPES/PRE-PRIMARY SILVER
PENNIES, c. 670/5–75/80

'Pada' type (Sutherland 1948, 82–3; Rigold 1960–1, pp. 13–15, 31–2; *T&S* 81–3)

PIb. Obv. **TAO** / **OIZN** [], helmeted bust r. Rev. **MEATT**, banner containing **TOT** / **XX**, **pada** to r.

15 *N*/*AR* 1.26g 90°. Cf. *T&S* 81.

PIIa. Obv. **TIIC** before diademed bust r. Rev. **MIZOTOTTATM**, **pada** w. spray to l. in circle.

16 Obv. **TNC**. *N*/*AR* 1.19g 0°.

17 *N*/*AR* 1.15g 180°. *SCBI* 1.219; *MEC* 1.668; Stewart 1978, no. A111.

18 *N*/*AR* 1.29g 10°. SG 11.46 (18% Au).

PIII. Obv. pseudo-legend, bust r. Rev. **pada** and pseudo-legend, cross and four annulets in circle (*T&S* 82–3; Sutherland 1948, vi.3).

19 *N*/*AR* 1.18g 270°. Rigold 1960–1, 7a.

20 *N*/*AR* 1.09g 90°. Rigold 1960–1, 6; cf. Rigold 1966, 3.

21 *N*/*AR* 1.25g 0°. SG 11.02 (10% Au). *SCBI* 1.220; *MEC* 1.669.

'Vanimundus' type (Rigold 1960–1, p. 33; *T&S* 84–7)

VaA. Obv. **OT** [] **US**, bust r. Rev. **†VAIMVNDVS MOIE**, cross potent flanked by two pseudo-letters in circle.

22 *N*/*AR* 1.07g (oxidised) 225°.

VaB. Obv. legend, bust r. Rev. legend, cross pattée in double circle.

23 Obv. **OTIVS**. Rev. **†TMVSHVMVC**. *N*/*AR* 1.05 270°.

24 Obv. **OM** / **ΛV**~. Rev. **†TMVNIIMC**. *N*/*AR* 1.24g 0°. SG 10.17 (0% Au). *MEC* 1.670; Rigold 1960–1, VaB8.

25 Obv. **OTV** / **ΛV**~. Rev. **MIIMVMI~V**. *N*/*AR* 1.04g 0°. SG 10.59 (1.5% Au). *MEC* 1.671; Rigold 1960–1, VaB9.

9 CM.1562–2007: ex De Wit S 5; from Baldwin sale 6, 11.10.1995, lot 1100.

10 CM.TR.1613–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 7) (EMC 1986.8667).

11 CM.1563–2007: ex De Wit S 6; from Finn 1997.

12 CM.1564–2007: ex De Wit S 4; from Vecchi sale 2, 12.9.1996, lot 1121.

13 CM.1565–2007: ex De Wit S 7; Glendining sale 3, 20.3.1991, lot 255; found Caistor-by-Norwich, Norfolk.

14 CM.450–1998: ex Spink sale 126, 14.7.1998, lot 586.

15 CM.1566–2007: ex De Wit S 8; ex Subjack 10; from Stack sale 473, 7.12.1994, lot 2274; ex *SCMB* 789 (1984), no. EG31; ex Spink sale 1, 11.10.1978, lot 40; ex Lawrence 197.

16 CM.1567–2007: ex De Wit S 9; from Finn 1998.

17 CM.1568–2007: ex De Wit S 10; ex Peus (Frankfurt) sale 313, 13.5.1985, lot 826; ex Glendining sale 16, 8.12.1981, lot 381; supposedly found Blackheath, London.

18 CM.1.16–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

19 CM.1569–2007: ex De Wit S 11; ex Glendining sale 5, 23.3.1977, lot 1; ex Mack (II) 1 (*SCBI* 20, 311); from Spink 25.7.1957; found 'in a junk shop with another similar one by Mr J. North in 1954 in Brighton', originally from Sarre cemetery (grave 226), Kent, 1864 (Brent 1868, p. 312).

20 CM.1570–2007: ex De Wit S 12; from *NCirc* 100 (1992), no. 130; ex Chick; ex Spink sale 11, 9.10.1980, lot 849; found Sarre cemetery (grave 226), Kent, 1864 (Brent 1868, p. 312).

21 CM.45–1955: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum, August 1955 (gift); ex Lockett 207; ex Grantley 748; ex Robinson 180.

22 CM.1571–2007: ex De Wit S 13; from Finn 1997; found in southern England.

23 CM.1572–2007: ex De Wit S 14; ex Spink sale 16, 9.7.1981, lot 455; ex Chick; from *NCirc* 90 (1982), no. 8182.

24 CM.ME.386–R: ex Grierson (gift); from Baldwin 2.7.1968; ex Grantley 741; ex Amécourt 201; ex Sivard.

25 CM.ME.387–R: ex Grierson (gift); from Baldwin 8.10.1968; ex Grantley 741; ex Amécourt (not identified in sale); ex Sivard.

EARLY SILVER PENNIES, c. 675–760

All coins are silver pennies (also known historically as *sceattas*). For commentary, see Chapter 4, pp. 63–110.

PRIMARY ENGLISH PENNIES, c. 675–715

SERIES A (Rigold 1960–1, pp. 15–17, 34)

A₂ (T&S 88–91)

Obv. **A** / **TIC** behind and before radiate bust r. Rev. **TOT** / **II** in standard, w. spray above and cross below.

- 26 1.30g 340°. *SCBI* 1.223; *MEC* 1.672. Same obv. die as **27** (Rigold 1960–1 obv. die A2.4).
- 27 1.28g 270°. Same obv. die as **26** (Rigold 1960–1 obv. die A2.4).
- 28 1.29g 180°. *SCBI* 1.224; *MEC* 1.676. Rigold 1960–1 obv. die A2.11.
- 29 1.29g 180°. *SCBI* 1.228; *MEC* 1.673. Rigold 1960–1 obv. die A2.6.
- 30 1.27g 190°. *SCBI* 1.229; *MEC* 1.678. Rigold 1960–1 obv. die A2.19.
- 31 1.27g 180°. *SCBI* 1.227; *MEC* 1.674. Rigold 1960–1 obv. die A2.7.
- 32 1.27g 240°. *SCBI* 1.222; *MEC* 1.675. Rigold 1960–1 obv. die A2.10.
- 33 1.26g 90°.
- 34 1.17g 270°.

A₃ (T&S 92–4)

Types as last, but with row of pellets behind bust on obv.

- 35 1.15g 0°. *SCBI* 1.225; *MEC* 1.677. Rigold 1960–1 obv. die A2.12.
- 36 1.02g (chipped) 270°. *SCBI* 1.230; *MEC* 1.679. Rigold 1960–1 obv. die A2.21.
- 37 1.27g 240°. *SCBI* 1.221; *MEC* 1.680. Rigold 1960–1 obv. die A3.1.
- 38 1.25g 270°. Same dies as **39** (Rigold 1960–1 obv. die A3.6).
- 39 1.11g 0°. *SCBI* 1.226; *MEC* 1.681. Same dies as **38** (Rigold 1960–1 obv. die A3.6).
- 40 1.21g 90°. Cf. T&S 95. Imitation?
- 41 Right 'horn' of standard probably off flan. 1.21g 90°–c

A₄

Obv. crude and elongated bust r. w. pseudo-legend. Rev. highly simplified standard containing **T T** / **II** around pellet.

- 42 1.21 135°.

SERIES B (TYPE 27) (Rigold 1960–1, pp. 19–20, 36–45)

BX (T&S 97–9)

Obv. **OLIV** [**JNAIO**, diademed bust r. in circle. Rev. **†EVANV†**, cross on steps with bird above in circle.

- 43 1.29g 225°.

and pellets (characteristics normally associated with type BIB). Rev. **OOOVAV** [**JNVAI**, cross with bird above in circle.

- 44 1.26g 270°. Same obv. die as *SCBI* 20.317 and Lockett 237.

BX/BIB

Obv. as above, but legend off flan and with small annulet before bust, with drapery made up of curved lines rather than annulets

- 26 CM.YG.2104-R: ex Young coll. (gift).
- 27 CM.1573–2007: ex De Wit S 16; from Spink 1979; ex *NCirc* 81 (1973), no. 2333; ex Elmore Jones.
- 28 CM.ME.361-R: from Spink c. 1902; ex J. E. Halliday 183.
- 29 CM.5.19–1933: ex Henderson.
- 30 CM.YG.1134-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 141.
- 31 CM.YG.2105-R: ex Young coll. (gift).
- 32 CM.YG.2106-R: ex Young coll. (gift).
- 33 CM.1575–2007: ex De Wit S 15; from Münzen und Medaillen (Basel) 1989; ex Johns Hopkins University (*SCBI* 30, 74); ex Garrett 1942; from Schulmann 1927.

- 34 CM.1574–2007: ex De Wit S 17; from Holleman Munten list 106 (1996), no. 465; found Wijnaldum, Netherlands, November 1989.
- 35 CM.YG.2107-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 152.
- 36 CM.YG.2108-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 141.
- 37 CM.YG.2109-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 141.
- 38 CM.1.3652–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Sotheby, July 1959.
- 39 CM.TR.1929-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 6) (EMC 1986.8681).

- 40 CM.1576–2007: ex De Wit S 18; from Finn list 18 (2000), no. 22.
- 41 CM.1577–2007: ex De Wit S 19; from Finn list 13 (1998), no. 22.
- 42 CM.1578–2007: ex De Wit S 237; ex Vecchi sale 14, 5.2.1999, lot 1693; ex Subjack 14.
- 43 CM.1579–2007: ex De Wit S 316; ex *NCirc* 97 (1989), no. 3978.
- 44 CM.1580–2007: ex De Wit S 318; ex Finn list 14 (1998), no. 35; ex Vecchi sale 12, 5.6.1998, lot 1215.



SERIES B (*cont.*)

BIB (T&S 100 and 102)

Obv. legend, diademed head r. in circle. Rev. legend, cross pattée w. bird above in circle.

- 45 Obv. legend off flan. Rev. []**ΛVMVA**[]. 1.16g 0°.
 46 Obv. legend off flan; cross before bust. Rev. []**VMVA**[]. 1.18g 100°.
 47 Obv. **ΛΛ**[]**ΛV**; bust breaks circle. Rev. []**VSMVAII**[]. 1.02g 180°.
 48 Obv. []**Λ**[]. Rev. **VΛΛ**[]. 1.12g 270°. *SCBI* 1.250; *MEC* 1.682; 1867 *Catalogue*, 12; Rigold 1960–1, *BIB*, 2b.

BLA/C (T&S 103–6)

Types as last, but obv. and rev. legends more varied.

- 49 Obv. []**VMVAHVΛ**[]. Rev. []**ΛHVΛ**; pellets before bird. 1.22g 90°.
 50 Obv. **ΛOHVΛ**[]**NO**. Rev. **ΛVNOMOV**[]**OV**. 1.17g 90°. Rigold 1960–1, *BIA*, 6iia.
 51 Obv. **ΛΛV**[]. Rev. **TA**[]**VΛHIT**. 1.18g 90°.
 52 Obv. []**IMV**[]. Rev. []**ΛHA**[]. 1.13g 0°.
 53 Obv. **TAVII**[]. Rev. []**VΛHA**. 1.11g 270°. Same dies as *SCBI* 63.95.
 54 Obv. []**ΛHIIOOΛ**[]. Rev. **OTA**[]**ΛIIIOO**. 1.07g 90°. *SCBI* 1.249; *MEC* 1.683; Rigold 1960–1, *BIC*, 5a.

45 CM.1581–2007: ex De Wit S 319; from Baldwin 1996.

46 CM.1582–2007: ex De Wit S 324; ex Finn list 12 (1997), no. 39.

47 CM.1583–2007: ex De Wit S 317; ex Finn list 18 (2000), no. 33.

48 CM.ME.388–R: ex Babington 1866.

49 CM.1584–2007: ex De Wit S 321; ex Finn list 6 (1995), no. 44; ex Chick; ex Mack (II) 5 (*SCBI* 20, 316); from Baldwin 20.1.1960; probably from the Hougham hoard.

50 CM.1.21–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1944; ex Grantley.

51 CM.1586–2007: ex De Wit S 320; ex *NCirc* 81 (1973), no. 2340; ex Elmore Jones.

52 CM.1777–2007: ex De Wit S 323; ex Kölner Münzkabinett 65, 12.11.1996, lot 1485.

53 CM.1585–2007: ex De Wit S 322; ex *NCirc* 96 (1988), no. 4590; found Folkestone, Kent, October 1985 (Blackburn and Bonser 1985, no. 27) (EMC 1985.0027).

54 CM.5.17–1933: ex Henderson; acq. c. 1885(?).

EARLY SILVER PENNIES

SERIES B (*cont.*)

BIG (Rigold 1960–1, pp. 42–4; *T&S* 110)

Obv. []IIIIIIIIII[], head r. w. cross before in circle. Rev. []O
OIIIIII[], cross w. bird above and pellets either side in circle.

55 0.98g 270°. Same obv. die as *SCBI* 63.109.

BII (Rigold 1960–1, p. 21; *T&S* 113–16)

Obv. simple pseudo-legend, usually off flan, around circle containing head r. Rev. simple pseudo-legend, usually off flan, around circle containing cross w. bird r. above and small cross before, and annulets either side.

56 1.28g 45°.

57 1.26g 270°.

58 1.21g (worn; part of mount (?) adhering) 0°. *SCBI* 1.251;

MEC 1.684; Rigold 1960–1, *BII*, 10a.

BIIIA (Rigold 1960–1, pp. 42–4; *T&S* 156–7)

Types as last, but no legends and large, crude bust on obv.

59 1.25g 90°. Same dies as *SCBI* 63.112–13.

60 Obv. cross before bust. 1.09g 270°.

61 Obv. bust l., w. cross before. Rev. bird l. 1.04g 225°.

62 Obv. cross before bust. Rev. bird l. 0.93g 90°. *SCBI* 1.253;

MEC 1.694. Rigold 1960–1 obv. die *BIIIA*, 3a.

63 0.95g 90°.

64 0.83g 180°.

Imitation of Series B?

65 Obv. bust r. w. annulets before. Rev. pseudo-legend, cross potent in circle. 1.13g 0°.

66 Obv. design uncertain, possibly bird or quadruped (?). Rev. cross between annulets w. bird r. above and annulet to either side in circle. 0.86g 270°.

SERIES C (Rigold 1960–1, pp. 17–18)

C1/Blackburn A (*T&S* 117–18)

Obv. [æ]pa before radiate bust r., w. annulets below and curved shoulders. Rev. **TOT** / I I in standard w. spray above and cross below and curved ‘horns’ at upper l. and r. corners.

67 1.19g 90°. Same dies as Rudd list 34 (1998), no. 22.

C1 inverted

Types as last, but w. differences noted below.

68 Rev. ‘horns’ at lower corners of standard. 1.16g 270°.

69 Rev. spray below and cross to l. of standard. 1.16g 255°.

70 Obv. æp[a]. Rev. ‘horns’ at lower corners of standard. 1.00g (chipped) 180°.

Type C2/Blackburn C (*T&S* 121–31) (*Blackburn Ca*, with rounded chin)

Obv. **Ææpa** before radiate bust r., w. barely curving shoulders. Rev. **TOT** / I I in standard between crosses w. bar emanating from each angle.

71 1.26g 0°. Same dies as *T&S* 128.

(*Blackburn Ch*, with no chin)

Obv. **æpa** before radiate bust r., w. pyramid-like neck and barely curving shoulders. Rev. **TOT** / I I in standard between crosses, w. bar emanating from each angle.

72 1.24g 90°.

73 Obv. legend off flan. 1.21g 180°.

74 Obv. illegible. 1.11g (apparently cut) 180°.

75 1.03g 0°.

Type CZ (*T&S* 132–3)

Types as last, but bottom line of standard of rev. omitted.

76 Rev. **TOT**. 1.16g 90°.

55 CM.1775–2007: ex De Wit S 325; ex *NCirc* 99 (1991), no. 4864.

56 CM.1588–2007: ex De Wit S 327; ex Sotheby 6.11.1997, lot 443; ex Glendining 17.2.1988, lot 275; ex Feather 443; from the Aston Rowant hoard.

57 CM.1587–2007: ex De Wit S 326; ex Glendining sale 4, 13.3.1975, lot 242; from the Aston Rowant hoard.

58 CM.TR.1930–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 7) (EMC 1986.8684).

59 CM.1776–2007: ex De Wit S 329; from Finn 1995.

60 CM.504–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 72, no. 20; found stuck to no. 21) (EMC 1986.0020).

61 CM.505–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 72, no. 21; found stuck to no. 20) (EMC 1986.0021).

62 CM.TR.1932–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 7) (EMC 1986.8694).

63 CM.1778–2007: ex De Wit S 330; ex Vecchi sale 13, 4.9.1998, lot 1664; ex Rudd list 34 (1998), no. 32; found Caistor, Lincolnshire, 1997 (EMC 1998.0063).

64 CM.560–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site, 1990.

65 CM.1589–2007: ex De Wit S 233; from Spink 1994.

66 CM.488–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 70 no. 3) (EMC 1986.0003).

67 CM.1590–2007: ex De Wit S 20; ex Finn list 15 (1999), no. 41.

68 CM.1591–2007: ex De Wit S 22; from Spink 1988.

69 CM.1592–2007: ex De Wit S 21; ex Finn list 15 (1999), no. 42.

70 CM.2–2012: ex Shea (gift); found Farnborough, Kent (EMC 2011.0268).

71 CM.1593–2007: ex De Wit S 23; ex Finn list 14 (1998), no. 37; ex Sotheby sale 18.7.1985, lot 495; ex Booth; from the Aston Rowant hoard.

72 CM.1594–2007: ex De Wit S 24; from Spaar- en Voorschotbank (Surhuisterveen, Netherlands) 1990.

73 CM.1595–2007: ex De Wit S 25; from Spink 1987.

74 CM.685–2012: ex Bude (gift); found East Yorkshire (EMC 2012.0185).

75 CM.489–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 4) (EMC 1986.0004).

76 CM.1596–2007: ex De Wit S 32; ex Holleman Munten list 105 (1996), no. 424.



SERIES R (PRIMARY)

Type R1 (T&S 391–3)

Obv. **epa** before radiate bust r. Rev. standard containing **T O T** / **I I** w. spray above, cross below and pseudo-letters to either side.

- 77 1.24g 270°.
- 78 1.23g 0°. Same dies as **79**.
- 79 1.11g 0°. Same dies as **78**.
- 80 1.21g 180°.
- 81 1.08g 270°.
- 82 0.81g 270°.

Type R1Y or Z

Obv. degraded and unclear runes before wide radiate bust r. Rev. as last, but w. standard between crosses.

- 83 1.17g 90°. *SCBI* 1.232; *MEC* 1.685.

Type R1Z

Obv. **epa** before tall radiate bust r. Rev. **T O T** / **I I** within simplified standard.

- 84 1.28g 180°. *SCBI* 1.233; *MEC* 1.686.

77 CM.1912–2007: ex De Wit S 27; ex Finn list 15 (1999), no. 50.

78 CM.1914–2007: ex De Wit S 29; ex Sotheby sale 6.11.1997, lot 444; ex Glendining sale 2, 17.2.1988, lot 276; ex Feather 444; from the Aston Rowant hoard.

79 CM.1913–2007: ex De Wit S 28; from Spink 1987; found north Essex.

80 CM.70–1994: from Spink 1994.

81 CM.1916–2007: ex De Wit S 26; ex Vinchon 1974.

82 CM.1915–2007: ex De Wit S 30; ex Stack 208.

83 CM.YG.2110-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 152; found near Cambridge, Cambridgeshire (EMC 1986.8685).

84 CM.TR.1931-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 6) (EMC 1986.8686).

EARLY SILVER PENNIES

SERIES R (PRIMARY) (*cont.*)

Type R2 (Blackburn D) (T&S 394–5)

Obv. legend behind and in front of radiate bust r. Rev. **T O T** / **I I** within standard, w. cross below and pseudo-legend either side.

85 Obv. **ITAT** / **tepa**. 1.18g 90°.

86 Obv. **A** / **TeI**]. 1.15g 0°.

87 Obv. **TAT** (**A** upside down) / **epa**. 1.11g 0°.

88 Obv. **A** / **epa**. Rev. as last. 0.71g 90°. SCBI 1.234; MEC 1.709.

89 Obv. **A** / **epa**. Rev. as last. Æ 0.52g (chipped) 0°.

ÆTHELRÆD (T&S 134–5)

Obv. ‘porcupine’ r. Rev. **æpili** / **ræd** in two lines, within three circles.

90 1.14g 180°.

91 1.08g 270°. Same dies as SCBI 63.421–2. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 3542.

SERIES F (T&S 136–7; Metcalf 2014a)

Rev. a

Obv. legend around diademed bust r. Rev. legend around cross on steps w. annulets in angles.

92 Obv. **†** [**jd†**. Rev. [**IZIO ETOEI**. 1.14g 180°. Metcalf 2014a, 1.

93 Obv. **†OΔOWOF**. Rev. [**IVIAIII**. 1.15g 0°. MEC 1.687; Metcalf 2014a, 6; 1978a, no. G102 for fineness (9–11% Au and 85% Ag). From same dies as Metcalf 2014a, 7–8 and same rev. as 10–11.

94 Obv. [**JOE**. Rev. **IVOI**]. 1.12g 270°. MEC 1.688; Metcalf 2014a, 4; 1978a, no. G103 for fineness (92% Ag).

Rev. b

Obv. legend around diademed bust r. Rev. legend around cross on steps w. annulet at each point and bars between.

95 Obv. **†VOIETMECOT**. Rev. **†IOEIIHTVEOI**. 1.03g 0°. Metcalf 2014a, 12. Same dies as Metcalf 2014a, 13–14.

96 Obv. [**MOAT**. Rev. **†HAIICA IOAC**. 1.05g 0°. Metcalf 2014a, 26. Same rev. as Metcalf 2014a, 21–5.

97 Obv. **†T** [**MOAT**. Rev. **†IOEIIAHTO~I**. 1.21g 270°. Metcalf 2014a, 43. Same dies as 98 and Metcalf 2014a, 39–42, 45–6, same rev. as 47–8.

98 Obv. [**MOAT**. Rev. **†IOEIIAHIO~I**. 1.21g 90°. Metcalf 2014a, 44. Same dies as 97 and Metcalf 2014a, 39–42, 45–6, same rev. as 47–8.

99 Obv. [**VIOL**]. Rev. [**ΔEOCI**] (**E** reversed). 1.10g 270°. Metcalf 2014a, 64. Same rev. die as 100 and same dies as Metcalf 2014a, 65, and same rev. as 63.

100 The legends on this specimen are unusually full and literate for the series. Obv. **†AVEONE MONE**. Rev. **†ATISO DEOCI** (**E** reversed). 1.08g 180°. Metcalf 2014a, 66. Same rev. die as 99 and Metcalf 2014a, 65, 63.

101 Obv. [**ΣIMO**]. Rev. [**EOΔA** (**E** reversed; **O** square). 1.07g 90°. MEC 1.690; Metcalf 2014a, 74; 1978a, no. G104 for fineness (92% Ag). Same dies as Metcalf 2014a, 75–6.

Rev. c

Obv. illegible legend around diademed bust r. Rev. **†NTIZ** [**CI**, cross on steps w. five annulets around in circle.

102 0.99g 90°. Metcalf 2014a, 104.

Rev. d

Obv. simplified legend around diademed bust r. Rev. legend around crude cross on steps w. three annulets around.

103 Obv. **†IAM** [**]** Rev. **†** [**ZITV**. 1.16g 60°. Metcalf 2014a, 127. Same rev. die as SCBI 63.149.

104 Obv. **†H** [**LA**. Rev. off flan. 1.10g 0°. MEC 1.689; Metcalf 2014a, 128; 1978a, no. G105 for fineness (93% Ag).

85 CM.1917–2007: ex De Wit S 31; ex NCirc 99 (1991), no. 3865.

86 CM.527–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site.

87 CM.551–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site.

88 CM.ME.393–R: no provenance.

89 CM.1.27–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Carlyon-Britton 141 (?); ex Rashleigh 23; found Ipswich, Suffolk.

90 CM.209–1990: ex NCirc 98 (1990), no. 2459; found in East Anglia before 1990.

91 CM.1597–2007: ex De Wit S 274;

ex NCirc 94 (1986), no. 3209; found Great Bircham, Norfolk (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, no. 95) (EMC 1986.0095).

92 CM.1603–2007: ex De Wit S 142; ex Finn list 6 (1995), no. 37.

93 CM.ME.389–R: ex Grierson (gift); from Spink 18.1.1959.

94 CM.ME.390–R: ex Grierson (gift); from Baldwin 8.10.1968; ex Grantley 736.

95 CM.1601–2007: ex De Wit S 141; ex Glendining sale 5, 23.3.1977, lot 14; ex Mack (II) 14 (SCBI 20, 338); ex Lawrence 191.

96 CM.1600–2007: ex De Wit S 143; ex Finn list 19 (2001), no. 21.

97 CM.1598–2007: ex De Wit S 144; from Spink 1997.

98 CM.1599–2007: ex De Wit S 145; from Spaar- en Voorschotbank 1988 (who had

possessed it for about seven years); possibly from the Aston Rowant hoard.

99 CM.497–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 13) (EMC 1986.0013).

100 CM.1605–2007: ex De Wit S 140; ex Finn list 15 (1999), no. 43.

101 CM.ME.392–R: ex Grierson (gift); from Baldwin 8.10.1968; ex Grantley 742.

102 CM.1604–2007: ex De Wit S 147; ex Finn list 18 (2000), no. 35.

103 CM.1602–2007: ex De Wit S 146; from Willems 1990; ex NCirc 97 (1989), no. 3985.

104 CM.ME.391–R: ex Grierson (gift); from Baldwin 8.10.1968; ex Grantley 742.



SERIES BZ (*T&S* 138–9)

Type 29a

Obv. **†VΛV** / **CT†** (?) around facing bearded bust. Rev. illegible legend, cross between annulets w. bird above and annulets either side in circle.

105 1.20g 100°. Same dies as *SCBI* 63.164–5.

Type 29b (bird facing right)

Obv. legend around crude facing bust. Rev. pseudo-legend around cross w. bird above in circle.

106 Obv. **†V[]** / **CT†** (?) 1.18g 0°.

107 Obv. **††Λ** / **VV†**. 1.17g 0°.

108 Obv. **† + V** / **SVC†**. Rev. bird between annulets. Imitation. 1.06g 160°.

Type 29b (bird facing left)

As last, but on rev. bird faces l. w. annulet before.

109 Obv. **TV~Λ + + †**. 1.15g 0°. Same rev. die as **II0–II**.

110 Obv. **† + VCV** / **VICV †**. 1.12g 0°. Same dies as **III**, same rev. die as **109**.

111 Obv. **UICVII+~LV**. 0.79g (chipped) 0°. Same dies as **II0**, same rev. die as **109**.

SERIES Z (*T&S* 140–2)

Group A

Obv. facing bearded bust w. pellet eyes. Rev. legend or pseudo-legend above quadruped w. tail r.

112 Obv. **X~** / **VV**, bust w. annulet eyes. Obv. **X~** / **VV**. 1.19g 0°. Same dies as *T&S* 142.

113 0.80g (chipped) 180°. Same dies as *SCBI* 2.116 and *SCBI* 63.166.

114 1.09g 90°.

115 Obv. bust w. annulet eyes. 1.05g 180°.

Group Bi

As last, but bust and quadruped of more fluid style, and w. no legend on rev.

116 0.98g 0°.

Group Bii

117 1.04g 270°.

118 0.90g 270°.

105 CM.1606–2007: ex De Wit S 331; from Spink 1988; from the Aston Rowant hoard.

106 CM.1607–2007: ex De Wit S 333; ex Finn list 11 (1997), no. 20.

107 CM.1608–2007: ex De Wit S 334; ex *NCirc* 101 (1993), no. 112.

108 CM.1609–2007: ex De Wit S 332; ex *NCirc* 91 (1983), no. 3886.

109 CM.1611–2007: ex De Wit S 336; ex Finn list 14 (1998), no. 36.

110 CM.1610–2007: ex De Wit S 335; ex *NCirc* 101 (1993), no. 113.

111 CM.559–1995: from Owens 1995.

112 CM.1612–2007: ex De Wit S 415; from Spink 1993.

113 CM.1613–2007: ex De Wit S 417; from Finn 1995.

114 CM.1614–2007: ex De Wit S 416; from Spink 1992.

115 CM.1615–2007: ex De Wit S 418; ex *NCirc* 105 (1997), no. 71.

116 CM.1616–2007: ex De Wit S 419; ex *NCirc* 99 (1991), no. 4892; found King's Lynn, Norfolk.

117 CM.1617–2007: ex De Wit S 420; ex *NCirc* 101 (1993), no. 8407.

118 CM.1618–2007: ex De Wit S 421; ex *NCirc* 101 (1993), no. 6124.

EARLY SILVER PENNIES

ASTON ROWANT/CF. Z TYPE (*T&S* 143–5)

Obv. crude ‘porcupine’ or quadruped of very linear style. Rev. long cross w. pellets in angles.
119 1.08g.

120 1.07g 320°. 121 Obv. quadruped clearer. Rev. double cross-crosslet. 1.06g 310°.

VERNUS GROUP (*T&S* 146–50)

Group A

Obv. **VERNVS** before radiate bust r. Rev. standard containing annulet and other devices, w. spray above and crosses on other sides.
122 1.18g 20°. Same dies as **123**. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 3465.
123 1.15g 340°. Same dies as **122**. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 3464.
124 Obv. **VENOVVS**. Rev. **T O T / I I**. 1.11g 110°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 3470.
125 Obv. very crude ‘porcupine’-like bust, legend off flan. 0.96g 135°.

Group A var.

As last, but very crude ‘porcupine’-like bust l.
126 Obv. legend off flan. 1.06g 315°.

Group B

Obv. legend before crude ‘porcupine’-like bust r. Rev. standard containing annulet and other devices, w. crosses outside.
127 Obv. **†N** |]. 1.27g 160°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 3439.
128 Obv. **†OON**. 1.26g 0°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 3446.
129 Obv. **†O** |] **N**. 1.16g 0°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 3451.
130 Obv. **†N** |]. 1.02g 230°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 3453.

Group C

Obv. legend before abstract ‘bust’ r. Rev. **T O T / I I** in standard, w. crosses outside.
131 1.20g 300°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 3475.
132 Obv. **VE** |] (retrograde). 0.79g (chipped) 220°.

VERNUS/SERIES E (VICO) MULE

Obv. pseudo-legend before bust r. Rev. standard containing annulet and other devices.

133 1.25g 270°.

119 CM.526–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 47) (EMC 1986.0047).
120 CM.1620–2007: ex De Wit S 315; from Spink 1992.
121 CM.1619–2007: ex De Wit S 314; ex Finn list 5 (1995), no. 56.
122 CM.1622–2007: ex De Wit S 154; from Spink 1999; found in Middlesex.
123 CM.1621–2007: ex De Wit S 153; ex *NCirc* 101 (1993), no. 3863.
124 CM.1623–2007: ex De Wit S 155; ex Rudd list 42 (1999), no. 26; ex Subjack 26.

125 CM.533–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1989.5173).
126 CM.1882–2003: from Granta Stamp and Coin Shop.
127 CM.1627–2007: ex De Wit S 159; ex Subjack 29.
128 CM.1626–2007: ex De Wit S 156; ex *NCirc* 91 (1983), no. 3866; from the Aston Rowant hoard.
129 CM.1624–2007: ex De Wit S 157; ex Rudd list 42 (1999), no. 28; found Pottersbury, Northamptonshire, 5.9.1995 (EMC 1999.0015).

130 CM.1625–2007: ex De Wit S 158; bt London 1994.
131 CM.1628–2007: ex De Wit S 160; from Finn 1995.
132 CM.1–1987: ex Grierson (gift), February 1987; from Basham 1984; found Springfield, Essex, June 1982 (Blackburn and Bonser 1984, pp. 229–31).
133 CM.1629–2007: ex De Wit S 236; ex Rudd list 42 (1999), no. 36; ex Subjack 27.



SAROALDO TYPE (*T&S* 151–3)

Group a(i)

Obv. bust r. Rev. **FIT** / **RV** in standard w. pseudo-legend outside.
134 1.23g 225°. Same dies as *SCBI* 63.179 and same obv. die as *SCBI* 63.180–1.

Group b(i)

Obv. bust r. Rev. [] **ARO TOV MM** [] around standard containing saltire and pellets.
135 1.01g 45°.

Imitations of Saraldo type?

Obv. quadruped r. Rev. pseudo-legend around cross potent.
136 Rev. [] **AD DO** **~h** [] around standard containing saltire.
0.99g 0°.
137 1.19g 0°.
138 Rev. cross potent within circle. 1.14g 0°.

SERIES W (*T&S* 155)

Variety 1A

Obv. half-length figure r. holding two crosses. Rev. cross-crosslet and saltire.
139 1.14g 0°. Same dies as *T&S* 155 and possibly Blackburn and Bonser 1984, pl. 14, 9.
140 1.28g 0°.

Variety 1D

As last, but of different style.
141 1.13g 0°.

Variety 2B(?)

As last, but of different style.
142 1.15g 0°.

FRISIAN AND OTHER CONTINENTAL PENNIES,

c. 680–750/800

SERIES D, TYPE 2C (*T&S* 158–82)

Variety 1a

Obv. **æpa** before radiate bust r., w. curved row of pellets behind at base of crown. Rev. legend around cross pattée w. pellets in angles.
143 Rev. [] **OLAW** []. 1.19g 90°. Same dies as *SCBI* 63.188.
144 Rev. **†ΛWOΛVH**. 1.17g 200°.
145 Rev. [] **ΛVN** []. 1.16g 180°.
146 Obv. legend off flan. Rev. [] **WOΛV** []. 1.17g 180°.

Variety 1b

Obv. as last, but w. straight row of pellets behind bust. Rev. as last.
147 Obv. **he** []. Rev. **†ΛW**. 1.27g 90°. *MEC* 1.639; Metcalf 1978a, no. 36 (92% Ag).
148 Rev. [] **ΛVIOH** []. 1.11g 180°.
149 Obv. legend off flan. Rev. [] **OLΛ** []. 1.06g 270°.

134 CM.1630–2007: ex De Wit S 151; ex Glendining sale 2, 17.2.1988, lot 303; from the Aston Rowant hoard.

135 CM.1631–2007: ex De Wit S 152; from Spink 1980; ex Glendining sale 1, 6.2.1980, lot 392.

136 CM.1632–2007: ex De Wit S 311; ex Baldwin sale 2/3, 5.10.1994, lot 608.

137 CM.1633–2007: ex De Wit S 312; from Spink 1992.

138 CM.1634–2007: ex De Wit S 313; from Finn 1995.

139 CM.1635–2007: ex De Wit S 148; from Spink 1994; found Bentley, Suffolk, 1993 (*CR* 1993, 181).

140 CM.119–1993: ex Glendining sale 1, 20.1.1993, lot 5; found Warnford, Hampshire, 1992 (*CR* 1992, 245).

141 CM.1636–2007: ex De Wit S 150; from Finn 1996.

142 CM.1637–2007: ex De Wit S 149; from Spink 1995; found Berkshire, 1992.

143 CM.1641–2007: ex De Wit S 57; from Spink 1988.

144 CM.562–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1990.0321).

145 CM.1640–2007: ex De Wit S 56; from Holleman Munten 1999; found Boer, Friesland, Netherlands.

146 CM.1644–2007: ex De Wit S 61; ex Westerhof sale 9, 28.3.1992, lot 371.

147 CM.PG.13028–2006: Grierson bequest; from Baldwin 8.10.1968; ex Grantley 731.

148 CM.1642–2007: ex De Wit S 58; ex Henzen list 112 (2000), no. 1093; found in Friesland, Netherlands.

149 CM.1645–2007: ex De Wit S 59; from Holleman Munten 1991; found Great Dunmow, Essex (*CR* 1990, 173).

EARLY SILVER PENNIES

SERIES D, TYPE 2C (*cont.*)

Variety 2a

Obv. as last, but w. corrupt pseudo-runes. Rev. as last.

- 150 Rev. []OAE[]. 1.27g 130°.
- 151 Rev. †[]A. 1.25g 210°. *SCBI* 1.231; *MEC* 1.640.
- 152 Rev. []OAVT[]. 1.20g 270°.
- 153 Rev. †NIO[]. 1.18g 270°.
- 154 Rev. †[]AVA. 1.05g 40°. *MEC* 1.641; Metcalf 1978a, no. 37 (92% Ag).
- 155 Rev. []VV[]. 0.76g 270°.
- 156 Rev. †A[]VII. 0.73g 290°. *MEC* 1.642; Metcalf 1978a, no. 39 (90% Ag).

Variety 2f

Obv. as last, but w. corrupt pseudo-runes and bust of cruder style (usually rounded w. crown wider than head). Rev. as last.

- 157 Rev. []TOTV[]. 1.29g 180°.
- 158 Rev. []ATIIOI[]. 1.21g 180°.
- 159 Rev. []OAVW[]. 1.02g 0°. Same dies as *SCBI* 63.223–5.
- 160 Rev. †[]A. 0.83g (chipped) 270°. *MEC* 1.643. Metcalf 1978a, no. 38 (92% Ag).

Variety 3a

Obv. as last, w. corrupt pseudo-runes and badly blundered bust. Rev. as last.

- 161 Rev. †HVVO[]. 1.13g 180°.
- 162 Rev. []AIOIIA[]. 1.12g 90°.
- 163 Rev. †~ΛΛO[]. 1.04g 180°.

Variety 3b

Obv. as last, but w. bust l. Rev. as last.

- 164 Obv. legend off flan; bust of unusually fine style. Rev. []VAVO[]. 1.03g 180°.
- 165 Obv. legend off flan. Rev. †AVO[]. 0.83g 220°.
- 166 Obv. legend off flan. Rev. []VΛO[]. 0.46g (chipped?) 0°. *MEC* 1.644.

Variety 3c

Obv. as last, w. pseudo-runes and bust l. Rev. as last.

- 167 Rev. †AVOVAV. 1.34g 0°. Same obv. die as **168**.
- 168 Rev. †VAVAV. 1.29g 270°. Same obv. die as **167**.
- 169 Rev. †IAV []AI[]. 0.94g 180°. Same dies as *SCBI* 63.278.
- 170 Obv. legend off flan. Rev. †VAV[]VAV. 0.72g 0°. Same dies as *SCBI* 63.266.

Variety 3d

Obv. as last, w. corrupt pseudo-runes and badly deformed bust r. Rev. as last.

- 171 Rev. []OINT[]. 1.25g 270°.
- 172 Rev. []VΛAOC[]. 1.23g 180°.

Variety 3e

Obv. as last, w. corrupt pseudo-runes and badly deformed bust l. Rev. as last.

- 173 Rev. []VΛAOC[]. 1.15g 0°.
- 174 Obv. **pp**. Rev. †NON. 0.98g 270°.
- 175 Rev. †VΛO[]. 0.84g 90°.

Variety 3f

Obv. as last, w. corrupt pseudo-runes and abstract, barely recognisable bust. Rev. as last.

- 176 Obv. legend off flan. Rev. †VWIOIV[]. 0.90g 0°.
- 177 Obv. illegible. Rev. VVV[]. 0.88g 200°.
- 178 Obv. legend off flan. Rev. illegible. 0.54g 150°. *MEC* 1.645.

Variety 4a (with bust left)

Obv. pseudo-runes of lines and diagonals before radiate bust l. Rev. cross w. pellets in angles, two zig-zag lines with † and O above and below.

- 179 1.09g 90°.

150 CM.1658–2007: ex De Wit S 72; from Holleman Munten 1990.
 151 CM.TR.2036–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 7) (EMC 1986.8640).
 152 CM.1643–2007: ex De Wit S 81; from Holleman Munten 1990.
 153 CM.1650–2007: ex De Wit S 69; from Holleman Munten 1988.
 154 CM.PG.10029–2006: Grierson bequest; from Baldwin 8.10.1968; ex Grantley 731.
 155 CM.1651–2007: ex De Wit S 71; from Holleman Munten 1999.
 156 CM.PG.13026–2006: Grierson bequest; from Baldwin 8.10.1968; ex Grantley 731.
 157 CM.1648–2007: ex De Wit S 63; from Spink 1987.
 158 CM.1653–2007: ex De Wit S 62; ex Henzen list (December 1999), no. 1011.
 159 CM.1647–2007: ex De Wit S 60; from Vinchon 1982.
 160 CM.PG.7718–2006: Grierson bequest; from Platt 1.9.1950.
 161 CM.528–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site.

162 CM.490–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 5) (EMC 1986.0005).
 163 CM.529–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site.
 164 CM.1667–2007: ex De Wit S 74; ex Coin Investment sale 40, 22.11.1992, lot 238; found in England.
 165 CM.1660–2007: ex De Wit S 78; from Spaar- en Voorschotbank 1988.
 166 CM.PG.8279–2006: Grierson bequest; from Baldwin 14.4.1952.
 167 CM.1664–2007: ex De Wit S 82; from Spink 1988.
 168 CM.1665–2007: ex De Wit S 83; from Spink 1988.
 169 CM.1662–2007: ex De Wit S 76; ex Glendining sale 4, 13.3.1975, lot 234.
 170 CM.1659–2007: ex De Wit S 77; ex *NCirc* 91 (1983), no. 3898; from the Aston Rowant hoard.
 171 CM.1646–2007: ex De Wit S 70; from Spink 1988.

172 CM.1657–2007: ex De Wit S 73; from Spink 1991.
 173 CM.1661–2007: ex De Wit S 79; from Holleman Munten 1993; found Wijnaldum, Friesland, Netherlands, 1993.
 174 CM.492–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 7) (EMC 1986.0007).
 175 CM.1663–2007: ex De Wit S 80; from Spaar- en Voorschotbank 1990.
 176 CM.1656–2007: ex De Wit S 68; from Holleman Munten 1990.
 177 CM.491–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 6) (EMC 1986.0006).
 178 CM.PG.13021–2006: Grierson bequest; from Baldwin 8.10.1968; ex Grantley (uncertain lot).
 179 CM.1666–2007: ex De Wit S 75; ex Lanz sale 41, 26.5.1987, lot 23; from the Bais hoard (Prou *et al.* 1981, fig. 311).



EARLY SILVER PENNIES

SERIES D, TYPE 2C (*cont.*)

Variety 4b

Obv. as last, w. compressed bust r. Rev. as last.

180 Rev. []OIIV[]. 1.24g 90°.

181 Rev. []OAV[]. 1.23g 0°.

182 Rev. †AVO[]. 1.09g 180°.

183 Rev. []OAV[]. 0.85g 270°.

SERIES D, TYPE 8 (T&S 183–6)

Obv. standard containing annulet and other ornaments, w. spray and two crosses outside. Rev. legend (w. some letters facing outwards) around cross pattée w. pellets around.

184 Rev. []PVA[]. 1.25g 340°. Same reverse die as SCBI 63.288–9.

185 Rev. †ΠΛΟΑΛ. 1.20g 0°.

186 Rev. †VVAΛH. 1.19g 30°.

187 Rev. †[]HN. 1.19g 30°.

188 Rev. []ΛΟΒΛ[]. 1.15g 60°.

189 Rev. ΛVVAΛ[]. 1.09g (chipped) 45°.

190 Rev. debased pseudo-letters. 1.21g 230°.

Imitations

Types as last, but of unusual style.

191 Rev. illegible. 1.17g 30°.

192 Rev. []ΛVO-ΛO[]. 0.76g 200°.

SERIES E: PLUMED BIRD VARIETY (T&S 190–3)

Variety J/K

Obv. 'porcupine' r. resembling plumed bird w. cross and pellets. Rev. standard containing rosette, four parallel lines and two trefoils of pellets.

193 1.32g 60°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0057. Same rev. die as 194.

194 1.17g 90°. SCBI 1.246; MEC 1.653; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0058. Same rev. die as 193.

195 1.24g 120°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0035.

196 1.24g 135°.

197 1.22g (corroded) 240°. MEC 1.655; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0013.

198 1.16g 270°. SCBI 1.247; MEC 1.654; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0038.

199 1.07g 30°.

200 1.06g 140°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0050.

201 0.80g 220°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0046.

Imitation of Variety J?

Types as last, but of unusual style.

202 0.83g 0°.

Variety L

Obv. 'porcupine' r. resembling plumed bird w. annulet. Rev. standard containing five rosettes and four trefoils of pellets.

203 0.99g 30°.

204 0.97g 180°.

205 0.81g 340°.

Imitation of Variety L?

Types as last, but of unusual style.

206 0.99g 30°.

180 CM.1654–2007: ex De Wit S 67; from Spink 1987.

181 CM.1655–2007: ex De Wit S 66; ex Glendinning sale 4, 13.3.1975, lot 222; from the Aston Rowant hoard.

182 CM.1649–2007: ex De Wit S 64; from Spaar- en Voorschotbank 1988.

183 CM.1652–2007: ex De Wit S 65; from Spaar- en Voorschotbank 1988.

184 CM.1668–2007: ex De Wit S 385; from Holleman Munten 1983.

185 CM.1669–2007: ex De Wit S 384; from Henzen 1996; found in England?

186 CM.530–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1989.5169).

187 CM.531–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1989.5171).

188 CM.1670–2007: ex De Wit S 386; from Spaar- en Voorschotbank 1990.

189 CM.493–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site

(Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 8) (EMC 1986.0008).

190 CM.1672–2007: ex De Wit S 387; from Holleman Munten 1990.

191 CM.1.22–1990: ex Blunt coll.

192 CM.1671–2007: ex De Wit S 388; from Holleman Munten 1995; found Dongjum, Friesland, Netherlands.

193 CM.1676–2007: ex De Wit S 280; ex NCirc 103 (1995), no. 6159.

194 CM.TR.2040-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 6) (EMC 1986.8653).

195 CM.1673–2007: ex De Wit S 277; ex NCirc 103 (1995), no. 5502.

196 CM.496–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 12) (EMC 1986.0012).

197 CM.13–1965: ex St Neots UDC (gift) 1965; found St Neots Priory, Cambridgeshire, excavations 1963 (Tebbutt 1966, 41) (EMC 1986.8655).

198 CM.5.23–1933: ex Henderson; from Spink c. 1888.

199 CM.1674–2007: ex De Wit S 278; from Spink 1992.

200 CM.1677–2007: ex De Wit S 281; ex Coin Investment sale 50, 20.11.1995, lot 3080.

201 CM.1675–2007: ex De Wit S 279; ex NCirc 91 (1983), no. 3869; ex Mack (not in sales) (SCBI 20, 336); from Spink September 1953; ex Hill; ex Grantley 712.

202 CM.1678–2007: ex De Wit S 282; from Spink 1997.

203 CM.498–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 14) (EMC 1986.0014).

204 CM.1679–2007: ex De Wit S 283; ex NCirc 100 (1992), no. 7412.

205 CM.1680–2007: ex De Wit S 284; from Holleman Munten 2001.

206 CM.499–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 15) (EMC 1986.0015).



SERIES E: VICO VARIETY (*T&S* 194–8)

Variety 1

Obv. 'porcupine' r. containing four parallel lines. Rev. standard containing ornaments resembling letters **V I E O**, w. **V** to r. of central annulet.

207 1.24g 40°.

208 1.20g 0°. *SCBI* 1.238; *MEC* 1.650; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0228.

209 1.13g 0°.

210 1.12g 230°. *SCBI* 1.242; *MEC* 1.651; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0173.

207 CM.1682–2007: ex De Wit S 104; ex Auktionen Basel sale 26, 16.9.1996, lot 2686.

208 CM.TR.2038–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 6).

209 CM.1681–2007: ex De Wit S 105; ex Finn list 6 (1995), no. 33.

210 CM.1.15–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

EARLY SILVER PENNIES

SERIES E: VICO VARIETY (*cont.*)

Variety 2

Obv. 'porcupine' r. containing four parallel lines, w. line of pellets before. Rev. standard containing ornaments resembling letters **V I C O**, w. **V** to l. of central annulet.

211 1.30g 330°.

212 1.28g 120°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0272.

213 1.16g 270°. Possibly same obverse die as *SCBI* 63.318.

214 1.09g 30°.

SERIES E: VARIETY G (*T&S 200-8*)

Variety G1

Obv. 'porcupine' r. w. ornaments before including trefoil of pellets. Rev. standard containing annulet and four parallel lines.

215 1.27g 60°. *SCBI* 1.241; *MEC* 1.646; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0369.

216 1.18g 270°.

217 1.18g 0°.

218 1.11g 120°.

219 0.68g 160°. *MEC* 1.648; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0381.

Imitation of Variety G1?

Types as last, but of unusual style; additional pellets in standard on rev.

220 1.14g 180°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0605.

Variety G2

Types as *G1* but cruder in execution.

221 1.26g 270°. *MEC* 1.649; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0465.

222 1.13g 120°. *SCBI* 1.243; *MEC* 1.647; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0430.

Variety G2 variants (imitations?)

223 Obv. as last. Rev. standard contains annulet only. 1.33g 90°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0591.

224 Rev. **T O T / I I** in standard. 1.00g 150°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0575.

Variety G3

Types as *G2*, but lacking trefoil of pellets on obv.

225 1.21g 320°.

226 1.21g 270°.

Variety G4

Types as *G3*, but w. two pellets jutting down from upper part of 'porcupine'.

227 1.19g 90°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0531.

228 1.18g 270°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0548.

229 1.15g 180°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0553.

230 1.12g 140°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0525.

231 0.82g (chipped) 20°.

211 CM.532-2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1989.5172).

212 CM.1683-2007: ex De Wit S 107; ex Auktionen Basel sale 20, 8.11.1990, lot 588.

213 CM.1684-2007: ex De Wit S 106; ex Münzen und Medaillen list (1993), no. 762.

214 CM.494-2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 10) (EMC 1986.0010).

215 CM.TR.2037-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 6) (EMC 1989.8646).

216 CM.1685-2007: ex De Wit S 131; ex Finn list 10 (1997), no. 26.

217 CM.1686-2007: ex De Wit S 130; from Holleman Munten 1991.

218 CM.619-2006: ex Stewart (gift); found Royston, Hertfordshire, October 2005.

219 CM.56-1975: from McCormick 1975; ex D. F. Conybeare; ex Revd E. Conybeare; found near Barrington, Cambridgeshire (EMC 1989.8648).

220 CM.1692-2007: ex De Wit S 129; from Holleman Munten 1991.

221 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 1926.688: ex Ridgeway coll. (gift).

222 CM.5.16-1933: ex Henderson.

223 CM.1694-2007: ex De Wit S 119; from Holleman Munten 1988.

224 CM.1693-2007: ex De Wit S 117; from Holleman Munten 1999.

225 CM.1687-2007: ex De Wit S 128; ex Münzen und Medaillen list (1993), no. 761.

226 CM.373-2013: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, 2013 (EMC 2013.0152).

227 CM.1688-2007: ex De Wit S 127; from Baldwin 1996.

228 CM.1689-2007: ex De Wit S 132; ex Finn (memorial) list (2001), no. 29.

229 CM.1690-2007: ex De Wit S 133; from Henzen 1994; found Vechten ('Castellum Romanum'), Utrecht, Netherlands.

230 CM.1691-2007: ex De Wit S 134; ex *NCirc* 96 (1988), no. 7061.

231 CM.310-1991: ex S. Brown (gift); found Bawsey, Norfolk (EMC 2002.0181).



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235



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SERIES E: VARIETY D (*T&S* 209–12)

- Obv. 'porcupine' r. w. triangle at one end and annulet at the other. 233 1.00g 180°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0666.
 Rev. pseudo-legend, standard containing annulet and four pellets. 234 0.96g 45°.
 232 1.01g 180°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0668.

SERIES E: SECONDARY 'PORCUPINES' (*T&S* 214–54)

Variety A: sub-variety b

As last, but standard on rev. contains **T O T / I I** w. crosses outside.

- 235 1.30g 0°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0761.
 236 1.06g 180°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0898.
 237 1.05g 0°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0754.
 238 0.77g 180°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 0765.

Variety A: sub-variety c

Types as last, but w. varied ornaments outside standard on rev.

- 239 1.18g 90°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1107.
 240 1.16g 0°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1125.
 241 1.13g 160°. *MEC* 1.657; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1183.
 242 1.08g 320°. *SCBI* 1.244; *MEC* 1.656; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1042.

- 232 CM.1696–2007: ex De Wit S 123; from Henzen 1997.
 233 CM.1697–2007: ex De Wit S 122; from Henzen 1993.
 234 CM.495–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 11) (EMC 1986.0011).
 235 CM.1699–2007: ex De Wit S 85; from Franceschi 1967; from the Kloster Barthe hoard.

- 236 CM.1702–2007: ex De Wit S 91; ex Finn list 10 (1997), no. 30.
 237 CM.1701–2007: ex De Wit S 87; ex Finn list 15 (1999), no. 46.
 238 CM.1700–2007: ex De Wit S 86; from Holleman Munten 1993; found Vrouwenpolder, Walcheren, Netherlands, May 1993.
 239 CM.1698–2007: ex De Wit S 90; ex Finn list 12 (1998), no. 46.

- 240 CM.1704–2007: ex De Wit S 88; ex Coin Investment sale 51, 25.11.1996, lot 287.
 241 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 1936.91: from 1936; ex Carlyon-Britton 156.
 242 CM.5.18–1933: ex Henderson; from Spink 1.10.1888.

EARLY SILVER PENNIES

SERIES E: SECONDARY 'PORCUPINES' (*cont.*)

Variety A: sub-variety c (cont.)

Obv. 'porcupine' r. w. triangle at one end and annulet at the other. Rev. pseudo-legend, standard containing annulet and four pellets, w. varied ornaments outside.

243 1.08g 0°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1221.

244 1.05g 135°.

245 1.03g 0°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1239.

Variety A: sub-variety d

Types as last, but of less 'tidy' execution.

246 0.80g 300°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1354.

247 1.27g 180°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1575.

248 1.10g 180°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1402.

249 0.96g 180°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1480.

250 0.65g (chipped) 270°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1506.

251 0.98g 180°.

252 1.00g 210°.

253 0.92g 120°.

Variety C: sub-variety e

Obv. 'porcupine' r., usually enclosing symbols approximating an annulet or cross and two strokes. Rev. standard containing two to four ornaments arranged around pellet, intended to be viewed as lozenge, w. crosses and other ornaments outside.

254 1.05g 270°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1772.

255 0.97g 0°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1710.

256 0.87g 45°.

Variety C: sub-variety f

Obv. as last, w. triangular 'snout' to 'porcupine'. Rev. similar to last, but normally off-centre.

257 1.44g 220°. *SCBI* 1.240; *MEC* 1.659; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1848.

258 1.26g 270°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1882.

Variety C: sub-variety g

Obv. as last, w. fat bowed 'porcupine' w. row of pellets on either side and three strokes before. Rev. similar to last, but less often off-centre.

259 1.28g 220°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 1930.

Variety A: sub-variety h

Obv. 'porcupine' r. w. triangular 'head' and cross and annulet before. Rev. similar to last.

260 1.34g 180°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2008.

261 1.24g 0°.

262 1.13g 180°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2071.

263 1.03g 120°.

Variety A: sub-variety k

Obv. 'porcupine' of variable form r. w. ornaments before. Rev. standard containing assorted ornaments.

264 1.23g 110°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2469.

265 Obv. 'porcupine' l. 1.17g 0°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2712.

266 1.17g 300°. *SCBI* 1.245; *MEC* 1.658; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2645.

267 Obv. three strokes beneath 'porcupine'. 1.15g 90°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2586.

268 1.16g (corroded and encrusted) 180°.

269 1.05g 30°.

270 1.05g 180°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2682.

271 1.03g 270°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2394.

272 1.03g (chipped) 45°. *SCBI* 1.239; *MEC* 1.652; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2397.

273 1.00g 90°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2296.

274 1.00g 90°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2582.

243 CM.1709-2007: ex De Wit S 101; ex Finn list 15 (1999), no. 47; ex Shields.

244 CM.1.24-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Sotheby, July 1959.

245 CM.1706-2007: ex De Wit S 93; from Holleman Munten 1990.

246 CM.500-2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 16) (EMC 1986.0016).

247 CM.1726-2007: ex De Wit S 118; ex Henzen list (October 1996), no. 299; found in Friesland, Netherlands.

248 CM.1703-2007: ex De Wit S 108; ex Finn list 16 (1999), no. 49.

249 CM.1705-2007: ex De Wit S 92; ex Finn list 5 (1995), no. 23.

250 CM.1707-2007: ex De Wit S 89; ex Elsen list 183 (1996), no. 275.

251 CM.501-2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 17) (EMC 1986.0017).

252 CM.534-2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1989, 5174).

253 CM.563-2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1990.0322).

254 CM.1718-2007: ex De Wit S 113; ex Finn list 12 (1998), no. 44.

255 CM.1722-2007: ex De Wit S 112; ex Finn list 17 (1999), no. 60.

256 CM.502-2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 18) (EMC 1986.0018).

257 CM.ME.639-R: no provenance.

258 CM.1708-2007: ex De Wit S 115; from Spink 1987; ex Grandley.

259 CM.1725-2007: ex De Wit S 111; ex Dussen sale 22, 17.11.1994, lot 990.

260 CM.1695-2007: ex De Wit S 126; ex *NCirc* 91 (1983), no. 3867.

261 CM.1729-2007: ex De Wit S 120; ex Finn list 11 (1997), no. 26.

262 CM.1731-2007: ex De Wit S 125; from Finn 1997.

263 CM.1730-2007: ex De Wit S 121; ex Schulmann sale 17, 11.11.1996, lot 575; found near Egmond, Noord Holland, Netherlands.

264 CM.1715-2007: ex De Wit S 103; ex Finn list 10 (1997), no. 31.

265 CM.1734-2007: ex De Wit S 135; from Finn 1995; found at Sledmere, Yorkshire.

266 CM.5.21-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex 'Major Davies collection'.

267 CM.1719-2007: ex De Wit S 114; ex Henzen list (June 1996), no. 306.

268 CM.503-2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 19) (EMC 1986.0019).

269 CM.561-2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site, 1990.

270 CM.1710-2007: ex De Wit S 96; ex Coin Investment sale 16, 22.11.1982, lot 574.

271 CM.1716-2007: ex De Wit S 100; ex Coin Investment sale 45, 25.4.1994, lot 320.

272 CM.TR.2039-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Bately; found Reculver, Kent (Bately 1745, pl. 6) (EMC 1986.8652).

273 CM.1712-2007: ex De Wit S 94; from Holleman Munten 1989.

274 CM.1727-2007: ex De Wit S 116; ex Kricheldorf sale 20, 16.5.1969, lot 337.



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EARLY SILVER PENNIES

SERIES E: SECONDARY 'PORCUPINES' (*cont.*)

Variety A: sub-variety k (cont.)

Obv. 'porcupine' of variable form r. w. ornaments before. Rev. standard containing assorted ornaments.

275 Obv. 'porcupine' l. Rev. **T O T** / **T T**. 0.99g 300°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2694.

276 0.97g 110°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2544.

277 0.96g 180°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2697.

278 0.90g (corroded) 270°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2378.

279 0.90g 270°.

280 0.90g 45°. *MEC* 1.663; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2311. Metcalf 1978a (fineness 87% Ag).

281 Obv. 'porcupine' l. 0.89g 270°. Imitation? Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2702.

282 Rev. double standard. 0.87g 180°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2354.

283 0.87g 230°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2549.

284 0.86g 0°. *SCBI* 1.237; *MEC* 1.661. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2581.

285 0.76g 45° *MEC* 1.662; Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2310.

286 Obv. and rev. both of unusually crude style. 0.97g 180°. Imitation?

287 Obv. 'porcupine' l. *T&S* 214–54. 0.54g (chipped) 270°. Imitation? Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 2704.

SERIES E: STEPPED CROSS (TYPE 53) (*T&S* 258–62)

Obv. 'porcupine' r., w. annulet and pellets before. Rev. annulet in centre of 'stepped cross'.

288 1.19g 180°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 3494.

289 0.82g 180°. Silver-plated *Æ*. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 3528.

290 0.77g 180°. Same obv. die as *T&S* 259. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 3497.

SERIES E: TERTIARY 'PORCUPINES'

Variety F1 (T&S 255–7)

Obv. bold and rounded 'porcupine' r. enclosed by lines of pellets, w. large pellet towards top. Rev. standard containing annulet and four crosses, w. cross and other ornaments outside.

291 1.13g 270°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 3247.

Variety F2 (T&S 255–7)

Obv. as last. Rev. standard containing annulet, four crosses and two pellets.

292 0.60g (fragment) 0°. *SCBI* 1.983; *MEC* 1.660. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 3255. Now permanently encased in protective plastic coating.

Variety F3 (T&S 255–7)

Obv. as last. Rev. standard containing annulet, four pellets, three crosses and bar.

293 0.80g 180°. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2011, 3396.

275 CM.1733–2007: ex De Wit S 137; from Münzen und Medaillen 1983.

276 CM.1720–2007: ex De Wit S 102; ex Coin Investment sale 52, 23.11.1997, lot 335.

277 CM.1713–2007: ex De Wit S 98; from Spink 1992; found at Clare, Suffolk (EMC 2002.0237).

278 CM.1711–2007: ex De Wit S 97; ex Finn list 12 (1998), no. 47.

279 CM.1714–2007: ex De Wit S 95; ex Finn list 6 (1995), no. 34.

280 CM.PG.8533–2006: ex Grierson (gift); ex Tinchant 15.12.1952.

281 CM.1732–2007: ex De Wit S 136; from Spink 17.3.1954; ex Hill.

282 CM.1717–2007: ex De Wit S 99; from Holleman Munten 1990.

283 CM.1728–2007: ex De Wit S 124; ex Holleman Munten list 106 (1996), no. 468.

284 CM.5.22–1933.2: ex Henderson coll. (gift); from Spink 1.10.1888.

285 CM.TR.2041–R: ex Henderson coll. (gift); from Spink c. 1888.

286 CM.1721–2007: ex De Wit S 138; ex Coin Investment sale 52, 23.11.1997, lot 334.

287 CM.1735–2007: ex De Wit S 139; ex Coin Investment sale 43, 22.11.1993, lot 141; found Schalsum, Friesland, Netherlands.

288 CM.1737–2007: ex De Wit S 380; ex Coin Investment sale 52, 23.11.1997, lot 339.

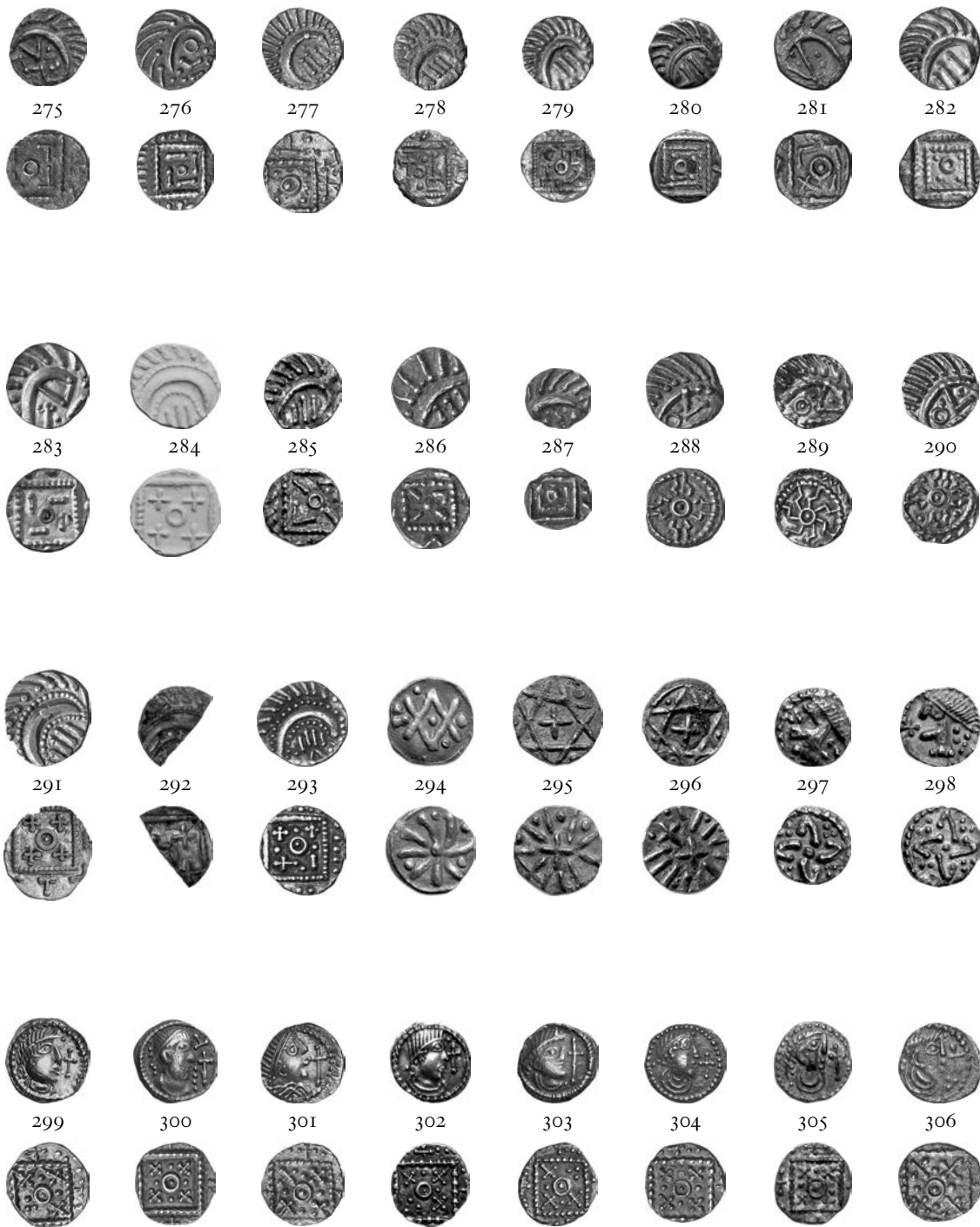
289 CM.1738–2007: ex De Wit S 381; ex Finn list 9 (1997), no. 32.

290 CM.1736–2007: ex De Wit S 379; ex Coin Investment sale 15, 15.2.1982, lot 236; found at Maurik, Gelderland, Netherlands.

291 CM.1723–2007: ex De Wit S 109; ex Dekker 1985; ex Schulmann 5.10.1955.

292 CM.5.22.1933.1: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 6) (EMC 1986.8660).

293 CM.1724–2007: ex De Wit S 110; ex Coin Investment sale 52, 23.11.1997, lot 336.



‘HERSTAL’ TYPE

- Obv. six-pointed star w. cross in centre. Rev. cross surrounded by pseudo-legend and pellets. 295 1.15g 315°. *MEC* 1.637. Metcalf 1978a, no. 43 (fineness 81% Ag).
- 294 Obv. points of star not joined; no cross. Rev. pellet instead of cross at centre. 1.28g 0°. *MEC* 1.638. Metcalf 1978a, no. 41 (fineness 92% Ag). 296 0.93g 330°. *MEC* 1.636. Metcalf 1978a, no. 42 (fineness 79% Ag).

‘MAASTRICHT’ TYPE (*T&S* 265–6)

Type IIA

- Obv. crude bust l. w. cross before and pellets behind. Rev. four-limbed interlace design w. trefoil of pellets in each angle. 297 0.90g 0°. *MEC* 1.635. Metcalf 1978a, no. 35 for fineness (42% Ag).
- 298 0.83g 0°. *MEC* 1.634. Metcalf 1978a, no. 34 for fineness (86% Ag).

SERIES G (TYPE 3A) (*T&S* 267–70)

- Obv. bust r. w. cross before. Rev. standard containing annulet, three or four crosses and pellets, w. crosses on outer sides. 303 Rev. cross in second angle replaced with trefoil of pellets. 1.09g 60°.
- 299 Rev. cross in third angle replaced with trefoil of pellets. 304 1.03g 180°.
- 1.24g 150°. 305 Rev. cross in fourth angle replaced with trefoil of pellets. 1.01g 315°.
- 300 1.20g 240°. 306 0.90g 180°.
- 301 1.18g 90°.
- 302 Rev. cross in third angle replaced with trefoil of pellets. 1.18g 0°.

294 CM.PG.1184–2006: Grierson bequest; from Franceschi 10.1.1957.
295 CM.PG.12992–2006: Grierson bequest; ex Lockett 314; ex Grantley 738.
296 CM.PG.12991–2006: Grierson bequest; ex Lockett 314; ex Carlyon-Britton 160.
297 CM.PG.14023–2006: Grierson bequest; from Baldwin 22.5.1971; ex Grantley.
298 CM.PG.13001–2006: Grierson bequest; ex Lockett 315; ex Grantley.

299 CM.1754–2007: ex De Wit S 394; from Spink 1995.
300 CM.1749–2007: ex De Wit S 390; ex Finn list 12 (1998), no. 48.
301 CM.1750–2007: ex De Wit S 393; ex Finn list 5 (1995), no. 24.
302 CM.479–1995: from Bonser 1995; from Snowball 1995; found south Yorkshire/north Lincolnshire 1995.

303 CM.1753–2007: ex De Wit S 395; ex *NCirc* 81 (1973), no. 2336; ex Elmore Jones (cf. Hill 1949–51a, pl. II, 25).
304 CM.1747–2007: ex De Wit S 391; from Spink 1983.
305 CM.1.25–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Grantley.
306 CM.1748–2007: ex De Wit S 392; ex Finn list 11 (1997), no. 37.

EARLY SILVER PENNIES

SERIES G (*cont.*)

Imitations? (*T&S* 271–4)

Obv. as last, but of cruder execution and variable style. Rev. standard containing annulet and assorted pellets, crosses and pseudo-letters.

307 1.23g 90°.

308 Obv. bust l. o.80g 180°.

309 0.80g 0°.

310 0.71g 40°.

311 Æ 0.51g 0°. Apparently base metal.

SERIES G/SERIES J TYPE 85 MULE

312 Obv. bust r. w. cross before. Rev. cross between annulets w. bird above. 1.02g 330°.

SERIES X (DANISH VARIETIES) (*T&S* 275–81)

Obv. facing bearded bust w. cross either side. Rev. curved, sinuous creature. Variants denote minor differences in obv. and 'secret marks' beneath creature's head on rev. There are also variants probably of English origin, catalogued below (**623–7**).

Variant A/d

313 1.19g 180°.

Variant A/b/A

314 0.72g 180°.

Variant A/b/B

315 1.10g 270°.

316 1.07g 270°.

Variant A/e

317 1.02g 90°. *SCBI* 1.261; *MEC* 1.664.

318 0.75g (corroded) 290°.

Variant A/f

319 0.77g 90°.

Variety A/j

320 Obv. three pellets above head. Rev. pellet below jaw. 0.92g 30°.

Variety C/j

321 Rev. pellet on inside of neck. 1.00g 90°.

SECONDARY ENGLISH PENNIES, c. 715–50

SEDE VARIETIES (TYPE 89, *etc.*) (*T&S* 263)

Obv. **S E D E** around cross pommée, w. rosettes around. Rev. 'porcupine' l.

322 1.27g 270°. Same dies as *T&S* 263.

323 Obv. crosslets around cross. Rev. 'porcupine'-like snake around cross. 1.08g 350°.

324 Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.08g 0°.

Type 12/5 (*T&S* 264)

Obv. **€ LVNDONIA** before bust r. Rev. 'porcupine' l.

325 1.13g 0°. Same dies as **326**.

326 1.07g 90°. Same dies as **325**.

Type 10 (D/E mules?)

Obv. **TILV** before 'porcupine'-like bust r. Rev. radiate bust r. w. pseudo-letters around.

327 1.13g 330°. Same dies as **328**.

328 0.96g (chipped) 90°. Same dies as **327**.

307 CM.1757–2007: ex De Wit S 389; ex Finn list 7 (1996), no. 39.

308 CM.1751–2007: ex De Wit S 399; ex Finn list 11 (1998), no. 38.

309 CM.1755–2007: ex De Wit S 396; from Henzen 1996.

310 CM.1752–2007: ex De Wit S 400; from Mills 1987; found in the river Thames.

311 CM.1756–2007: ex De Wit S 397; ex *NCirc* 91 (1983), no. 6642; ex Mack (not in sales) (*SCBI* 20, 329); ex Hill; ex Grantley 737.

312 CM.1758–2007: ex De Wit S 398; ex Finn list 5 (1995), no. 31.

313 CM.1761–2007: ex De Wit S 401; Glendining sale 18, 17.11.1976, lot 55.

314 CM.1762–2007: ex De Wit S 402; ex *NCirc* 104 (1996), no. 3342.

315 CM.1764–2007: ex De Wit S 404; from Spink 2000.

316 CM.548–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site.

317 CM.5.20–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); from Spink c. 1888.

318 CM.1763–2007: ex De Wit S 405; ex Dekker 1985; ex Schulmann sale 236, 1.5.1962, lot 311a.

319 CM.1765–2007: ex De Wit S 403; ex Finn list 6 (1995), no. 43.

320 CM.1766–2007: ex De Wit S 406; ex Finn list 16 (1999), no. 64.

321 CM.1767–2007: ex De Wit S 407; ex Finn list 3 (1995), no. 28.

322 CM.1739–2007: ex De Wit S 344; from Spink 1996.

323 CM.1740–2007: ex De Wit S 342; from Spink 1995.

324 CM.1741–2007: ex De Wit S 343; from Spink 1998; ex Valued History list (December 1997), no. 45; found 'north of Winchester and south of Basingstoke' (Hampshire).

325 CM.1742–2007: ex De Wit S 242; ex Subjack 49.

326 CM.1743–2007: ex De Wit S 241; from Spink 1993; found Bedfordshire 1993.

327 CM.1744–2007: ex De Wit S 382; ex *NCirc* 95 (1987), no. 4356; found Long Wittenham, Oxfordshire.

328 CM.1745–2007: ex De Wit S 383; from Holleman Munten 1992; found Wijndalduim, Friesland, Netherlands.



SERIES H

Type 39 (T&S 283)

Obv. central rosette w. four rosettes around. Rev. bird stepping r. through vine.

329 0.99g 270°.

330 0.93g 270°.

Type 49 (T&S 285–8)

Obv. facing moustached bust surrounded by varying number of annulets. Rev. bird stepping r., w. variable ornaments around. Variants denote number of annulets on obv. and ornaments around bird on rev.

Variant 1b

Obv. nine or ten annulets. Rev. rosette below bird's neck.

331 0.98g 160°. *SCBI* 1.259; *MEC* 1.692.

332 0.94g 340°. *SCBI* 1.260; *MEC* 1.693.

333 0.93g 40°. *SCBI* 1.258; *MEC* 1.691.

Variant 2a/b

Obv. eight or nine annulets. Rev. annulets above and below bird's neck.

334 0.79g 180°.

335 Obv. cross beneath bust. 0.64g 0°. Same obv. die as Metcalf 1988a, no. 70 (2b).

Variant 4

Obv. seven annulets and cross beneath bust. Rev. as last.

336 0.94g 270°.

337 Rev. cross instead of annulet below bird's neck. 0.75g 90°.

Variant 5a

Obv. as last. Rev. annulet above bird's neck, five pellets below.

338 0.87g 0°.

329 CM.1768–2007: ex De Wit S 172; ex *NCirc* 103 (1995), no. 5504.

330 CM.1769–2007: ex De Wit S 173; from Spaar- en Voorschotbank 1990.

331 CM.YG.2112-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 171.

332 CM.YG.2113-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 171.

333 CM.YG.2111-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 171; found Dorchester, Dorset (EMC 1986.8691).

334 CM.1770–2007: ex De Wit S 161; ex Vecchi sale 2, 12.9.1996, lot 1126.

335 CM.1.26–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1944; ex Grantley 683; ex Robinson (one of lots 1–5).

336 CM.1772–2007: ex De Wit S 163; ex Finn list 12 (1997), no. 49.

337 CM.1771–2007: ex De Wit S 162; ex *NCirc* 81 (1973), no. 2339; ex Elmore Jones.

338 CM.1773–2007: ex De Wit S 164; ex Finn list 9 (1997), no. 33.

EARLY SILVER PENNIES

SERIES H (*cont.*)

Type 48 (T&S 289–92)

Obv. pellet surrounded by four rosettes, w. pellets between. Rev. three spiralling animal heads w. jaws open towards centre. 339 1.08g 270°.

SERIES J

Type 85/BIIB (Rigold 1960–1, pp. 44–5; T&S 293)

Obv. bust r. Rev. cross w. bird above and annulets and pellets on either side.

- 340 1.10g 230°.
- 341 1.08g 0°.
- 342 1.03g 160°.
- 343 0.98g 90°. *SCBI* 1.252; *MEC* 1.695. Rigold 1960–1 obv. die BIIB, 7.
- 344 0.75g 120°. Imitation?

Type 36 (T&S 301–2)

Obv. bust r. w. cross before. Rev. large bird r. w. smaller bird behind and cross before.

- 345 Rev. birds l. 1.33g 90°.
- 346 1.09g 0°.
- 347 1.00g 320°.
- 348 0.98g 90°. Same obv. die as *SCBI* 63.479.
- 349 0.97g 240°.
- 350 0.92g (corroded) 0°. Same dies as Rigold and Metcalf 1977, pl. ii, 20.

Type 37 (T&S 296–300)

Obv. two confronted busts w. cross on stand (?) between. Rev. four birds around central cross.

- 351 1.11g 120°.
- 352 1.09g 0°. Same obv. die as *SCBI* 63.485 and *T&S* 297.
- 353 1.04g 240°.
- 354 1.04g 225°.
- 355 0.98g 180°.
- 356 0.91g 0°. *MEC* 1.696.
- 357 0.82g (slightly corroded) 180°.
- 358 0.63g 0°.

Type 72 (T&S 303)

Obv. as last. Rev. bird r. turning to confront serpent which coils around it.

- 359 1.25g 220°.
- 360 0.95g (worn) 135°.
- 361 0.89g 150°.

Type 72 var.

Obv. as last. Rev. as last, but bird does not turn to confront serpent, and has cross before.

- 362 0.77g 0°. Same obv. die as **363**.
- 363 0.99g 0°. Same obv. die as **362**.

SERIES K

Type 20 (T&S 314–16)

Obv. bust r. w. knotted diadem ties holding cup, w. cross before. Rev. figure standing in schematised ship (?) holding cross and bird.

- 364 0.96g 315°.
- 365 0.95g 90°.
- 366 0.94g 270°.
- 367 0.91g 0°.
- 368 0.88g 0°.

339 CM.1774–2007: ex De Wit S 210; ex Finn list 7 (1996), no. 37.

340 CM.1780–2007: ex De Wit S 346; ex Finn list 5 (1995), no. 28.

341 CM.388–1995: from Bonser 1995; found south Lincolnshire productive site, 1994.

342 CM.1779–2007: ex De Wit S 345; ex Finn list 11 (1997), no. 28; from Beer (finder) 1989; found west of Fordwich, Kent, March 1989.

343 CM.TR.1933–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 7) (EMC 1986.8695).

344 CM.1781–2007: ex De Wit S 347; ex Finn list 5 (1995), no. 30.

345 CM.1786–2007: ex De Wit S 352; ex Finn list 9 (1997), no. 36; ex Finn list 4 (1995), no. 34.

346 CM.120–1993: *NCirc* 101 (1993), 102; found north Lincolnshire productive site, 1992.

347 CM.1783–2007: ex De Wit S 348; ex *NCirc* 99 (1991), no. 4874.

348 CM.1782–2007: ex De Wit S 349; ex *NCirc* 100 (1992), no. 5930.

349 CM.1784–2007: ex De Wit S 350; ex Finn list 6 (1995), no. 54.

350 CM.1785–2007: ex De Wit S 351; ex Schenk-Behrens 76, 26.11.1998, lot 1848; found North Elmham, Norfolk.

351 CM.1790–2007: ex De Wit S 353; ex Finn list 6 (1995), no. 52.

352 CM.1791–2007: ex De Wit S 355; ex Glendining/Spink sale 23, 11.12.1975, lot 336.

353 CM.1792–2007: ex De Wit S 358; ex Finn list 14 (1998), no. 40; ex Booth; found Cottam, East Yorkshire.

354 CM.1787–2007: ex De Wit S 357; from Kunst und Münzen 1982.

355 CM.1789–2007: ex De Wit S 354; from Spink 1982.

356 CM.75–1983: ex Grierson (gift) 1983; ex *NCirc* 91 (1983), no. 3887; ex Mack (not in sales) (*SCBI* 20, 321); from Spink 2.7.1947.

357 CM.1788–2007: ex De Wit S 356; from Holleman Munten 1995.

358 CM.3–2012: ex Shea (gift); found at East Barsham, Norfolk (EMC 2011.0269).

359 CM.1793–2007: ex De Wit S 359; from Finn 1996.

360 CM.391–1994: ex Ogden 1994; found near Marton, Lincolnshire, 1993 (*CR* 1994, 152).

361 CM.1794–2007: ex De Wit S 360; from Spink 1983; ex Lockett 252.

362 CM.1746–2007: ex De Wit S 362; ex Elsen sale 85, 10.9.2005, lot 588.

363 CM.1795–2007: ex De Wit S 361; from Spink 1983.

364 CM.507–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 73, no. 23) (EMC 1986.0023).

365 CM.553–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site.

366 CM.535–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1990.0304).

367 CM.552–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1990.0303).

368 CM.506–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 73, no. 22) (EMC 1986.0022).



EARLY SILVER PENNIES

SERIES K (*cont.*)

Type 32a (*T&S* 307–10)

Bust A-B

Obv. bust r. w. knotted diadem ties holding cross. Rev. elegant curling creature r. w. projecting tongue.

369 1.21g 90°.

370 1.19g 180°.

371 0.95g 0°. *SCBI* 1.254; *MEC* 1.697; Metcalf and Walker 1967, no. 9(b).

Bust C-D

Obv. as last, but of different style. Rev. serpent coiled in circle l., w. projecting tongue.

372 1.10g 90°. Same rev. die as 373.

373 1.07g 270°. *SCBI* 1.255; *MEC* 1.698; Metcalf and Walker 1967, no. 31(a). Same rev. die as 372.

374 1.03g 30°.

375 0.99g 90°.

376 0.97g 45°.

377 Rev. serpent faces r. 1.01g 0°.

378 Rev. serpent faces r. 1.01g 90°.

379 Rev. serpent faces r. 0.95g 0°.

380 Rev. serpent faces r. 0.55g (fragment) 0°.

Bust C-D/E-F

Obv. as last, but of different style. Rev. serpent coiled in circle r., w. forked tongue.

381 1.07g 0°.

Imitations of type 32? (T&S 307–10)

382 Obv. bust r. w. knotted diadem ties, and w. cross before. Rev. serpent coiled in circle l., w. projecting tongue. 1.02g 90°.

383 Obv. cruder form of bust r. w. knotted diadem ties r., holding cross, resembling Bust C–D. Rev. curling creature r. w. projecting tongue. 0.68g 180°. Plated.

384 Obv. bust r. w. knotted diadem ties holding cross, resembling Bust E–F. Rev. serpent coiled in circle l. w. projecting tongue. 1.00g (chipped) 270°. *MEC* 1.699.

385 Obv. bust r. holding cross, similar to Series L in style. Rev. coiling serpent l., w. projecting tongue. 1.18g 90°. Same dies as *T&S* 310.

386 Obv. as last. Rev. as last, but serpent r. 0.94g (slightly chipped) 180°.

Type 33 (T&S 306)

Obv. bust r. holding cross before. Rev. wolf/lion head l. w. coiling tongue.

387 1.02g 180°.

Type 42 (T&S 311–13)

Obv. half-length figure r. w. knotted diadem ties, holding plant. Rev. hound-like creature standing l. but curving head back towards central foliage.

388 1.22g 0°. Same dies as *SCBI* 63.509.

389 1.05g 180°.

390 0.97g 270°.

Obv. as last, but w. bird before bust. Rev. as last.

391 1.08g 0°.

392 0.98g 90°. Same obverse die as *SCBI* 63.512.

393 Obv. as last, but w. cross before bust. Rev. as last. 0.93g 180°.

Type 20/18 (T&S 314–18)

Obv. bust r. w. cross before. Rev. standing figure standing in schematised ship (?) w. cross and hawk.

394 0.88g 180°.

395 0.82g 270°.

369 CM.1796–2007: ex De Wit S 205; from Spink 1995.

370 CM.1797–2007: ex De Wit S 206; ex Finn list 4 (1995), no. 40.

371 CM.TR.1934–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 7) (EMC 1986.8697).

372 CM.554–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1994.5103).

373 CM.TR.1935–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 7) (EMC 1986.8698).

374 CM.555–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1994.5104).

375 CM.1802–2007: ex De Wit S 200; ex Finn list 17 (1999), no. 32.

376 CM.1800–2007: ex De Wit S 201; ex Finn list 8 (1996), no. 32.

377 CM.508–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 73, no. 25) (EMC 1986.0025).

378 CM.536–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1989.5176).

379 CM.1801–2007: ex De Wit S 197; from Spink 1983.

380 CM.58–2011: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site, October 2010.

381 CM.1798–2007: ex De Wit S 198; ex *NCirc* 101 (1993), no. 6121; found St Albans, Hertfordshire, before 1965 (*CR* 1987, 75).

382 CM.1799–2007: ex De Wit S 202; ex *NCirc* 96 (1988), nos. 4600 and 6297.

383 CM.913–2000: ex Singer (gift); found near Cirencester, Gloucestershire (EMC 2000.0179).

384 CM.54–1983: ex Sorenson (gift) 1983; from Granta Stamp and Coin Shop, February 1983; found near Cambridge, Cambridgeshire (Blackburn and Sorenson 1984) (EMC 1986.8699).

385 CM.1803–2007: ex De Wit S 203; ex Baldwin's sale 18, 12.10.1998, lot 1617; ex *SCMB* September 1970, no. H 3003.

386 CM.1804–2007: ex De Wit S 199; ex Finn list 14 (1998), no. 43.

387 CM.1805–2007: ex De Wit S 204; ex Subjack 44; ex Stack sale 7.12.1994, lot 2294.

388 CM.1806–2007: ex De Wit S 215; from Spink 1995.

389 CM.1807–2007: ex De Wit S 216; from Spink 1994.

390 CM.509–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 73, no. 26) (EMC 1986.0026).

391 CM.1808–2007: ex De Wit S 217; ex Finn list 8 (1996), no. 33.

392 CM.1809–2007: ex De Wit S 218; ex *NCirc* 99 (1991), no. 3871.

393 CM.1810–2007: ex De Wit S 219; ex Finn list 16 (1999), no. 53.

394 CM.1812–2007: ex De Wit S 230; ex Finn list 9 (1997), no. 38.

395 CM.1811–2007: ex De Wit S 229; ex *NCirc* 92 (1984), no. 3572.



SERIES K (*cont.*)

'Triquetras' eclectic group (Type 52) (T&S 341-4)

Obv. facing bust w. two knotted diadem ties. Rev. interlace cross pattern.

396 1.09g 270°.

397 Rev. interlace includes four rosettes. 1.02g 270°. Same dies as *SCBI* 63.516.

Series K/L 'Mules' (Type 16/34)

398 Obv. **CVUN** before bust l. Rev. curling creature l. w. projecting tongue (cf. type 32a). 1.02g 225°.

399 Obv. pseudo-legend before bust r. Rev. pellet w. four rosettes around. 0.93g 0°.

396 CM.1813-2007: ex De Wit S 265; from Finn 1995.

397 CM.1814-2007: ex De Wit S 266; ex *NCirc* 106 (1998), no. 1005.

398 CM.541-2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site.

399 CM.556-2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site.

EARLY SILVER PENNIES

SERIES L

Type 12 (T&S 319–22)

Obv. legend around bust r. Rev. standing figure in schematised ship (?) holding two crosses.

400 Obv. **NOONIH**. 1.04g 270°. Same rev. die as SCBI 63.528.

401 Obv. **DEVNDONIA**. 1.03g 90°.

402 Obv. illegible. 0.98g (corroded) 45°.

403 Obv. illegible. 0.92g (corroded) 315°.

404 Obv. **LONDONIA**. 0.92g 200°. MEC 1.700. Same rev. die as 405.

405 Obv. [**IIA**]. 0.87g 180°. MEC 1.701. Same rev. die as 404.

406 Obv. [**NIH**]. 0.86g 180°.

407 Obv. illegible. 0.86g (worn) 90°.

Type 12 variants

Obv. as last but of crude style. Rev. similar to last.

408 Obv. **ΛΙΕΠ**. Rev. no ship. 0.90g 30°.

409 Obv. **VIIMT**; bust l. Rev. figure holds bird and cross. 1.06g 345°.

Type 13

410 Obv. **VIOONΛ** around bust r. Rev. seated figure w. bird and cross. 1.06g 270°. Probably same obv. die as SCBI 2.83.

Type 14

411 Obv. **DE LVNDONIA** around bust r. Rev. pellet w. four rosettes around and pellets between. 0.96g 270°.

Type 15 (T&S 323–8)

Obv. bust r. w. cross before. Rev. standing figure holding two crosses.

412 1.13g 270°.

413 0.83g 90°.

414 0.73g (slightly chipped) 90°.

Type 15 variants

415 Obv. bust r. Rev. coiled 'porcupine'-like creature. 0.98g 270°.

Type 15a

Obv. bust r. Rev. standing figure (?).

416 **Æ** 0.88g (corroded). Plated base-metal imitation.

Type 16 (T&S 329–30)

Obv. bust r. w. plant before. Rev. standing facing figure in schematised ship (?), holding two crosses.

417 0.86g 0°.

418 0.86g 180°.

419 0.80g 180°. Same dies as SCBI 63.537.

Type 18 (T&S 331–3)

Obv. bust r. w. cross before. Rev. standing figure r. in schematised ship (?), holding cross and bird.

420 1.10g 0°.

421 0.95g (corroded) 270°.

422 Rev. standing figure in schematised ship (?), w. cross and bird. 0.91g 0°.

Type 18 variant (T&S 334)

Obv. as last. Rev. standing figure l. in schematised ship (?) w. sickle-like object (crosier?) and cross.

423 0.86g 90°.

Type 18 variant

Obv. **VIINAT** before bust l. Rev. standing figure r. in schematised ship (?), holding bird and cross.

424 0.80g 90°.

Uncertain type

425 Obv. uncertain. Rev. standing figure with two crosses. 1.01g (corroded) axis uncertain.

426 Obv. uncertain. Rev. standing figure with two crosses. 0.83g (corroded) axis uncertain.

400 CM.1815–2007: ex De Wit S 244; from Finn 1996.

401 CM.538–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1989.5178).

402 CM.540–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1989.5180).

403 CM.511–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 73, no. 28) (EMC 1986.0028).

404 CM.77–1983: ex Grierson (gift), 1983; ex NCirc 91 (1983), no. 3871; ex Mack (not in sales) (SCBI 20, 339); ex Lawrence 191.

405 CM.53–1983: ex Sorenson (gift) 1983; from Granta Stamp and Coin Shop, February 1983; found near Cambridge (Blackburn and Sorenson 1984) (EMC 1986.8701).

406 CM.1816–2007: ex De Wit S 245; ex Glendining sale 4, 4.4.1979, lot 204; ex Mack (II) 15 (SCBI 20, 340); ex Lockett 230; ex Mann 127; ex Carlyon–Britton 161; found in the river Thames.

407 CM.251–1999: ex Murawski (gift); found Meldreth, Cambridgeshire, 1999 (EMC 1999.0061).

408 CM.510–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 73, no. 27) (EMC 1986.0027).

409 CM.539–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1986.5179).

410 CM.1817–2007: ex De Wit S 246; ex Finn list 11 (1997), no. 39.

411 CM.1818–2007: ex De Wit S 243; ex Finn list 13 (1998), no. 39.

412 CM.1820–2007: ex De Wit S 221; from Aufhäuser 1992.

413 CM.1819–2007: ex De Wit S 220; ex Auktiones Basel sale 20, 8.11.1990, lot 586.

414 CM.1822–2007: ex De Wit S 225; ex NCirc 94 (1986), no. 6035.

415 CM.1821–2007: ex De Wit S 224; from Aufhäuser 1992.

416 CM.21–2009: ex Stewart (gift); found Winwick, Cambridgeshire, 2008 (EMC 2008.0465).

417 CM.1823–2007: ex De Wit S 227; ex Finn list 14 (1998), no. 48.

418 CM.512–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site

(Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 74, no. 29) (EMC 1989.0029).

419 CM.1824–2007: ex De Wit S 222; from Spink 1997.

420 CM.1825–2007: ex De Wit S 226; ex Baldwin sale 18, 12.10.1998, lot 1619.

421 CM.537–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1989.5177).

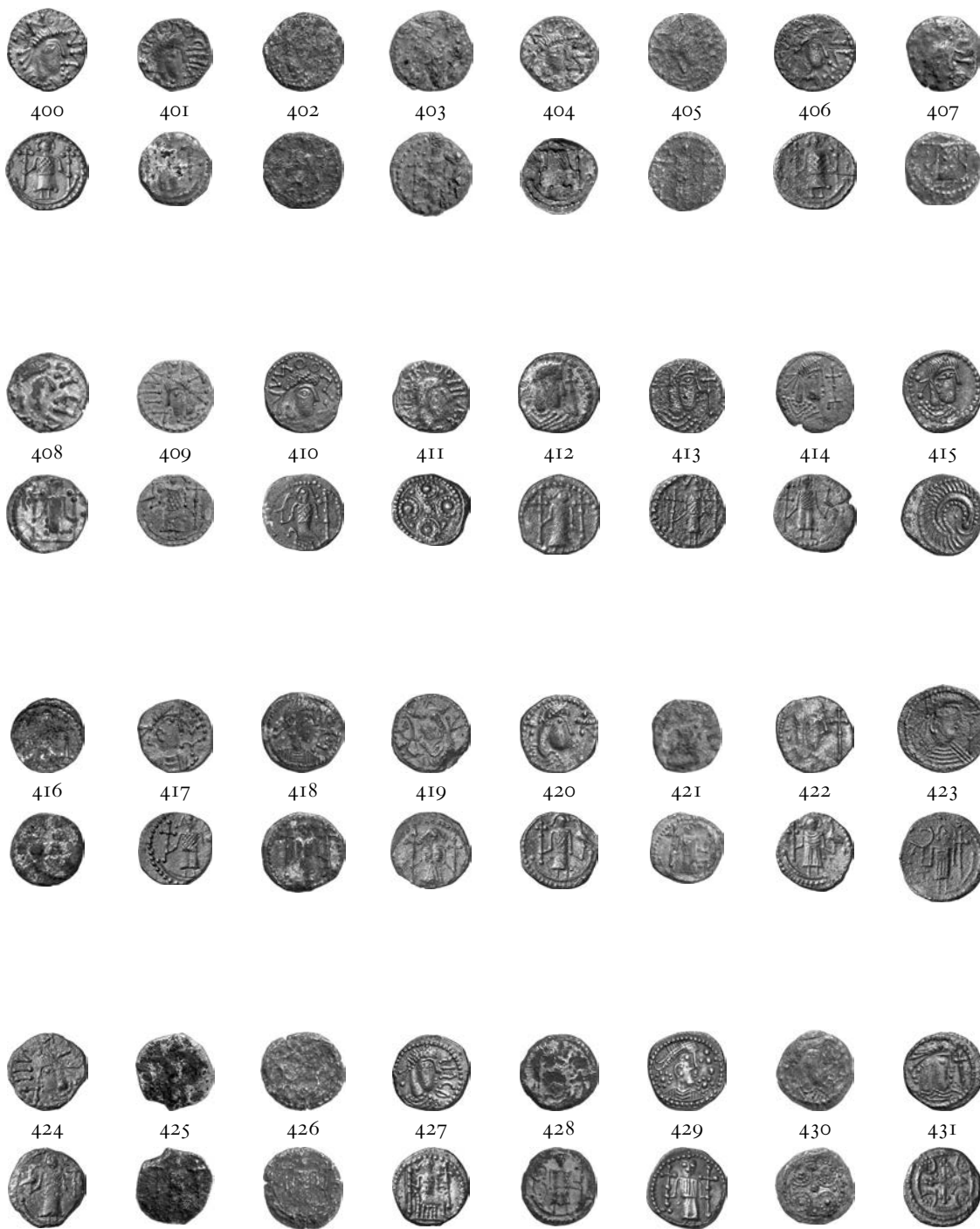
422 CM.1828–2007: ex De Wit S 240; ex Finn list 11 (1997), no. 33.

423 CM.1826–2007: ex De Wit S 228; ex Vecchi sale 14, 5.2.1999, lot 1695; ex Subjack 50.

424 CM.1827–2007: ex De Wit S 247; ex Finn list 10 (1997), no. 39.

425 CM.515–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 74, no. 32) (EMC 1986.0032).

426 CM.514–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 74, no. 31) (EMC 1986.0031).



‘CARIP’ ECLECTIC GROUP (*T&S* 336–40)

Obv. legend (derived from ‘*Carip*’) before bust r. Rev. sitting or standing figure w. bird and cross.

427 Obv. pseudo-legend. Rev. sitting figure w. staff and cross.
0.92g 270°.

428 Obv. **†VIL**. Rev. standing figure in schematised ship
(?), w. cross and floral ornament l. 0.82g (corroded)
90°.

‘ROSETTES ON OBVERSE’ ECLECTIC GROUP (*T&S* 347)

Obv. bust r. w. rosettes in front and behind. Rev. standing facing
figure holding two crosses.

429 1.18g 180°.

‘CROSS AND ROSETTES’ TYPES

Type 34b (*T&S* 345–6)

Obv. bust r. w. flower before. Rev. voided cross w. rosettes in angles
and pellet at centre.

430 0.83g 0°.

431 Obv. cross instead of flower before bust. 0.69g 0°.

427 CM.1829–2007: ex De Wit S 239; ex
Finn list 7 (1996), no. 35.

428 CM.568–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found
near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site.

429 CM.1830–2007: ex De Wit S 223; ex
Finn list 4 (1995), no. 41.

430 CM.564–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found
near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site.

431 CM.1638–2007: ex De Wit S 238; ex
NCirc 113 (2005), no. HS2065.

EARLY SILVER PENNIES

‘CROSS AND ROSETTES’ TYPES (*cont.*)

Type 34b variant

- 432 Obv. **AIIA** before bust l. Rev. voided cross w. rosettes in angles and cross fourchée within. 0.83g (broken and re-paired) 0°.

Type 106 variant

- 433 Obv. standing figure r. holding two crosses. Rev. interlace cross w. pellet at centre and four rosettes around. 1.01g 0°.

Pecking Bird type (*T&S* p. 430)

- Obv. pecking bird r. within vine. Rev. voided cross w. rosettes in angles and cross pommée within and four pellets at centre.
434 1.44g 0°.

‘Serpent’ type

- 435 Obv. coiled ‘porcupine’-like serpent w. cross pommée at centre. Rev. voided cross w. rosettes in angles, within sharp outer circle w. zig-zag line outside. 1.17g 180°.

DE LVNDONIA/MONITA SCORVM TYPES

Type 12/5

LONDON

- 436 Obv. **DE LVNDONIA+** around bust r. Rev. **SCORVM** beneath ‘porcupine’ l. 1.11g 30°. Naismith 2014b, 1Af. Same dies as Naismith 2014b, 1Ad, e and g, same rev. die as a–c.

Type 9 variant

Obv. **MONITASCORVM+** around bust r. Rev. ‘porcupine’ l.

- 437 1.19g 180°. Naismith 2014b, Imitations b. Same rev. die as Naismith 2014b, Imitations c and d.
438 1.12g 0°. Naismith 2014b, 1Ba. Same dies as Naismith 2014b 1Bb–d.

Type 14 variant

- 439 Obv. **MONITAZCORVM+** around bust r. Rev. interlace design w. central pelleted cross and four rosettes around. 1.19g 0°. Naismith 2014b, Imitations a.

Type 46 variant

- 440 Obv. **MITA SCORVM** around small standard containing annulet. Rev. standard containing cross w. annulet terminals; pellets on outside. 1.09g 0°. Naismith 2014b, 2Aa. Same dies as *SCBI* 63.561.

ARCHER GROUP (TYPE 94)

Obv. archer drawing bow r. Rev. bird walking l. w. head turned backwards and vine to r.

- 441 Rev. bird faces r. 1.03g 270°. Same rev. die as *T&S* 349.
442 0.99g 40°. Same obv. die as *T&S* 349.
443 0.93g 40°.

‘HEN’ TYPE

- 444 Obv. ‘hen’-like bird l. w. vine below. Rev. bird l. w. head turned back, w. vine. 1.12g 90°.

‘VICTORY’ TYPE (TYPE 22)

- 445 Obv. **tlw**, standing figure r. w. long hair and spear (?). Rev. standing facing figure w. outstretched wings. 1.12g 180°.

Type 22 var.

Obv. as last but w. pseudo-legend. Rev. standing figure r. holding two crosses.

- 446 0.98g 180°.
447 Rev. facing figure (?). 0.96g 270°.

Unclear type, related to Type 22 (?)

- 448 Obv. standing figure holding two crosses (?). Rev. standing figure in schematised ship (?), w. cross and floral ornament l. 0.81g 180°.

432 CM.1831–2007: ex De Wit S 248; ex *NCirc* 97 (1989), no. 3996; found Wangford, Suffolk, c. 1986.

433 CM.1832–2007: ex De Wit S 267; from Spink 1994.

434 CM.1833–2007: ex De Wit S 174; ex *NCirc* 97 (1989), no. 4580; found at Tilbury, Thurrock.

435 CM.1834–2007: ex De Wit S 270; ex Finn list 10 (1997), no. 34; ex Finn list 4 (1995), no. 54.

436 CM.1835–2007: ex De Wit S 339; from Spink 1996; found in Kent, 1996.

437 CM.1837–2007: ex De Wit S 338; from Spink 1995.

438 CM.1836–2007: ex De Wit S 337; from Finn list (Winter 1994/5), no. 26.

439 CM.1838–2007: ex De Wit S 340; ex Subjack 85; found Wye, Kent.

440 CM.1839–2007: ex De Wit S 341; from Spink 1995.

441 CM.1842–2007: ex De Wit S 378; ex Subjack 55; found Middle Harling, Norfolk, 1983.

442 CM.1840–2007: ex De Wit S 376; from Spink 1988.

443 CM.1841–2007: ex De Wit S 377; from Spink 1994.

444 CM.1843–2007: ex De Wit S 300; from Finn 1996.

445 CM.1845–2007: ex De Wit S 268; ex *NCirc* 99 (1991), no. 7945.

446 CM.1844–2007: ex De Wit S 269; ex Subjack 52.

447 CM.513–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 74, no. 30) (EMC 1986.0030).

448 CM.559–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site.



K/N RELATED GROUP (TYPE 23A) (*T&S* 352–3)

Obv. standing figure r. holding cross, w. floral ornament behind.
Rev. curled creature r. w. head turned backwards.
449 1.08g 150°. Same dies as *T&S* 353.

450 Obv. figure holds two crosses; no floral ornament. Rev.
creature l. w. head backwards. 0.96g 330°.

‘ANIMAL MASK’ ECLECTIC GROUP (*T&S* 354–6)

Obv. facing cat-like ‘animal mask’ w. annulets around. Rev. variable.

451 Rev. bird stepping r., w. cross before. 1.14g 270°. Possibly
same dies as coin illustrated in *T&S*, p. 448.

452 Rev. bird stepping l. w. cross before. 1.08g 180°.

453 Rev. cross w. central annulet and tribrachs in angles. 1.12g
270°.

454 Rev. standing figure r. w. cross and bird. 1.12g 270°.

Type 76

455 Obv. as last. Rev. standing figure r. w. two crosses. 0.75g
270°.

SERIES K/R MULE (*T&S* 357–8)

456 Obv. curling serpent r. w. protruding tongue. Rev. stand-
ard containing saltire cross w. annulet terminals and
pellets around. 1.20g 350°. Same dies as Metcalf 1977b,
pl. ii, 26.

TYPE 23E (*T&S* 359–62)

Obv. as last. Rev. standard containing annulet, w. crosses on outer
sides of standard.

457 Obv. serpent l., w. pellets within. 0.94 270°.

458 0.97g 30°.

459 0.96g 0°.

449 CM.1846–2007: ex De Wit S 183; from
Spink 1983; ex Mack (not in sales) (*SCBI*
20, 349); ex Lockett 234; ex Grantley 716; ex
Montagu 163.

450 CM.1847–2007: ex De Wit S 184; from
Finn 1997.

451 CM.1848–2007: ex De Wit S 371; from
Spink 1993.

452 CM.1849–2007: ex De Wit S 372; ex
Vecchi sale 12, 5.6.1998, lot 1216.

453 CM.1850–2007: ex De Wit S 373; ex
Finn list 16 (1999), no. 57.

454 CM.1851–2007: ex De Wit S 374; from
Spink 1989.

455 CM.1852–2007: ex De Wit S 375; ex
Finn list 10 (1997), no. 41; from Baldwin.

456 CM.1853–2007: ex De Wit S 207; ex
Finn list 8 (1996), no. 36.

457 CM.1854–2007: ex De Wit S 208; ex
Finn list 17 (1999), no. 33.

458 Museum of Archaeology and
Anthropology: ex Hyde-Smith (gift), 1980;
found Great Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, c.
1980 (Blackburn and Bonser 1985, 30) (EMC
1985.0030).

459 CM.1855–2007: ex De Wit S 209; ex
NCirc 103 (1995), no. 4084.

EARLY SILVER PENNIES

SERIES M (TYPE 45) (*T&S* 363–5)

Variety A

Obv. creature bounding r. w. protruding tongue, and pellets around. Rev. curling foliage w. pellets/grapes.

460 1.00g 0°. Same obv. die as *SCBI* 63.566 and *T&S* 363.

461 0.86g 0°.

462 1.00g 230°.

463 0.69g (chipped) 0°. *SCBI* 1.257; *MEC* 1.703.

Variety E

Obv. as last, but more sinuous creature. Rev. as last.

464 1.12g 0°. *SCBI* 1.256; *MEC* 1.702.

Unpublished variety

Obv. as last but w. lamb-like creature. Rev. as last.

465 0.94g 0°.

SERIES N (TYPE 41) (*T&S* 368–72; METCALF 1974)

Type 41a

Obv. two standing figures facing each other w. cross between and pellets on outer sides. Rev. curling creature l., w. head turned back, and pellets around.

466 1.02g 270°. *SCBI* 1.263; *MEC* 1.704.

Type 41b/a

Obv. as last, but w. staff between figures and each holds cross. Rev. as last.

467 1.10g 320°. *SCBI* 1.264; *MEC* 1.705.

468 0.97g (worn) 340°. *SCBI* 1.265; *MEC* 1.706.

469 0.93g 270°.

Type 41b

Obv. as last, but standing figures facing. Rev. as last.

470 1.03g 180°.

471 1.03g 270°.

472 0.97g 230°. Same rev. die as *SCBI* 63.585.

473 0.92g 270°.

474 Obv. no cross between figures. 0.85g 270°.

475 0.81g 250°.

Type 41b var.

Obv. as last. Rev. as last, but creature r.

476 0.95g (chipped) 270°.

477 Obv. no cross between figures. Rev. creature r. 0.97g 0°.

Same dies as *SCBI* 63.587.

Uncertain type

478 0.88g (corroded).

SERIES J/N-RELATED TYPE

479 Obv. two (?) interlocking coiled serpents. Rev. creature l. w. head turned backwards. 1.01g 90°.

460 CM.1856–2007: ex De Wit S 275; ex *NCirc* 96 (1988), no. 5414; ex *NCirc* 91 (1983), no. 3888; ex Mack (not in sales) (*SCBI* 20, 364); from Spink, August 1951.

461 CM.1858–2007: ex De Wit S 276; ex *NCirc* 99 (1991), no. 3885.

462 CM.1857–2007: ex De Wit S 304; from Spink 1979.

463 CM.TR.1937–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 7) (EMC 1986.8703).

464 CM.TR.1936–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 7) (EMC 1986.8702).

465 CM.20–2009: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site, 2008 (EMC 2008.0464).

466 CM.TR.1938–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 7) (EMC 1986.8704).

467 CM.TR.1939–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 7) (EMC 1986.8705).

468 CM.TR.1940–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 7) (EMC 1986.8706).

469 CM.1863–2007: ex De Wit S 185; ex Subjack 58.

470 CM.1859–2007: ex De Wit S 186; from Spink 1997; ex *NCirc* 102 (1994), no. 7120.

471 CM.516–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 75, no. 33) (EMC 1986.0033).

472 CM.1860–2007: ex De Wit S 188; ex Finn list 18 (2000), no. 55.

473 CM.565–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1990.0324).

474 CM.1862–2007: ex De Wit S 187; from Spink 1988.

475 CM.542–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1989.5182).

476 CM.517–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 75, no. 34) (EMC 1986.0034).

477 CM.1861–2007: ex De Wit S 189; ex Münzen und Medaillen list 576 (1994), no. 128.

478 CM.518–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 75, no. 35) (EMC 1986.0035).

479 CM.1864–2007: ex De Wit S 196; ex CNG sale 55, 13.9.2000, lot 1794; found at Kilham, West Yorkshire.



SERIES O

Type 21 (T&S 376)

- 480 Obv. pseudo-legend around bust l. within elaborate circle.
Rev. standing facing figure holding two crosses. 0.30g
(fragment) 160°. *MEC* 1.706A. Same dies as *T&S* 376
and *SCBI* 63.597–8.

Type 38 (T&S 373–5)

- Obv. pseudo-legend around bust r. within elaborate circle. Rev.
bird r. within elaborate circle.
481 1.04g 0°.
482 1.02g 180°.

‘RAMPANT ANIMAL’ TYPES

Type 57 (T&S 377)

- 483 Obv. coiled lines around bust r. within elaborate circle.
Rev. curling creature r., w. head turned backwards. 0.87g
270°.

Type 57 imitations

Obv. pseudo-legend around circle containing stylised bust l. Rev.
pseudo-legend around standard containing saltire and pellets.

- 484 1.08g 340°. Same dies as **485**.
485 0.99g 350°. Same dies as **484**.

Type 40 (T&S 378–81)

Obv. standing facing figure holding two crosses. Rev. curling
creature l. w. head turned backwards.

- 486 1.10g 0°. Same dies as *SCBI* 63.601 and *T&S* 380.

- 487 1.04g 120°.
488 0.97g 0°.
489 0.87g 90°.

Type 40 var.

Obv. as last. Rev. creature r. w. head turned backwards.

- 490 0.76g 230°.

Type 40 imitation

Obv. as last. Rev. smaller creature l. w. head turned backwards.

- 491 0.85g 180°.

480 CM.TR.1941–R:Trinity College loan
1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely
1745, pl. 7, illustrated when fragment larger, and
mistakenly identified as a Type 38/40 mule)
(EMC 1986.87061).

481 CM.1866–2007: ex De Wit S 254; ex
Finn list 8 (1996), no. 37.

482 CM.1865–2007: ex De Wit S 255; ex
NCirc 100 (1992), no. 5931.

483 CM.1867–2007: ex De Wit S 256; from
Spink 1994.

484 CM.1868–2007: ex De Wit S 257; ex
Spink sale 65, 5.10.1988, lot 298; ex Siebel.

485 CM.1869–2007: ex De Wit S 258; ex
NCirc 109 (2001), no. 795; ex *NCirc* 107 (1999),
no. 2036; metal-detector find from uncertain
location.

486 CM.1870–2007: ex De Wit S 179; ex
Finn list 8 (1996), no. 38.

487 CM.1872–2007: ex De Wit S 181; ex
NCirc 107 (1999), no. 2035; ex Jordan 1240.

488 CM.543–2004: ex Stewart (gift);
found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive
site (EMC 1989.5183).

489 CM.566–2004: ex Stewart (gift);
found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive
site (EMC 1990.0325).

490 CM.1873–2007: ex De Wit S 182; ex
Subjack 60.

491 CM.1871–2007: ex De Wit S 180; ex
Finn list 7 (1996), no. 42.

EARLY SILVER PENNIES

TYPE 43

492 Obv. creature l. w. head turned backwards. Rev. interlace cross breaking circle. 1.12g 0°.

SERIES Q

Type QIA

Obv. two standing figures, one facing one l., w. cross between and each holding cross. Rev. curling creature l. w. head turned backwards.

493 1.08g 270°.

494 Obv. no crosses. Rev. creature r. 0.74g 220° Same obv. die as SCBI 63.609.

Type QIB (T&S 382)

Obv. two standing facing figures holding crosses, w. cross between. Rev. curling creature l. w. head turned backwards.

495 1.25g 180°. Same dies as T&S 382.

496 Rev. curling creature r. 1.09g 270°.

Type QIE (Type 67a) (T&S 383)

Obv. bust r. w. cross before. Rev. bird standing l. w. pellets around.

497 1.46g 320° Same dies as T&S 383.

498 1.11g 130°.

499 0.79g 180°. See T&S p. 490 for die-link.

Type QIE muled with Standard Type (Type 67b)

500 Obv. as last. Rev. standard containing annulet w. angles around, and pellets outside. 0.81g 0°.

Type QIE variant

Obv. crude bust l. w. two crosses before and one behind. Rev. insect-like creature l. w. head turned backwards.

501 1.05 180°.

502 1.04g 90°.

Type QIF (Type 71) (T&S 384)

503 Obv. standing facing figure holding two crosses. Rev. bird standing l. w. pellets around. 1.36g 270°.

Type QIG (Type 59)

Obv. facing bust. Rev. quadruped l. w. head turned backwards and long curving tail.

504 1.13g 230°. Same dies as 505 and coin illustrated in T&S, pp. 491–2.

505 0.94g 310°. Same dies as 504 coin illustrated in T&S, pp. 491–2.

506 1.05g 340°.

507 1.01g 340°.

508 0.97g 180°.

509 0.84g 270°.

Type QIH (Type 98) (T&S 385)

Obv. half-length figure r. holding cross. Rev. as last.

510 1.02g 150°.

Type QIH (Type 98) var. (imitation?)

511 Obv. half-length figure of highly schematic form l. holding cross. Rev. as last, but creature r. 0.84g 230°.

Type QIX (Type 56)

512 Obv. standard containing annulet, w. pellets and bars outside. Rev. curling creature r., w. head turned backwards. 0.97g 0°.

Type QIIC (Type 65)

513 Obv. bird flying l. w. cross either side. Rev. walking quadrupedal creature l. w. pellets around. 1.05g 0°.

Type QIID (Type 65)

Obv. bird standing l., w. cross in front and behind. Rev. walking quadrupedal creature l. w. crossed tail and w. pellets around.

514 1.04g 180°.

515 Obv. no cross behind. 1.07g 0°.

492 CM.525–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 45) (EMC 1986.0045).

493 CM.1874–2007: ex De Wit S 192; from Spink 1991.

494 CM.1875–2007: ex De Wit S 190; from Spink 1988.

495 CM.1876–2007: ex De Wit S 191; from Finn 1996.

496 CM.1877–2007: ex De Wit S 193; ex NCirc 95 (1987), no. 7052.

497 CM.1878–2007: ex De Wit S 286; from Spink 1995.

498 CM.1879–2007: ex De Wit S 287; from Finn 1994.

499 CM.1880–2007: ex De Wit S 285; ex Spink sale 63, 28.3.1988, lot 308; ex Agricola 82; found at Lakenheath, Suffolk.

500 CM.1881–2007: ex De Wit S 234; from Finn 1994.

501 CM.1883–2007: ex De Wit S 252; from Finn 1995.

502 CM.1882–2007: ex De Wit S 253; from Spink 1990.

503 CM.1884–2007: ex De Wit S 288; ex NCirc 103 (1995), no. 2607; ex NCirc 91 (1983), no. 3879.

504 CM.1885–2007: ex De Wit S 363; ex NCirc 96 (1988), no. 4602; found 'near Thetford', Norfolk.

505 CM.1886–2007: ex De Wit S 364; ex Glendining sale 2/6, 11.5.1994, lot 229.

506 CM.1890–2007: ex De Wit S 368; ex Finn list 7 (1996), no. 43.

507 CM.1889–2007: ex De Wit S 367; from Spink 1980.

508 CM.1887–2007: ex De Wit S 365; from Spink 1992.

509 CM.1888–2007: ex De Wit S 366; ex NCirc 101 (1993), no. 114; ex NCirc 101 (1993), no. 6123.

510 CM.1891–2007: ex De Wit S 369; from Finn 1996.

511 CM.1892–2007: ex De Wit S 370; ex NCirc 97 (1989), no. 3998.

512 CM.1893–2007: ex De Wit S 194; from Finn 1994.

513 CM.1894–2007: ex De Wit S 289; ex Subjack 68.

514 CM.1895–2007: ex De Wit S 290; ex Elsen list 195 (1997), no. 93.

515 CM.1898–2007: ex De Wit S 293; ex Finn list 2 (1994), no. 30.



SERIES Q (*cont.*)

516 Obv. no cross behind. 1.04g 0°.

517 Obv. serpent between bird's legs. Rev. tail of animal over body then between legs. 0.87g 270°.

518 Obv. bird r.; no crosses. Rev. creature r. 0.84g 0°.

Type QIIE

519 Obv. stag walking l. w. pellets around. Rev. quadrupedal creature walking l. w. crossed tail, w. pellets around. 0.96g 270°.

Type QIIF

520 Obv. cross fourchée w. highly schematised bird above and below, and pellets to either side. Rev. curving creature r. w. head turned backwards. 0.89g 340°.

Type QIILA (T&S 386–7)

Obv. bird stepping r. w. triquetra behind and pellets around. Rev. quadrupedal creature walking l. w. head turned backwards and curled tail.

521 Rev. tail forms triquetra. 1.03g 180°.

522 Rev. forked tail. 0.97g 270°.

523 0.71g (corroded) 310°.

516 CM.1897–2007: ex De Wit S 292; ex Finn list 8 (1996), no. 39.

517 CM.1896–2007: ex De Wit S 291; ex *NCirc* 103 (1995), no. 6161.

518 CM.1899–2007: ex De Wit S 294; ex *NCirc* 102 (1994), no. 7130.

519 CM.1900–2007: ex De Wit S 305; ex Finn list 11 (1997), no. 42.

520 CM.1901–2007: ex De Wit S 195; ex Subjack 71.

521 CM.1902–2007: ex De Wit S 295; ex Vecchi sale 2, 12.9.1996, lot 1127.

522 CM.1903–2007: ex De Wit S 296; ex *NCirc* 104 (1996), no. 1465.

523 CM.1904–2007: ex De Wit S 297; from Spaar- en Voorschotbank 1990.

EARLY SILVER PENNIES

SERIES Q (*cont.*)

Type QIVA (Type 44)

Obv. sinuous quadrupedal creature (lion?) l., w. protruding tongue. Rev. bird walking r., w. foliage before.

524 1.07g 45°. Same dies as *SCBI* 16.67 and *SCBI* 63.621.

525 0.98g 45°.

526 Rev. as obv. 0.79g 180°.

SERIES Q/R MULES (TYPE 73 VAR.), WITH ANIMALS AND STANDARDS

527 Obv. curled creature r., w. head turned backwards. Rev. **T** **⊙** **T** / **I** **I** within standard, w. crosses outside. 0.71g 225°.

528 Obv. bird walking r. w. pellets around. Rev. standard containing annulet and eight pellets, w. crosses outside. 1.05g 90°.

529 Obv. bird walking l. w. pellets around. Rev. standard containing annulet and other symmetrical ornaments, w. crosses on outside. 0.95g 90°.

530 Obv. quadrupedal creature r. w. pellets around. Rev. as last. $\mathcal{A}$ 0.72g 0°. Base metal?

SERIES Q/R (*T&S* 388)

Obv. **er** before schematised radiate bust r. Rev. quadrupedal creature r. w. forked tail.

531 Rev. creature l. 0.92g 220°.

532 0.84g 270°.

533 Obv. legend off flan; bust l. 0.72g 270°.

534 0.69g (slightly chipped) 45°. *MEC* 1.707; Hill 1952-4, pl. 4, 14; 1953, pl. 7, 26.

535 Obv. **er** (ligatured); bust l. 0.60g 250°.

SERIES R (SECONDARY)

Type R3 (T&S 396-9)

Obv. **Xepa** before radiate bust l. w. annulet behind. Rev. standard containing rosette and ornaments, w. bars projecting from edges and corners.

536 1.02g 225°.

537 Obv. bust r. 0.93g 0°.

Type R3 var.

Obv. as last, but with no **X** before **epa**. Rev. double circle containing cross w. annulet terminals.

538 1.18g 30°.

539 Obv. bust r. 1.07g 130°.

Type R4 (Blackburn 'G') (T&S 401)

Obv. **epa** before radiate bust r. Rev. standard containing annulet and symmetrical ornaments around, w. cross on each outer side.

540 0.97g 180°.

541 0.96g 180°.

542 0.81g 180°. *MEC* 1.708; Evans 1894, pl. 2, 5.

Type R5 (Blackburn 'G') (T&S 403-6)

543 Obv. **A** / **epa** behind and in front of radiate bust r. Rev. standard containing **T** **⊙** **T** arranged diagonally in standard, w. trefoils of pellets inside and crosses out outside. 0.81g 190°.

Type R5 var. (imitation?)

Obv. as last, but legend **AT** / **epa**. Rev. standard containing pellet w. four T-shaped ornaments around, spray above, cross below and pseudo-legend either side.

544 1.00g 180°.

545 0.89g 0°.

524 CM.1905-2007: ex De Wit S 301; ex *NCirc* 102 (1994), no. 7129.

525 CM.1906-2007: ex De Wit S 302; ex *NCirc* 103 (1995), no. 5506.

526 CM.1907-2007: ex De Wit S 303; from Spink 1991.

527 CM.1909-2007: ex De Wit S 178; ex Finn list 17 (1999), no. 53.

528 CM.1911-2007: ex De Wit S 299; from Finn 1997.

529 CM.1910-2007: ex De Wit S 298; ex Finn list 7 (1996), no. 45; found Suffolk, 1995.

530 CM.1908-2007: ex De Wit S 306; ex Finn list 17 (1999), no. 54.

531 CM.1944-2007: ex De Wit S 308; ex *NCirc* 99 (1991), no. 3883.

532 CM.1943-2007: ex De Wit S 307; ex *NCirc* 102 (1994), no. 4084.

533 CM.1946-2007: ex De Wit S 310; from Baldwin 1996.

534 CM.20-1977: ex Mack (II) 9 (*SCBI* 20, 327); ex Hill.

535 CM.1945-2007: ex De Wit S 309; ex Finn list 7 (1996), no. 44.

536 CM.1919-2007: ex De Wit S 36; ex Finn list 16 (1999), no. 58.

537 CM.1918-2007: ex De Wit S 34; from Spink 1997; ex Linzalone; ex Stack sale 7.12.1994, lot 2284.

538 CM.1932-2007: ex De Wit S 232; ex *NCirc* 96 (1988), no. 126.

539 CM.1931-2007: ex De Wit S 231; ex *NCirc* 97 (1989), no. 1034.

540 CM.1921-2007: ex De Wit S 38; ex Finn list 14 (1998), no. 49.

541 CM.1920-2007: ex De Wit S 37; ex Vecchi sale 14, 5.2.1999, lot 1698; ex Subjack 75. 542 CM.399-1970: ex Grierson (gift) 1970; from Baldwin 8.10.1968; ex Grantley 754; ex Evans; from the Cambridge hoard.

543 CM.1922-2007: ex De Wit S 39; from Spink 1988.

544 CM.1924-2007: ex De Wit S 41; ex Vecchi sale 13, 4.9.1998, lot 1663; ex Rudd list 34 (1998), no. 27; found Woodbridge, Suffolk.

545 CM.1923-2007: ex De Wit S 40; ex Künker sale 35, 11.3.1997, lot 1078.



SERIES R (SECONDARY) (*cont.*)

Type R6 (T&S 407)

- 546 Obv. **XA** / **epa** behind and in front of radiate bust l. Rev. standard containing annulet and four pellets, w. spray above and crosses on three other sides. 1.15g 0°.

Type R7 (T&S 408)

- 547 Obv. pseudo-runes before crude radiate bust r. Rev. standard containing annulet and symmetrical ornaments, w. cross on each outer side. 0.88g 0°.

Type R7 mule w. Type 70 (T&S 409)

- 548 Obv. **epa** before radiate bust l. Rev. standard containing saltire, w. spray above (cf. Type 70 (**586–8**)). 0.60g 180°. Possibly same rev. die as T&S 409.

Type R8 (T&S 410–14)

- Obv. **epa** before crude radiate bust r., w. two annulets behind and one before. Rev. standard containing annulet and symmetrical ornaments, w. crosses on outer sides.

549 1.13g 0°.

550 0.98g 0°.

551 0.97g 0°.

552 Obv. **eri**. 0.94g 0°.

553 Obv. pseudo-runes. 1.25g 90°.

554 Obv. pseudo-runes. 1.06g 0°. Same dies as SCBI 63.664–5.

546 CM.1925–2007: ex De Wit S 42; from Baldwin 1980; ex Lockett 210; ex W. Allen 171; possibly found Langford, Bedfordshire (EMC 1977.0042).

547 CM.1933–2007: ex De Wit S 43; from Spink 1997.

548 CM.1934–2007: ex De Wit S 44; ex Subjack 78; found Caistor-by-Norwich, Norfolk.

549 CM.1937–2007: ex De Wit S 46; from Spink 1987.

550 CM.1936–2007: ex De Wit S 47; ex Finn list 14 (1998), no. 50.

551 CM.1935–2007: ex De Wit S 45; from Spink 1988.

552 CM.1938–2007: ex De Wit S 51; from Spink 1988.

553 CM.1940–2007: ex De Wit S 49; ex Elsen list 195 (1997), no. 97.

554 CM.1939–2007: ex De Wit S 48; from Spink 1986; ex Mack (not in sales) (SCBI 20, 325); from Spink 1953; ex Hill.

EARLY SILVER PENNIES

SERIES R (SECONDARY) (*cont.*)

Type R8r (T&S 417–19)

Obv. as last, but bust l. Rev. **T** **Θ** **T** / **I** **I** within standard, w. spray on r. and crosses on other outer sides.

555 0.97g 90°.

556 Rev. angles in place of **I** **I**. 0.78g 90°.

Type R9 (Blackburn 'H') (T&S 421)

Obv. legend before bust r. w. C-shaped ear and annulet behind. Rev. standard containing variable symmetrical ornaments around annulet, w. crosses and spray on outer sides.

557 Obv. **epa**. 1.13g 90°.

558 Obv. **epa**. 1.06g 180°.

559 Obv. **spi**. 1.11g 0°. Same obv. die as 560.

560 Obv. **spi**. 0.87g 0°. *MEC* 1.712. Same obv. die as 559.

Type R10 (Blackburn 'J') (T&S 423–5)

Obv. **wigrd** before radiate bust r. w. C-shaped ear and two annulets behind. Rev. standard containing annulet and symmetrical ornaments, w. crosses on outer sides.

561 *Wigræd*. 0.74g 180°.

562 *Wigræd*. 0.84g 90°. *SCBI* 1.235; *MEC* 1.714.

Type R10 var.

563 *Wigræd*. Obv. as last, but legend **wigræd**. Rev. as last, but outer crosses extend into standard, joining at central annulet, w. **Γ** in each inner angle. 0.92g 0°.

564 *Wigræd*. Obv. bust l. 0.86g 290°. *SCBI* 1.236; *MEC* 1.715.

565 *Wigræd*. Obv. bust l. 0.85g 180°.

Type R11 (Blackburn 'K') (T&S 426–8)

Obv. legend before radiate bust r. w. C-shaped ear, two annulets behind and one in front. Rev. standard containing annulet and symmetrical ornaments, w. crosses on outer sides.

566 *Tilbeorht*. Obv. **tilberht**. 0.92g 0°.

567 *Tilbeorht*. Obv. **tilbert**. 0.80g 0°.

568 *Tilbeorht*. Obv. [**l**] **berht**. 0.59g (chipped) 180°. *MEC* 1.713.

Imitations

569 Obv. **A** / **lel** behind and in front of radiate bust r. Rev. standard containing annulet w. four radiating bars. 1.04g 180°.

570 Obv. **epa** before radiate bust r. Rev. standard containing uncertain ornaments. 0.85g (corroded) 0°. *MEC* 1.710. Plated contemporary forgery.

571 Obv. **gpa** before radiate bust r. Rev. standard containing saltire w. trefoils of pellets in angles, and pellets outside. 1.09g 0°.

572 Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.06g 270°.

573 Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.03g 0°.

Uncertain sub-type

Obv. illegible legend before radiate bust r. Rev. standard containing annulet and symmetrical ornaments.

574 1.13g (corroded) 0°. *MEC* 1.711.

SERIES R/E MULE (*T&S* 213)

575 Obv. **Tepa** before radiate bust r. Rev. standard containing ornaments similar to letters **V** **I** **E** **O** (cf. Series E), w. crosses outside. 1.08g 270°. Same dies as *T&S* 213.

SERIES R/TYPE 51 MULE (*T&S* 435)

576 Obv. radiate bust r. w. cross before. Rev. double standard containing saltire w. trefoils of pellets in angles, and lines of pellets outside. 0.97g 0°.

555 CM.1941–2007: ex De Wit S 50; from Spink 1997.

556 CM.1942–2007: ex De Wit S 52; ex Subjack 79.

557 CM.1948–2007: ex De Wit S 35; ex *NCirc* 94 (1986), no. 6037.

558 CM.1949–2007: ex De Wit S 33; ex Finn list 6 (1995), no. 57.

559 CM.1947–2007: ex De Wit S 53; ex *NCirc* 99 (1991), no. 3891; ex Mack (not in sales) (*SCBI* 20, 324); from Spink 30.6.1954; ex Hill; ex Grantley 752; from the Cambridge hoard.

560 CM.121–1967: ex Grierson (gift), 1967; ex Chilvers coll.; ex Erskine; ex Lawrence 193(b); found Woodbridge, Suffolk, before 1934.

561 CM.1950–2007: ex De Wit S 54; ex *NCirc* 96 (1988), no. 4610.

562 CM.ME.394-R: no provenance.

563 CM.764–2010: from Ayres; found Great Cressingham, Norfolk (EMC 2010.0054).

564 CM.ME.395-R: no provenance.

565 CM.1951–2007: ex De Wit S 55; ex Subjack 80; ex Stack sale 7.12.1994, lot 2287.

566 CM.385–1991: from S. Brown (finder); found at Beechamwell, Norfolk, 1990.

567 CM.511–1993: from Granta Stamp and Coin Shop, 10.11.1993.

568 CM.48–1983: from Granta Stamp and Coin Shop 1983; found at Middle Harling, Norfolk, January 1983 (possibly a stray from the Middle Harling hoard?).

569 CM.1926–2007: ex De Wit S 235; ex Finn list 12 (1997), no. 53.

570 CM.56–1983: ex Sorenson (gift) 1983; from Granta Stamp and Coin Shop, February 1983; found near Cambridge, Cambridgeshire

(Blackburn and Sorenson 1984) (EMC 1986.8710).

571 CM.1929–2007: ex De Wit S 260; ex Finn list 9 (1997), no. 46.

572 CM.1928–2007: ex De Wit S 259; ex Finn list 12 (1997), no. 52.

573 CM.1930–2007: ex De Wit S 261; ex Stack 221; from Spink 12.7.1979; from the Aston Rowant hoard.

574 CM.55–1983: ex Sorenson (gift) 1983; from Granta Stamp and Coin Shop, February 1983; found near Cambridge, Cambridgeshire (Blackburn and Sorenson 1984) (EMC 1986.8711).

575 CM.1927–2007: ex De Wit S 84; ex Jordan 1244.

576 CM.1958–2007: ex De Wit S 262; ex Finn list 9 (1997), no. 45.



TYPE 51 (*T&S* 432–3)

Obv. two standing figures, one facing and one r., holding crosses and w. cross between. Rev. double standard containing saltire w. trefoils of pellets in angles.

577 1.04g 330°. Same obv. die as *SCBI* 63.723–4 and *T&S* 433.

578 1.08g 0°.

Type 51 var.

579 Obv. circle containing cross formed of four heart-shaped lobes and w. pellets at terminals. Rev. double circle containing saltire w. trefoils of pellets in angles. 0.82g 0°.

TILUWALD GROUP (related to Type 51)

580 *Tiluwald*. Obv. **tiluwald** arranged around central annulet. Rev. double standard containing saltire w. trefoils of pellets in angles. 1.06g 45°.

TYPE 30A (*T&S* 431)

Obv. facing bearded bust. Rev. two standing figures facing, holding staffs.

581 1.08g 180°.

582 Rev. one figure facing; cross between. 0.92g 0°. Same dies as *SCBI* 63.716–17.

TYPE 81

583 Obv. as last. Rev. cross w. annulet terminals in circle. 1.05g 0°.

TYPE 82 (TYPE 30B/8 MULE)
(*T&S* 429)

Obv. as last. Rev. standard containing annulet and four Γ-shaped ornaments, w. pellets outside.

584 1.17g 180°. Same obv. die as *T&S* 429.

585 Rev. standard contains annulet and four lines. 1.07g 270°.

577 CM.1957–2007: ex De Wit S 263; from Spink 1994.

578 CM.524–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 71, no. 44) (EMC 1986.0044).

579 CM.1959–2007: ex De Wit S 264; ex Finn list 16 (1999), no. 59.

580 CM.2355–2009: from R. Potter (finder), 10.11.2009; found near Wymondham, Norfolk, November 2009 (EMC 2009.0366).

581 CM.1953–2007: ex De Wit S 410; from Spink 1997.

582 CM.1952–2007: ex De Wit S 411; ex Mack (II) 24 (*SCBI* 20, 360); ex Lockett 240; ex Roth (II) 61; ex Montagu 166; ex Londesborough.

583 CM.1954–2007: ex De Wit S 412; ex Finn list 16 (1999), no. 65.

584 CM.1955–2007: ex De Wit S 413; ex *NCirc* 96 (1988), no. 125; ex Lockett 241; probably found Minster-in-Sheppey, Kent, c. 1809.

585 CM.1956–2007: ex De Wit S 414; from Spink 1994.

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TYPE 70 (*T&S* 436–7)

Obv. standard containing saltire w. pellets in angles, spray below and bars and pellets outside. Rev. standard containing annulet w. bars at terminals and trefoils of pellets outside.

586 1.04g 180°.

587 Rev. standard has crosses outside and pellets at corners. 0.90g 0°.

588 Rev. standard contains two Γ-shaped ornaments, w. T-shaped ornaments outside. 0.78g 270°.

SERIES S (TYPE 47)

Type S1 (*T&S* 438–9)

Obv. female centaur w. wings and prominent breasts and tail l. Rev. heads of four creatures w. protruding tongues, which spiral to conjoin in centre.

589 1.13g 0°.

590 1.10g 0°.

591 1.02g 0°.

592 1.02g 0°.

593 0.97g 0°.

594 0.96g 0°.

595 0.95g 0°.

596 0.95g 0°.

597 0.91g 180°.

598 0.89g (slightly chipped) 0°. *MEC* 1.716.

599 0.88g 0°.

600 0.87g 0°.

601 0.67g 0°.

SERIES T (TYPE 9)

Type T1

602 Obv. **†L̄EL** before crested bust r. Rev. ‘porcupine’ w. line of pellets beneath and large pellet at tip l. 1.04g 180°.

Type T2/1 (*T&S* 442–3)

Obv. as last, but bust without crest and legend **†L̄CLN**. Rev. as last.

603 1.13g 90°.

604 Obv. **†LCV(?)**. 0.90g 210°. *SCBI* 1.248; *MEC* 1.717.

Type T2 (*T&S* 444)

Obv. as last, but w. variable legend. Rev. as last, but no line of pellets beneath porcupine.

605 Obv. **†L̄EL**. 1.13g 180°.

606 Obv. **†L̄CLN**. 0.95g 270°.

586 CM.1960–2007: ex De Wit S 271; from Spink 1987; ex *NCirc* 91 (1983), no. 3870.

587 CM.1961–2007: ex De Wit S 272; from Finn 1996.

588 CM.1962–2007: ex De Wit S 273; ex *NCirc* 103 (1995), no. 6162.

589 CM.519–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 75, no. 36) (*EMC* 1986.0036).

590 CM.1.28–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Grantley.

591 CM.1964–2007: ex De Wit S 212; ex *NCirc* 94 (1986), no. 6036.

592 CM.558–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (*EMC* 1994.5107).

593 CM.521–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 75, no. 40) (*EMC* 1986.0040).

594 CM.620–2006: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, October 2005.

595 CM.544–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (*EMC* 1989.5185).

596 CM.520–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 75, no. 39) (*EMC* 1986.0039).

597 CM.1965–2007: ex De Wit S 213; ex Künker sale 35, 11.3.1997, lot 1076.

598 CM.76–1983: ex Grierson (gift), 1983; *NCirc* 91 (1983), no. 3883; ex Mack (not in sales) (*SCBI* 20, 362); ex Grantley 685; ex Rashleigh 29.

599 CM.1966–2007: ex De Wit S 214; from Spink 1988.

600 CM.567–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (*EMC* 1990.0326).

601 CM.1963–2007: ex De Wit S 211; ex Rauch sale 57, 11.4.1996, lot 9.

602 CM.522–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 75, no. 41) (*EMC* 1986.0041).

603 CM.1967–2007: ex De Wit S 251; from Spink 1994; possibly found in west London (National Gallery site) (*T&S*, p. 546).

604 CM.YG.2114-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 152; found at Stamford, Lincolnshire (*EMC* 1986.8717).

605 CM.1968–2007: ex De Wit S 249; from Spink 1994.

606 CM.1969–2007: ex De Wit S 250; ex Norweb 751 (*SCBI* 16, 58); from Baldwin April 1955.



SERIES U (TYPE 23)

Type 23b (T&S 445–8)

Obv. standing figure r. w. prominent breasts in schematised ship (?) holding two crosses. Rev. bird stepping r. through vine.

- 607 0.96g 0°. Same obv. die as **608**.
- 608 1.06g 225°. Same obv. die as **607**.
- 609 Æ 0.89g 180°.
- 610 0.79g (corroded) 270°.

Type 23d (T&S 449–50)

Obv. as last but of more linear style. Rev. as last but of less linear style.

- 611 1.00g 315°.
- 612 1.16g 180°. Same dies as T&S 449.
- 613 1.13g 180°.
- 614 0.64g (chipped) 330°. SCBI 1.262; MEC 1.718.

Type 23b/d (T&S 451)

615 Obv. as last. Rev. elaborate bird stepping r. through vine. 0.95g 0°. Same obv. die as SCBI 63.748.

Type 23c (T&S 452)

616 Obv. standing facing figure w. prominent breasts and pulled-back veil (*maphorion*) in schematised ship (?), holding two crosses. Rev. bird stepping r. through vine. 0.77g 135°.

Type 23c var.

Obv. similar to last, but w. creatures on either side of figure.

617 1.07g 0°. Possibly same dies as specimen acquired by the Ashmolean Museum in 1998 (1.08g, found at Shalbourne, Wiltshire).

607 CM.1970–2007: ex De Wit S 165; ex NCirc 106 (1998), no. 1004; found at Hollingbourne, Kent.

608 CM.71–1994: NCirc 101 (1993), no. 8405.

609 CM.1971–2007: ex De Wit S 166; ex Finn list 4 (1995), no. 52.

610 CM.1972–2007: ex De Wit S 170; from Spink 1987; ex Mack (not in sales) (SCBI 20, 347); from Baldwin 20.10.1960; ex Grantley 644; ex Rashleigh 29.

611 CM.550–2012: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site, August/September 2011 (EMC 2012.0064).

612 CM.1973–2007: ex De Wit S 168; ex NCirc 97 (1989), no. 4004; ex Mack (not in sales) (SCBI 20, 346); ex NCirc 94 (1986), no. 3205.

613 CM.1974–2007: ex De Wit S 169; ex NCirc 102 (1994), no. 5626.

614 CM.TR.1942–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Battely; found Reculver, Kent (Battely 1745, pl. 7) (EMC 1986.8718).

615 CM.1975–2007: ex De Wit S 167; ex NCirc 98 (1990), no. 1669.

616 CM.545–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1989.5186).

617 CM.1976–2007: ex De Wit S 171; ex Subjack 86.

EARLY SILVER PENNIES

SERIES U (TYPE 23) (*cont.*)

Uncertain

Two fused coins, one illegible, the other with a bird in branch design as found on the reverse of Series U. 618 1.47g.

SERIES V (TYPE 7)

Type V1 (T&S 453)

619 Obv. facing bird standing w. vine and grapes either side. Rev. she-wolf w. lowered head suckling twins. 1.05g 180°. Same dies as a find from Canterbury (T&S, p. 571 n. 8); same rev. die as SCBI 63.751 and T&S 453.

Type V3

Obv. as last. Rev. as last, but she-wolf's head turned backwards. 620 1.09g (slightly chipped) 180°. 621 0.98g 0°. 622 0.88g 90°.

SERIES X (ENGLISH VARIETIES) (cf. T&S, pp. 292–3.)

Obv. facing bearded bust w. w-shaped beard or drapery, and w. cross either side. Rev. curling creature l., w. head turned backwards. Another group of coins of similar type but distinct style have been attributed to Jutland and are catalogued above (313–21).

623 0.94g (slightly corroded) 270°. Same dies as 624. 624 0.85g 135°. Same dies as 623.

625 0.98g (corroded) 200°. 626 0.94g 0°.

Series X var.

Obv. as last, but w. no hair (similar to Series Z Type 66 (112–15)). Rev. as last. 627 1.16g 270°.

KINGS OF THE NORTHUMBRIANS

All coins are pennies, varying significantly in fineness and shading into base metal in the mid-ninth century. Historically, the ninth-century coins of Northumbria have also been known (probably wrongly) as 'stycas'. The mint is presumed to be York in all cases. For commentary, see Chapter 5, pp. 111–27.

ALDFRITH, 685–704

Obv. ~~+~~ALDFRITH around annulet. Rev. quadrupedal creature (lion?) l., w. forked tail. North 176. 629 1.08g 90°. 630 1.06g 90°. 628 1.13g 0°.

618 CM.546–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1989.5187).

619 CM.1977–2007: ex De Wit S 175; ex Finn list 4 (1995), no. 53; ex Mack (II) 20 (SCBI 20, 361); ex Lockett 223; ex Grantley 723; ex Montagu 162; ex Londesborough.

620 CM.1979–2007: ex De Wit S 177; ex NCirc 100 (1992), no. 855.

621 CM.1978–2007: ex De Wit S 176; from Finn 1997.

622 CM.547–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1989.5188).

623 CM.1759–2007: ex De Wit S 408; from Spink 1991.

624 CM.550–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1989.5189).

625 CM.549–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1986.5190).

626 CM.523–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, p. 76, no. 43) (EMC 1986.0043).

627 CM.1760–2007: ex De Wit S 409; ex NCirc 91 (1983), no. 3881; ex Mack (not in sales)

(SCBI 20, 359); from Spink 3.11.1955; ex Kent.

628 CM.1980–2007: ex De Wit S 422; from Finn 1996.

629 CM.1981–2007: ex De Wit S 423; from Spink 1993.

630 CM.2172–1997: ex Henderson and Henderson (gift); from Finn, June 1997; acq. from Dorset.



EADBERHT, 737–58

Class A (T&S 454; North 177)

Obv. legend around cross pattée. Rev. quadrupedal creature (lion?) r.

631 Obv. **EADBERHTVΓ**. 1.06g 90°.

632 Obv. **EADBERHTVΓ**. 1.05g 0°. Booth 1984, Eadberht A.10.

633 Obv. as last. 1.04g 0°. *SCBI* 1.266; *MEC* 1.1180; Booth 1984, Eadberht A.10.

634 Obv. **EADBERHTVΓ**. 1.02g 270°.

Class B (T&S 455–6; North 178)

Obv. **EOTBERHTVΓ**, cross pattée. Rev. quadrupedal creature (lion?) l., w. pellets around.

635 1.08g 90°.

636 Rev. no pellets. 1.05g 270°.

637 Rev. creature r. 0.91g 180°.

Class C (T&S 458–9; North 178)

638 Obv. **EOTBERHTVΓ** around tribrach. Rev. quadrupedal creature (lion?) l., w. tail forming annulet. 1.13g 180°. Same obv. die as *SCBI* 2.138.

Class D (T&S 460; North 178)

639 Obv. **EOTBERHTVΓ** around cross pattée. Rev. quadrupedal creature (lion?) l., w. triquetra below and cross behind. 1.14g 180°.

Class E (T&S 461; North 177)

640 Obv. **EOTBERETVΓ** (retrograde, but with letters right way round) around cross pattée. Rev. as last, but creature r. 1.04g 90°.

Class F (T&S 462; North 177)

Obv. **EOTBERHTVS** around circle containing cross pattée w. pellets in angles. Rev. as last.

641 Rev. no cross. 1.03g 180°.

642 0.88g 180°.

Class F var.

Obv. **EOTBERHTVS** around circle containing small facing bust. Rev. quadrupedal creature (lion?) r., w. triquetra below and cross behind.

643 1.04g 70°. Same obv. die as **644**.

644 Rev. no cross. 0.88g (slightly chipped) 270°. Same obv. die as **643**.

Class G (T&S 463; North 177)

Obv. **EOTBERHTVΓ** around cross pattée. Rev. quadrupedal creature (lion?) r., w. two rosettes before, one beneath and one behind.

645 1.07g 180°.

646 0.80g 0°.

ÆTHELWALD MOLL, 759–65

(Not represented in this collection. For commentary see Chapter 5, section (f), pp. 117–19.)

ALHRED, 765–74

Obv. legend around cross pattée. Rev. quadrupedal creature (lion?) r., w. cross pommée beneath. T&S 467; North 179.

647 Obv. **ALCH** / **RED**. 1.01g 180°. *SCBI* 1.267; *MEC* 1.1181; Booth 1984, Alchred 9.

648 Obv. **ALCHRED** (several letters read outwards). 0.95g 90°.

631 CM.1982–2007: ex De Wit S 425; ex Finn list 8 (1996), no. 44.

632 CM.1983–2007: ex De Wit S 424; ex *NCirc* 104 (1996), no. 3344.

633 CM.1.32–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

634 CM.1984–2007: ex De Wit S 426; ex *NCirc* 109 (2001), no. HS0353; ex Shuttlewood.

635 CM.1986–2007: ex De Wit S 428; ex Finn list 11 (1997), no. 45.

636 CM.1985–2007: ex De Wit S 427; ex Finn list 4 (1995), no. 58.

637 CM.1987–2007: ex De Wit S 429; from Finn 1995.

638 CM.1988–2007: ex De Wit S 430; ex Feather 407; found Sancton (Newbold), East Yorkshire, 26.1.1980 (Booth and Blowers 1983, 6) (EMC 1984.0238).

639 CM.1989–2007: ex De Wit S 431; ex Finn list 11 (1997), no. 47.

640 CM.1990–2007: ex De Wit S 432; ex Finn list 5 (1995), no. 42.

641 CM.1992–2007: ex De Wit S 436; ex Finn list 15 (1999), no. 57.

642 CM.1993–2007: ex De Wit S 434; ex Feather 413; found Hayton, Humberside, May 1982 (EMC 1984.0250).

643 CM.1994–2007: ex De Wit S 435; ex Finn list 11 (1997), no. 48.

644 CM.1991–2007: ex De Wit S 433; ex *NCirc* 100 (1992), no. 7418.

645 CM.1996–2007: ex De Wit S 438; ex Finn list 4 (1995), no. 60.

646 CM.1995–2007: ex De Wit S 437; ex Feather 415; found Sancton (Newbold), East Yorkshire (EMC 1984.0253).

647 CM.36–1955: ex Lockett Executors 1955; ex Lockett 266.

648 CM.2000–2007: ex De Wit S 442; from Finn list 7 (1996), no. 50.

KINGS OF THE NORTHUMBRIANS

ÆTHELRED I, FIRST REIGN, 774–8/9

Obv. legend around cross pattée. Rev. quadrupedal creature (lion?) r., w. cross pommée behind and triquetra beneath. *T&S* 469; North 180.

649 Obv. **EDILRED**. 0.93g 180°.

650 Obv. **EDILRED** (retrograde). 0.77g 180°.

ÆLFWALD I, 778/9–88

Class A var. (*T&S* 470; North 182).

651 Obv. **ÆLFVALDVΣ** (several letters read outwards) around cross pattée. Rev. quadrupedal creature (lion?) l. 1.11g 90°.

Class C (*T&S* 470; North 181).

652 Obv. **ÆALFVALDV2** around cross pattée. Rev. quadrupedal creature (lion?) r., w. cross beneath. 1.05g 180°.

Class E (*T&S* 470; North 181 var.).

653 Obv. **FELALDA2** (several letters read outwards) around cross pattée. Rev. as last, but rosette beneath tail. 0.72g (chipped) 180°.

ÆTHELRED I, SECOND REIGN, 790–6

654 *Ceolbeald*. Obv. **XAEDILRED** around cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. Rev. **ÆEOLBALD** around rosette. 1.17g 0°. *T&S* 471–2; North 185.

655 *Cuthgisl*. Obv. **ÆFREDED** around cross pattée. Rev. **EVD** / **GLS** on either side of cross on triangular base. 0.87g 180°. *T&S* 473; North 184.

656 *Cuthheard*. Obv. **ÆAEDILRED R** around cross pattée. Rev. **ÆEVDHEARD** around cross pattée. 1.10g 180°. *T&S* 474; North 185/1.

Obv. legend around cross pattée w. pellets in angles. Rev. legend around cross pattée in circle. *T&S* 475; North 185/1.

657 *Tidwulf*. Obv. **ÆDILRED**. Rev. **ÆTIDVVLF D** (second **V** is inverted **A**). 1.03g 90°.

658 *Tidwulf*. Obv. **ÆDLRED RE**; no pellets. Rev. **ÆTIDVVLF**; no circle. 1.11g 90°.

EARDWULF, 796–806, 808–10

(Not represented in this collection. For commentary, see Chapter 5, section (f), pp. 117–19.)

ÆLFWALD II, 806–8

659 *Cuthheard*. Obv. **ÆFLEVALDA2** (some letters read outwards) around cross pattée. Rev. **CADVHEART** (some letters

read outwards) around cross pattée. 0.82g 0°. *T&S* 470; North 183.

649 CM.2003–2007: ex De Wit S 444; from *NCirc* 104 (1996), no. 3856.

650 CM.2002–2007: ex De Wit S 445; from Finn 1997.

651 CM.2004–2007: ex De Wit S 446; ex Finn list 10 (1997), no. 51.

652 CM.2005–2007: ex De Wit S 448; from Finn 1996.

653 CM.2006–2007: ex De Wit S 449; from *NCirc* 104 (1996), no. 3345; ex Dupree coll.; ex Talbot coll.; ex Ready 52; ex Drabble 294.

654 CM.2008–2007: ex De Wit S 450; from Finn 1996.

655 CM.2009–2007: ex De Wit S 451; Feather 429; found Sancton (Newbold), East Yorkshire, October 1982.

656 CM.2010–2007: ex De Wit S 452; ex Finn list 7 (1996), no. 53.

657 CM.13–1992: from *NCirc* 99 (1991), no. 7984.

658 CM.2011–2007: ex De Wit S 453; ex Finn list 5 (1995), no. 44.

659 CM.2007–2007: ex De Wit S 447; from Finn 1997.



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EANRED, 810–40/1

Obv. legend around central ornament. Rev. legend around central ornament. North 186.

Early phase

- 660 *Cynewulf*. Obv. **†EANRED REX**, rosette. Rev. **CVNVLF**, pellet. 1.17g 260°. *SCBI* 1.271; *MEC* 1.1182. Same obv. die as **661**.
- 661 *Cynewulf*. Obv. legend as last, circle. Rev. legend as last, cross at centre. 1.21g 0°. *SCBI* 1.272; *MEC* 1.1183. Same obv. die as **660**.
- 662 *Cynewulf*. Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross of five pellets. Rev. **†CYNALF** (V is inverted A), cross w. central pellet. 1.32g 110°. *SCBI* 1.273; *MEC* 1.1184. Same rev. die as **663** and Pirie 1996, 31.
- 663 *Cynewulf*. Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.22g 220°. *SCBI* 1.274; *MEC* 1.1185. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 31, and same rev. die as **662**.
- 664 *Cynewulf*. Obv. **EANRED**, pellet. Rev. **CVNVLF**, pellet. 1.22g 270°. *SCBI* 1.275; *MEC* 1.1186.
- 665 *Cynewulf*. Obv. **EANRED R** (AN ligatured), pellet. Rev. **CVNVLF** (V is inverted A; second V, N and F ligatured), pellet. 1.13g 0°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 28.
- 666 *Dægbeorht*. Obv. **EANRED**, rosette. Rev. **†dEBehT** (mixed Latin and runic letters), pellet. 1.25g 90°. Same obv. die as **667**.
- 667 *Dægbeorht*. Obv. **EANRED**, rosette. Rev. **†DAEGBERCT**, cross pattée. 1.19g 90°. Same obv. die as **666**.
- 668 *Dægbeorht*. Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.36g 270°. *SCBI* 1.276; *MEC* 1.1187. Same obv. die as **669** and Pirie 1996, 63–4.

- 669 *Dægbeorht*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.11g 180°. Same obv. die as **668**.
- 670 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†EADVINI**, cross pattée. 1.19g 180°. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 69.
- 671 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.14g 180°. Same rev. die as Pirie 1996, 78.
- 672 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†EADVINI**, cross pattée. 1.00g 270°.
- 673 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†ERDERN REX**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.34g 225°. *SCBI* 1.277; *MEC* 1.1188. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 82.
- 674 *Eadwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.32g 90°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 80 and same rev. die as **675**.
- 675 *Eadwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.29g 270°. Same rev. die as **674** and Pirie 1996, 80.
- 676 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†EADAEANA**, rosette. Rev. legend as last, rosette. 1.28g 160°.
- 677 *Eadwine* (?). Obv. **†EV+DV REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†EHDVEI**, cross pattée. 1.11g 90°.
- 678 *Heræd*. Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **†HERRED**, cross pattée in circle. 1.24g 0°. *SCBI* 1.288; *MEC* 1.1193.
- 679 *Heræd*. Obv. legend as last, pellet in circle. Rev. legend as last, rosette. 1.24g 90°. *SCBI* 1.287; *MEC* 1.1194. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 109.
- 680 *Heræd*. Obv. legend as last, cross pattée. Rev. legend as last, cross pattée. 1.22g 90°. *SCBI* 1.286; *MEC* 1.1191.

660 CM.YG.3136-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 188.
 661 CM.YG.3137-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 188.
 662 CM.YG.3138-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 188.
 663 CM.ME.405-R: uncertain provenance.
 664 CM.YG.3139-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 188.
 665 CM.1.31-1990: ex Blunt coll.
 666 CM.1.33-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.
 667 CM.1.32-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.

668 CM.5.24-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
 669 CM.5993-2007: ex J. C. Mossop coll.; bt 1960.
 670 CM.1.34-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 671 CM.2014-2007: ex De Wit S 456; from Spink 1997.
 672 CM.5994-2007: ex J. C. Mossop coll.
 673 CM.ME.406-R: no provenance.
 674 CM.1.35-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.

675 CM.1.36-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 676 CM.1.37-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 677 CM.2013-2007: ex De Wit S 455; from Marshall Field's (Chicago) 1987.
 678 CM.28.7-1920: ex Hasluck.
 679 CM.1.33-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.
 680 CM.YG.3141-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 196.

KINGS OF THE NORTHUMBRIANS

EANRED (810–40/1) (*cont.*)

Early phase (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around central ornament. Rev. legend around central ornament.

- 681 *Herenæd*. Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†HERRED**, cross pattée. 1.19g 270°. *SCBI* 1.283; *MEC* 1.1189.
 682 *Herenæd*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.19g 180°. *SCBI* 1.285; *MEC* 1.1190. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 101.
 683 *Herenæd*. Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.10g 90°. *SCBI* 1.284; *MEC* 1.1192. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 98.
 684 *Herenæd*. Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†HRERED**, cross pattée. 1.29g 300°.
 685 *Huætæd*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†HVAETRED**, cross pattée. 1.27g 180°.
 686 *Huætæd*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.26g 100°. *SCBI* 1.290; *MEC* 1.1196.
 687 *Huætæd*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. *MEC* 1.1198; *CCC Catalogue*, 140. 1.24g 90°.
 688 *Huætæd*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.23g 180°. *SCBI* 1.289; *MEC* 1.1195.
 689 *Huætæd*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.12g 90°. *SCBI* 1.291; *MEC* 1.1197.
 690 *Huætæd*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.10g 100°.
 691 *Tidwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†TIDVINI**, cross pattée. 1.18g 180°.
 692 *Wilheah*. Obv. **†EANRED REX**, annulet. Rev. **†VILHEAH**, annulet. 1.20g 0°.
 693 *Wulfheard*. Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†ALFHEARD**, cross pattée. 1.27g 20°.
 694 *Wulfheard*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†VVLFEARD**, cross pattée. 1.10g 110°. *SCBI* 1.278; *MEC* 1.1199.
 695 *Wulfheard*. Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†VVLFEARD**, cross pattée. 1.16g 90°.
 696 *Wulfheard*. Obv. **†E|JNRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†[VV]LFHEARD**, cross pattée. 1.15g (chipped) 270°.
 697 *Wulfheard*. Obv. **†EANHDEHEX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†VVLFEHRAD**, cross pattée. 1.11g 180°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 93.

Later phase

- 698 *Aldates*. Obv. **†EAVRED RE**, cross pattée. Rev. **†ALDATCEI2**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. 1.22g 270°. Probably identical with 'Gadutels' (710–12).
 699 *Brother*. Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†BRODR**, annulet at centre. 1.23g 0°. *SCBI* 1.269; *MEC* 1.1201. Same dies as 700.
 700 *Brother*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.15g 270°. *SCBI* 1.268; *MEC* 1.1200. Same dies as 699.
 701 *Brother*. Obv. legend as last, pellet. Rev. legend as last, rosette. 1.15g 270°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 139.
 702 *Folnoth*. Obv. **†EANRAD REX** (retrograde), cross pattée. Rev. **†FOLNOD M**, cross pattée. 1.18g 0°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 646.
 703 *Forthæd*. Obv. **†EANRED REX** (retrograde, letters reversed), pellet (?). Rev. **†FORDRED**, cross pattée. 1.32g 270°. *SCBI* 1.281; *MEC* 1.1204.
 704 *Forthæd*. Obv. **†EAVRED RE**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.24g 270°. *SCBI* 1.279; *MEC* 1.1203.
 705 *Forthæd*. Obv. **†EANRED REX**, annulet. Rev. as last. 1.23g 135°. *SCBI* 1.282; *MEC* 1.1202.
 706 *Forthæd*. Obv. **†EAVRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.16g 280°.
 707 *Forthæd*. Obv. **†EAN|RED R|EX** (retrograde), cross pattée. Rev. as last. 0.84g (worn) 280°. *SCBI* 1.280; *MEC* 1.1205. Possibly same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 668–9. Possibly a later imitation?
 708 *Forthæd*. Obv. **†EDANRE REX**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.39g 190°. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 656–7.
 709 *Forthæd*. Obv. **†ERANRED EX** (retrograde), cross pattée. Rev. as last. 0.88g 90°. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 660–7.
 710 *Gadutels*. Obv. **†EATNRED RE**, cross pattée. Rev. **†GADVTCEI2**, cross pattée. 1.36g 270°. Possibly same dies as Pirie 1996, 676. Moneyer probably identical with 'Aldates' (698).
 711 *Gadutels*. Obv. **†EATNRED R**. Rev. as last. 1.05g 270°. *MEC* 1.1206. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 672.
 712 *Gadutels*. Obv. **†EATNRED RE**, cross pattée. Rev. **†GADVTCEI2**, cross pattée. 1.23g 0°.

681 CM.YG.3140-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 196.

682 CM.ME.407-R: no provenance.

683 CM.YG.3142-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Shepherd 38.

684 CM.1.41-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1954; ex Hall.

685 CM.2015-2007: ex De Wit S 457; ex Finn list 15 (1999), no. 62.

686 CM.YG.3144-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 196.

687 CM.LS.5501-R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll.; bt Newcastle 11.6.1877; from the Hexham hoard (Spufford 1961, 214, no. i).

688 CM.YG.3143-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Shepherd 38.

689 CM.YG.3145-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 196.

690 CM.1.42-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.

691 CM.1.46-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.

692 CM.1.47-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.

693 CM.1.51-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.

694 CM.YG.3146-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Shepherd 38.

695 CM.1.54-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.

696 CM.1.52-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.

697 CM.1.50-1990: ex Blunt coll.

698 CM.1.29-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.

699 CM.YG.3148-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 188.

700 CM.YG.3147-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 188.

701 CM.1.30-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.

702 CM.1.38-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.

703 CM.ME.412-R: no provenance.

704 CM.ME.411-R: no provenance.

705 CM.TR.1946-R: Trinity College; ex J. D. White (gift) 1876; found with 743 in a tumulus near Carlisle, Cumbria, September 1876.

706 CM.5995-2007: ex J. C. Mossop coll.; from 1960.

707 CM.ME.413-R: no provenance.

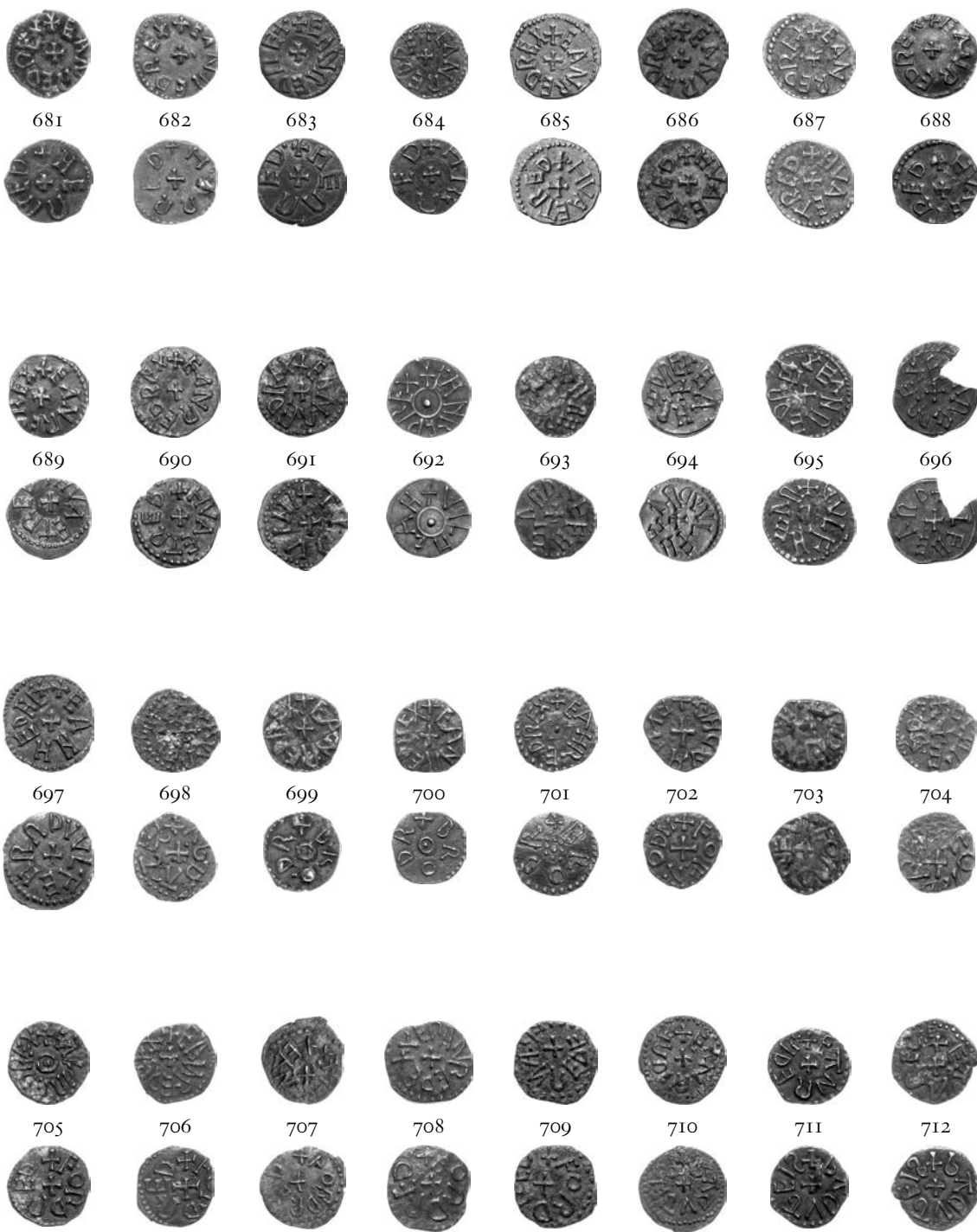
708 CM.1.39-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.

709 CM.1657-2001: from Rickett (finder); found Torksey productive site, Lincolnshire.

710 CM.PG.181-2006: Grierson bequest; from Seaby 22.2.1945.

711 CM.125-1974: from Collins & Clark 1974; ex Wyatt.

712 CM.1.40-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.



KINGS OF THE NORTHUMBRIANS

EANRED (810–40/1) (*cont.*)

Later phase (cont.)

Obv. legend around central ornament. Rev. legend around central ornament.

- 713 *Man.* Obv. **†EANRED RE** (?), cross pattée. Rev. **†MONNE**, cross pattée. 1.26g 0°. *SCBI* 1.293; *MEC* 1.1207.
 714 *Man.* Obv. **†EANRED REX**, annulet. Rev. **†MOINE**, pellet. 1.25g 0°.
 715 *Man.* Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†MONNE**, cross pattée. 1.24g 270°. Same obv. die as **716**.
 716 *Man.* Obv. as last. Rev. legend as last, annulet. 1.11g 270°. Same obv. die as **715**, and possibly same rev. die as Pirie 1996, 630.
 717 *Man.* Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†MOINE**, cross pattée. 1.08g 270°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 618.

- 718 *Man.* Obv. **†EAVRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.05g 180°. *SCBI* 1.292; *MEC* 1.1208.
 719 *Man.* Obv. **†EVNRED REX**, annulet. Rev. **†MOINE**, annulet. 1.18g 0°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 640, and same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 641.
 720 *Odilo.* Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†ODILO MON**, annulet. 1.41g 250°. Possibly same dies as Pirie 1996, 565.
 721 *Wiltred.* Obv. **†EANRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†WIHTRED**, cross pattée. 1.29g 20°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 170.
 722 *Wiltred.* Obv. as last. Rev. **†WIHTRED** (mixed Latin and runic letters), cross pattée. 1.18g 200°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 160.
 723 *Wulfred.* Obv. **†EAVRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†VULFRED**, cross pattée. 0.87g 0°.

ÆTHELRED II, FIRST REIGN, 840/1–4

Obv. legend around central ornament. Rev. legend around central ornament. North 188.

- 724 *Ealhhere.* Obv. **†ÆDILRED R**, cross pattée. Rev. **†ALGHERE**, cross pattée. 1.25g 180°. *SCBI* 1.296; *MEC* 1.1209. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 514.
 725 *Ealhhere.* Obv. as last. Rev. **†ALGHERE**, cross pattée. 1.07g 225°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 509.
 726 *Ealhhere.* Obv. as last. Rev. **†ALGHERE**, cross pattée. 1.05g 15°. *SCBI* 1.297; *MEC* 1.1210. Possibly same dies as Pirie 1996, 520.
 727 *Brother.* Obv. **†EDILRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†BROÐER**, cross pattée. 1.33g 180°. *MEC* 1.1212. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 855.
 728 *Brother.* Obv. **†EDIFRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.23g 270°.
 729 *Brother.* Obv. **†EDIFRED REX**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. Rev. **†BROÐER**, cross pattée. 1.08g 90°.
 730 *Brother.* Obv. **†EÐFRED RE**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. *MEC* 1.1211; *CCC Catalogue*, 141. 1.19g 270°. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 339.
 731 *Cynemund.* Obv. **†EDIFRED REX**, pellet. Rev. **†EAVIMAIÐ**, cross pattée. 1.21g 180°.

- 732 *Cynemund.* Obv. legend as last, cross pattée. Rev. **†CVIEMVND** (mixed Latin and runic letters), cross pattée. 1.17g 180°. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 1423.
 733 *Eannad.* Obv. **†ÆDILRED R**, pellet. Rev. **†EANRED**, pellet. 1.26g 270°. *SCBI* 1.301; *MEC* 1.1220. Possibly same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 537.
 734 *Eannad.* Obv. **†ÆILRED R**, pellet. Rev. **†EANRED**, pellet. 1.43g 0°. *SCBI* 1.298; *MEC* 1.1217. Same obv. die as **735–6** and Pirie 1996, 543–8.
 735 *Eannad.* Obv. as last. Rev. legend as last, rosette. 1.20g 260°. *SCBI* 1.299; *MEC* 1.1218. Same dies as **736** and Pirie 1996, 547; same obv. die as **734** and Pirie 1996, 543–6, 548.
 736 *Eannad.* Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.05g 0°. *SCBI* 1.300; *MEC* 1.1219. Same dies as **735**; same obv. die as **734** and Pirie 1996, 547; same obv. die as **734** and Pirie 1996, 543–6, 548.
 737 *Eannad.* Obv. legend as last, rosette. Rev. **†EAVNRED M**, rosette. 1.17g 90°. Probably same dies as Pirie 1996, 556.
 738 *Eannad.* Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.14g 180°. Probably same dies as Pirie 1996, 555.

- 713 CM.43–1942: ex A. Smith (gift).
 714 CM.1.44–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.
 715 CM.5996–2007: ex J. C. Mossop coll.; from 1960.
 716 CM.2016–2007: ex De Wit S 458; from Schulmann 1983.
 717 CM.1.43–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex P. Thorburn 1925.
 718 CM.ME.414–R: no provenance.
 719 CM.2017–2007: ex De Wit S 459; from Finn list 15 (1999), no. 64; found by Shields.
 720 CM.1.45–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.
 721 CM.1.48–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 722 CM.1.49–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Stewarby (gift) 1965.

- 723 CM.1.53–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 724 CM.5.26–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
 725 CM.1.55–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 726 CM.ME.415–R: no provenance.
 727 CM.129–1974: from Collins & Clark 1974; ex Wyatt.
 728 CM.1.56–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 729 CM.2020–2007: ex De Wit S 462; ex Finn list 9 (1997), no. 57.
 730 CM.LS.5502–R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll.; from Newcastle 11.6.1877; from the Hexham hoard (Spufford 1961, 214, no. ii).

- 731 CM.1.58–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 732 CM.1.57–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 733 CM.ME.417–R: no provenance.
 734 CM.YG.2150–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Shepherd 38.
 735 CM.YG.2151–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 207.
 736 CM.ME.416–R: no provenance.
 737 CM.1.59–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.
 738 CM.1.60–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Stewarby (gift) 1954.



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ÆTHELRED II, FIRST REIGN, 840/1–4 (*cont.*)

- 739 *Eannæd.* Obv. **ÆDELRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **ÆTHREDI**, cross pattée. 1.17g 0°.
 740 *Eannæd.* Obv. **ÆDILRED R**, cross pattée. Rev. **ÆTHRED**, cross pattée. 1.02g (worn). Embedded into the top of a Viking lead weight (15.62g): see Fig. 14. Williams 1999, 9.
 741 *Eannæd.* Obv. **ÆDILRED R**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. Rev. **ÆTHRED**, rosette. 1.34g 0°. SCBI 1.307; MEC 1.1225. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 1378.
 742 *Eannæd.* Obv. **ÆDIFRED RE**, rosette. Rev. **ÆTHRED**, rosette. 1.25g 90°. SCBI 1.309; MEC 1.1226. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1507.
 743 *Eannæd.* Obv. **ÆDIFRED REX**, rosette. Rev. **ÆTHREDV**, pellet. 1.43g 315°. SCBI 1.310; MEC 1.1223. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1524.
 744 *Eannæd.* Obv. **ÆDIFRED REX**, annulet. Rev. **ÆTHRED**, annulet. 1.30g 260°. SCBI 1.302; MEC 1.1222. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 1536–7.



Figure 14. *Oblique and enlarged photograph of 740, placed in its original position embedded in a lead weight.*

739 CM.1.65-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Shirley-Fox coll.

740 CM.793-2008: from Bonser; found in a riverbank near Colchester, Essex, 1993.

741 CM.YG.2154-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Shepherd 39.

742 CM.YG.2155-R: ex Young coll. (gift).

743 CM.TR.1947-R: Trinity College loan; ex J. D. White (gift) 1876; found with 705 in a tumulus near Carlisle, Cumbria, September 1876.

744 CM.ME.427-R: no provenance.

KINGS OF THE NORTHUMBRIANS

ÆTHELRED II, FIRST REIGN, 840/1–4 (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around central ornament. Rev. legend around central ornament.

- 745 *Eanred*. Obv. **ÆDIFRED REX**, rosette. Rev. **ÆTIVRED**, cross of five pellets. 1.19g 90°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1524.
- 746 *Eanred*. Obv. **ÆDILRED REX**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. Rev. legend as last, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. 1.18g 90°. *SCBI* 1.308; *MEC* 1.1221. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 730.
- 747 *Eanred*. Obv. **ÆDIFRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **ÆTIVRED**, annulet. 1.17g 90°. *SCBI* 1.306; *MEC* 1.1224. Possibly same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 1548.
- 748 *Eanred*. Obv. **ÆDILRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **ÆTIVRED**, annulet. 1.13g 90°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 963.
- 749 *Eanred*. Obv. **ÆDIFRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **ÆTIVRED**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. 1.09g 0°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1383.
- 750 *Eanred*. Obv. **ÆÐFLRED RE**, cross pattée. Rev. **ÆTIVRED**, annulet. 1.24g (chipped) 20°. *SCBI* 1.303; *MEC* 1.1214. Same obv. die as 751.
- 751 *Eanred*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.11g 90°. *SCBI* 1.304; *MEC* 1.1215. Same obv. die as 750.
- 752 *Eanred*. Obv. **ÆÐFLRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. legend as last, cross pattée. 1.09g 0°. *SCBI* 1.305; *MEC* 1.1213.
- 753 *Eanred*. Obv. **ÆÐILRED RE**, cross of five pellets. Rev. **ÆTIVRED**, cross pattée. 1.28g 180°. *MEC* 1.1216.
- 754 'Erwine' (irregular). Obv. **ÆDFLRED REX**, rosette. Rev. **ÆRFINNE**, cross of eight pellets. 1.15g 120°. Same rev. die as Pirie 1996, 450 (Eanred), *BMC* 772 (Wigmund) and a coin in the Lyon collection (Eanred).
- 755 *Forthred*. Obv. **ÆDIFRED REX**, annulet. Rev. **ÆFORDRED**, annulet. 1.29g 90°.
- 756 *Forthred*. Obv. legend as last; cross pattée. Rev. **ÆORDRED** (retrograde); cross pattée. 0.99g 0°.
- 757 *Forthred*. Obv. **ÆÐELRED RE**, annulet w. four pellets around. Rev. **ÆFORDRED**, cross of five pellets. 1.14g 90°. *SCBI* 1.312; *MEC* 1.1228. Same rev. die as 758.
- 758 *Forthred*. Obv. **ÆÐFLRED RE**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.33g 90°. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 313, and same rev. die as 757.
- 759 *Forthred*. Obv. legend as last, cross of five pellets. Rev. as last. 1.30g 90°. *SCBI* 1.311; *MEC* 1.1227. Same dies as 760 and probably Pirie 1996, 320.
- 760 *Forthred*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.25g 0°. Same dies as 759 and probably Pirie 1996, 320.
- 761 *Leofhegn*. Obv. **ÆAEOLREO REX**, cross potent w. bars in angles in circle. Rev. **ÆLEOFDEGI**, double annulet. 1.40g 0°. Same dies as 762–3 and Pirie 1996, 228, and same obv. die as 764.
- 762 *Leofhegn*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.36g 270°. Same dies as 761, 763 and Pirie 1996, 228, and same obv. die as 764.
- 763 *Leofhegn*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 0.83g (chipped) 0°. *SCBI* 1.319; *MEC* 1.1230. Same dies as 761–2 and Pirie 1996, 228, and same obv. die as 764.
- 764 *Leofhegn*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ÆLEOFDEGI M**, double annulet. 1.36 0°. *SCBI* 1.318; *MEC* 1.1229. Same obv. die as 761–3 and Pirie 1996, 228, and probably same rev. die as Pirie 1996, 227.
- 765 *Leofhegn*. Obv. **ÆAEOLRED REX**, swastika-like motif. Rev. legend as last, rosette in circle. 1.10g 180°. Same dies as 766.
- 766 *Leofhegn*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.01g 270°. Same dies as 765.
- 767 *Leofhegn*. Obv. **ÆDELRED REX**, four annulets in circle. Rev. **ÆLEOFDEGI MONIET**, voided cross w. pellet. 1.44g 90°. Probably same dies as Pirie 1996, 173.
- 768 *Leofhegn*. Obv. legend as last, cross pattée. Rev. **ÆLEOFDEGI**, double annulet. 1.30g 180°. *SCBI* 1.317; *MEC* 1.1233. Possibly same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 231–6.
- 769 *Leofhegn*. Obv. legend as last, six-armed device in circle. Rev. legend as last, cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. 1.19g 90°. *SCBI* 1.320; *MEC* 1.1231. Same dies as 770 and Pirie 1996, 191.
- 770 *Leofhegn*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.18g 90°. Same dies as 769 and Pirie 1996, 191.
- 771 *Leofhegn*. Obv. legend as last, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **ÆLEOFDEGI**, rosette in circle. 0.94g 60°. *SCBI* 1.313; *MEC* 1.1234. Possibly same dies as Pirie 1996, 205, and same obv. die as 789 (moneyer Odilo).

745 CM.1.62–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.
746 CM.YG.2152–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 207.
747 CM.YG.2153–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 196.
748 CM.1.64–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.
749 CM.1.63–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.
750 CM.ME.426–R: ex Humphry and Stokes 1915.
751 CM.YG.2149–R: ex Young coll. (gift).
752 CM.5.25–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

753 CM.128–1974: from Collins & Clark 1974; ex Wyatt.
754 CM.1.69–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.
755 CM.2021–2007: ex De Wit S 464; from Spink 1968.
756 CM.1.72–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
757 CM.28.9–1920: ex Hasluck coll. (gift).
758 CM.1.70–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.
759 CM.28.8–1920: ex Hasluck coll. (gift).
760 CM.1.71–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.
761 CM.2023–2007: ex De Wit S 466; from Münzen und Medaillen 1980.

762 CM.1.75–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.
763 CM.YG.2156–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 213.
764 CM.ME.418–R: no provenance.
765 CM.1.74–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.
766 CM.2024–2007: ex De Wit S 467; from Münzen und Medaillen 1980.
767 CM.1.76–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
768 CM.YG.2158–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 213.
769 CM.YG.2157–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Shepherd 39.
770 CM.2025–2007: ex De Wit S 468.
771 CM.YG.2159–R: ex Young coll. (gift).



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ÆTHELRED II, FIRST REIGN, 840/1–4 (*cont.*)

- 772 *Leofithegn*. Obv. legend as last, omega in circle. Rev. legend as last, cross pattée in circle. 1.30g 90°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 182, and same obv. die as 773.
- 773 *Leofithegn*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†LEOFÐEƆA**, cross pattée in circle. 0.83g 0°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 183, and same obv. die as 772.
- 774 *Leofithegn*. Obv. **†EDERED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†LEOFDƆA**, voided cross w. pellet. 0.91g 180°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 188.

- 775 *Leofithegn*. Obv. **†EDIFRED RE**, cross pattée. Rev. **†LEOFDEƆA** (last letter runic), cross pattée. 1.34g 180°. *SCBI* 1.314; *MEC* 1.1236. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 776–7, 972.
- 776 *Leofithegn*. Obv. **†EDIFRED REX**, rosette. Rev. **†TEOFDEƆA**, cross pattée. 1.18g 90°. *SCBI* 1.321; *MEC* 1.1238. Same dies as 777 and Pirie 1996, 1488.

772 CM.1.73–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.

773 CM.2019–2007: ex De Wit S 461; ex Stack 227.

774 CM.1.77–1990: ex Blunt coll.

775 CM.ME.419–R: no provenance.

776 CM.YG.2162–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 213.

KINGS OF THE NORTHUMBRIANS

ÆTHELRED II, FIRST REIGN, 840/1–4 (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around central ornament. Rev. legend around central ornament.

- 777 *Leofthegn*. Obv. **ÆDIFRED REX**, rosette. Rev. **ÆTEOFDEGN**, cross pattée. 0.98g 0°. Same dies as 776 and Pirie 1996, 1488.
- 778 *Leofthegn*. Obv. legend as last, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.15g 90°. *SCBI* 1.315; *MEC* 1.1237. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1431.
- 779 *Leofthegn*. Obv. **ÆDILRED**, cross pattée. Rev. **ÆLEOFDEGN**, cross pattée. 1.06g 90°. *SCBI* 1.316; *MEC* 1.1235. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 780.
- 780 *Leofthegn*. Obv. **ÆDILRED RE**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.36g 270°. *MEC* 1.1232. Same dies as 781 and Pirie 1996, 212.
- 781 *Leofthegn*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.26g 270°. Same dies as 780 and Pirie 1996, 212.
- 782 *Man*. Obv. **ÆADELRED REX**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. Rev. **ÆMONNE**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. 1.27g 90°. *SCBI* 1.324; *MEC* 1.1239. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 238.
- 783 *Man*. Obv. **ÆDELRED REX**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. Rev. **ÆMOINE**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. 1.16g 80°. *SCBI* 1.323; *MEC* 1.1240. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 283.
- 784 *Man*. Obv. **ÆDILRED R**, rosette at centre. Rev. legend as last, pellet. 0.96g 180°. *SCBI* 1.325; *MEC* 1.1241. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1169.
- 785 *Man*. Obv. **ÆDILRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **ÆMONNE**, cross pattée. 1.17g 90°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 792.
- 786 *Man*. Obv. legend as last, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. Rev. **ÆMONNE**, rosette. 1.05g 0°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1189.
- 787 *Man*. Obv. **ÆDILRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **ÆMONNE**, cross of five pellets. 1.44g 90°. *SCBI* 1.322; *MEC* 1.1242. Same obv. die as 788 and Pirie 1996, 1690.
- 788 *Man*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ÆMOINE** (retrograde), cross of five pellets. 1.12g 90°. Same obv. die as 787 and Pirie 1996, 1690, and same rev. die as Pirie 1996, 1700.
- 789 *Odilo*. Obv. **ÆDELRED REX**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. Rev. **ÆODILO MO**, pelletted annulet. 1.11g 0°. *SCBI* 1.326; *MEC* 1.1243. Same obv. die as 771 (moneyer Leofthegn) and possibly same as Pirie 1996, 205.
- 790 *Odilo*. Obv. **ÆDILDED X** (retrograde), cross pattée. Rev. **ÆODILO** (retrograde), cross pattée. 0.88g 180°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1961. Possibly of irregular origin.
- 791 *Wendelbeorht*. Obv. **ÆDILRED E** (retrograde), cross pattée. Rev. **ÆVENDELBERHT**, cross pattée. 1.23g 90°. *SCBI* 1.332; *MEC* 1.1246. Possibly same rev. die as Pirie 1996, 831.
- 792 *Wendelbeorht*. Obv. **ÆDIFRED RE**, cross pattée. Rev. **ÆVENDELBERHT**, cross pattée. 1.29g 270°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 830, and same obv. die as 793.
- 793 *Wendelbeorht*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.20g 220°. *SCBI* 1.329; *MEC* 1.1244. Same obv. die as 792 and Pirie 1996, 830–1.
- 794 *Wendelbeorht*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ÆVENDELBERHT**, cross pattée. 1.25g 0°. *SCBI* 1.327; *MEC* 1.1250. Same rev. die as 795 and Pirie 1996, 1446.
- 795 *Wendelbeorht*. Obv. **ÆDILRED RE**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.13g 0°. *SCBI* 1.328; *MEC* 1.1249. Same rev. die as 794 and Pirie 1996, 1446.
- 796 *Wendelbeorht*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ÆVENDELBERHT**, cross pattée. 1.23g 200°. *SCBI* 1.330; *MEC* 1.1245. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 832, and same obv. die as 797.
- 797 *Wendelbeorht*. Obv. **ÆDILRED RE**, cross pattée. Rev. **ÆVENDELBERHT**, cross pattée (?). 1.06g 0°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 834, and same obv. die as 796.
- 798 *Wendelbeorht*. Obv. **ÆDILRED RE** (retrograde), cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.19g 320°. *SCBI* 1.333; *MEC* 1.1247. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 850.
- 799 *Wendelbeorht*. Obv. **ÆILRED RE**, cross pattée. Rev. **ÆVENDELBERHT**, cross pattée. 1.13g 140°. *SCBI* 1.331; *MEC* 1.1248. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 848.
- 800 *Wiltred*. Obv. **ÆDILRED REX**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. Rev. **ÆWILTRD**, cross pattée. 1.22g 70°. *SCBI* 1.356; *MEC* 1.1251. Same rev. die as 801 and Pirie 1996, 887.
- 801 *Wiltred*. Obv. **ÆDILRED ÆEX**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.06g 0°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 887, and same rev. die as 800.
- 802 *Wiltred*. Obv. legend as last, rosette at centre. Rev. as last. 1.05g 270°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 991.
- 803 *Wulfred*. Obv. **ÆDIFRED REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **ÆVVLFRED**, cross pattée. 1.33g 45°. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 1452–4.
- 777 CM.2022–2007: ex De Wit S 465; from Holleman Munten 1995.
- 778 CM.YG.2161-R: ex Young coll. (gift).
- 779 CM.YG.2160-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 213.
- 780 CM.127–1974: from Collins & Clark 1974; ex Wyatt.
- 781 CM.1.78–1990: ex Blunt coll.
- 782 CM.ME.423-R: no provenance.
- 783 CM.4.1–1922: ex Perceval coll. (gift).
- 784 CM.ME.424-R: no provenance.
- 785 CM.1.80–1990: ex Blunt coll.
- 786 CM.2026–2007: ex De Wit S 469; ex Finn list 15 (1999), no. 65.
- 787 CM.ME.425-R: no provenance.
- 788 CM.1.81–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex P. Thorburn 1925.
- 789 CM.YG.2163-R: ex Young coll. (gift).
- 790 CM.1.82–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
- 791 CM.YG.2166-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 218.
- 792 CM.1.83–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
- 793 CM.YG.2164-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 218.
- 794 CM.4.2–1922: ex Perceval coll. (gift).
- 795 CM.YG.2169-R: ex Young coll. (gift).
- 796 CM.YG.2165-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 218.
- 797 CM.5997–2007: ex J. C. Mossop coll.; acq. 1960.
- 798 CM.YG.2167-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 218.
- 799 CM.YG.2168-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 218.
- 800 CM.ME.428-R: no provenance.
- 801 CM.1.84–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
- 802 CM.2027–2007: ex De Wit S 470; ex *NCirc* 109 (2001), no. HS0356; ex Shuttlewood.
- 803 CM.1.85–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.



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ÆTHELRED II, FIRST REIGN, 840/1–4 (*cont.*)

804 *Wulfræd*. Obv. **ÆDILRED X**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.20g 70°. *SCBI* 1.334; *MEC* 1.1252. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 876.

805 *Wulfsige*. Obv. **ÆDLIRED RE**, cross pattée. Rev. **ÆALF2IG**, cross pattée. 1.18g 180°. *SCBI* 1.335; *MEC* 1.1253. Same dies as **806**, and same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 1716–17.

806 *Wulfsige*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.11g 90°. Same dies as **805**, and same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 1716–17.

807 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **ÆDLRED RE**, cross pattée. Rev. blank. 0.71g.

804 CM.ME.429-R: no provenance.

805 CM.4.3-1922: ex Perceval coll. (gift).

806 CM.1.86-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.

807 CM.1.79-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.

KINGS OF THE NORTHUMBRIANS

RÆDWULF, 844–?

Obv. legend around central ornament. Rev. legend around central ornament. North 189.

- 808 *Brother*. Obv. **†REDVL RE**, cross pattée. Rev. **†BROÐER**, cross pattée. 0.93g 0°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 942.
 809 *Coenned*. Obv. **†REDVVL REX**, rosette. Rev. **†COENED**, cross pattée. 1.35g 30°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 389.
 810 *Cuthbeorht*. Obv. **†REDVLF REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†CVDBEREHC**, cross pattée. 1.41g 0° *SCBI* 1.336; *MEC* 1.1254. Same rev. die as Pirie 1996, 943–4.
 811 *Ealhhere*. Obv. **†REDVLF RX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†ALGHERE**, cross pattée. 1.29g 285°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 531.
 812 *Ealhhere*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†ALGHRE O**, cross pattée. 0.89g 270°. Same obv. die as **813** (moneyer Forthræd) and Pirie 1996, 1695 (moneyer Brother), 1699 (moneyer Forthræd) and 1702 (moneyer Man).
 813 *Forthræd*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†FORDRED**, cross of five pellets. 1.32g 0°. *SCBI* 1.337; *MEC* 1.1255. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1699, and same obv. die as **812** (moneyer Ealhhere).
 814 *Forthræd*. Obv. **†REDVLF RE** (retrograde), cross pattée. Rev. legend as last, cross pattée. 1.07g 270°. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 1696–7.

- 815 *Forthræd*. Obv. **†REDVLF REX**, cross pattée. Rev. legend as last, cross of five pellets. 1.12g 90°. *SCBI* 1.338; *MEC* 1.1256. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 948.
 816 *Hunlaf*. Obv. **†REDVLF RE**, cross pattée. Rev. **†HVNLAFL**, rosette. 1.14g 90°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 950.
 817 *Man*. Obv. **†REDVLF RE** (retrograde), cross pattée. Rev. **†MOINN** (retrograde), cross of five pellets. 1.34g 90°. Same rev. die as **818** and Pirie 1996, 955.
 818 *Man*. Obv. **†REDVLF REX**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.24g 0°. *SCBI* 1.339; *MEC* 1.1257. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 955, and same rev. die as **817**.
 819 *Wendelbeorht*. Obv. **†HEDVVL REX**, cross pattée. Rev. **†VEIDELBERHT**, cross pattée. 0.96g 270°. Same dies as **820** and Pirie 1996, 1485.
 820 *Wendelbeorht*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 0.83g 270°. *SCBI* 1.340; *MEC* 1.1258. Same dies as **819** and Pirie 1996, 1485.

ÆTHELRED II, SECOND REIGN, 844–8?

For discussion of the division of coins between Æthelred II's two reigns, see Chapter 5, section (g), p. 121.

Obv. legend around central ornament. Rev. legend around central ornament. North 190.

- 821 *Eardwulf*. Obv. **†EDILRED RE**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **†EARDVVLF**, cross pattée in circle. 1.15g 180°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1133.
 822 *Eardwulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. legend as last, annulet. 1.05g 0°. *SCBI* 1.343; *MEC* 1.1261. Possibly same dies as Pirie 1996, 1150.
 823 *Eardwulf*. Obv. legend as last, rosette. Rev. **†EARDVVLE**, rosette. 0.97g (chipped) 90°. *SCBI* 1.347; *MEC* 1.1265.
 824 *Eardwulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. legend as last, pellet. 0.97g (chipped) 0°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1030.
 825 *Eardwulf*. Obv. **†EDILRED REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **†EARDVVLF**, annulet. 1.52g 180°. *SCBI* 1.342; *MEC* 1.1260. Possibly same dies as Pirie 1996, 1142.
 826 *Eardwulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.45g 170°. *MEC* 1.1263. Possibly same dies as Pirie 1996, 1083.

- 827 *Eardwulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. legend as last, pellet. 1.24g 90°. *SCBI* 1.345; *MEC* 1.1262. Possibly same rev. die as Pirie 1996, 1108.
 828 *Eardwulf*. Obv. **†EDILRED REX** (retrograde), rosette. Rev. **†EARDVVLF** (retrograde), annulet. 1.21g 0°. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 1009–11.
 829 *Eardwulf*. Obv. **†EDILRED REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **†EARDVVLF**, annulet. 1.16g 0°. Probably same dies as Pirie 1996, 1110.
 830 *Eardwulf*. Obv. legend as last, cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend as last, cross pattée. 1.01g 270°. *SCBI* 1.341; *MEC* 1.1259. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 762.
 831 *Eardwulf*. Obv. legend as last, annulet. Rev. legend as last, annulet. 0.97g 90°. *SCBI* 1.344; *MEC* 1.1264. Probably same dies as Pirie 1996, 995.
 832 *Forthræd* (?). Obv. **†EDILRED RE**, annulet. Rev. **†FORDRED**, cross of five pellets. 1.25g 90°. *SCBI* 1.348; *MEC* 1.1266.

808 CM.1.88–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 809 CM.1.89–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.
 810 CM.YG.2170–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 222.
 811 CM.1.87–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.
 812 CM.2028–2007: ex De Wit S 471; ex Finn list 9 (1997), no. 58.
 813 CM.YG.2171–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 222.
 814 CM.1.90–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 815 CM.YG.2172–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 222.

816 CM.2029–2007: ex De Wit S 472; ex Finn list 16 (1999), no. 75.
 817 CM.1.91–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.
 818 CM.YG.2173–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Shepherd 39.
 819 CM.1.92–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.
 820 CM.1.35–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart; from Baldwin; ex Rashleigh 142.
 821 CM.1.66–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.
 822 CM.YG.2174–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 207.
 823 CM.YG.2177–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 207.

824 CM.1.67–1990: ex Blunt coll.
 825 CM.ME.430–R: no provenance.
 826 CM.126–1974: from Collins & Clark 1974; ex Wyatt.
 827 CM.YG.2175–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 207.
 828 CM.1.68–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Shirley–Fox coll.
 829 CM.2030–2007: ex De Wit S 463; ex Finn list 9 (1997), no. 60.
 830 CM.1.34–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.
 831 CM.YG.2176–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 207.
 832 CM.ME.431–R: no provenance.



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KINGS OF THE NORTHUMBRIANS

OSBERHT, 848/9–62/3

Obv. legend around central ornament. Rev. legend around central ornament. North 191.

- 833 *Æthelhelm*. Obv. **†OZBREHT** (several letters upside down), cross pattée. Rev. **†EDEFHEIM**, cross pattée. 1.20g 270°.
 834 *Eanwulf*. Obv. **OZBRIHT REX** (several letters upside down), six-limbed device. Rev. **†EVNΛALF**, cross pattée. 1.29g 90°. Same dies as 835 and Pirie 1996, 2201.
 835 *Eanwulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.17g 180°. Same dies as 834 and Pirie 1996, 2201.
 836 *Man*. Obv. **†OZBERHT**, cross pattée. Rev. **†MNIE** (retrograde), pellet. 1.34g 270°. *SCBI* 1.349; *MEC* 1.1267. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1733.
 837 *Wulfæd*. Obv. **BOSBERH** (retrograde), pellet. Rev. **†VVLFRD** (retrograde), cross pattée. 1.18g 0°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 2218.

- 838 *Volnrf*. Obv. **†OZBERHT**, rosette. Rev. **†VOLNIF**, cross of five pellets. 1.10g 270°. *SCBI* 1.351; *MEC* 1.1269.
 839 *Wynbeorht*. Obv. **†OZBERHT RE** (several letters upside down), cross pattée in circle. Rev. **ΛIUIBEYHT**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. 1.12g 180°. *SCBI* 1.350; *MEC* 1.1268. Probably same dies as Pirie 1996, 1257.
 840 *Wynbeorht*. Obv. **OZBRIHT RE**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **VIIIBERHT**, rosette. 1.19g 90°.
 841 *Wynbeorht*. Obv. **†OSBREHE**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **VIIIBERYHT** (?), cross pattée w. pellets in angles. 1.30g 330°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1252.

IRREGULAR COINS OF UNCERTAIN RULER

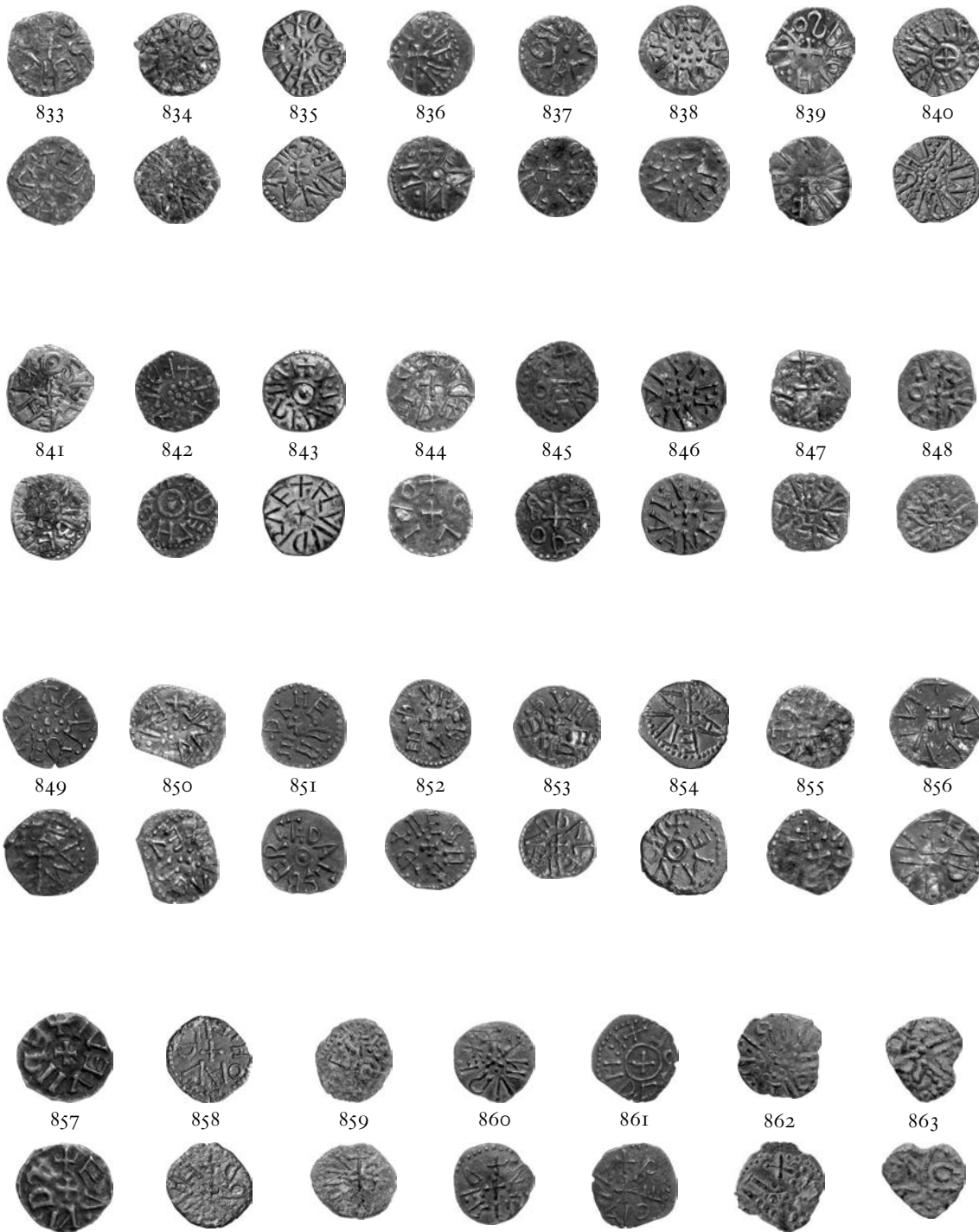
- 842 *‘Æthelræd/Æthelhelm’*. Obv. **†EDILRED RE** (retrograde), rosette. Rev. **†EDELH** [], annulet. 1.05g 270°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 2193.
 843 *‘Æthelræd/Eardwulf’*. Obv. **†EDILRED REX** (retrograde), annulet. Rev. **†EARDVVLF** (retrograde), star-like device. 1.11g 315°. *SCBI* 1.346; *MEC* 1.1273. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1932.
 844 *‘Æthelræd/Odilo’*. Obv. **†DIEDED X** (retrograde), cross pattée. Rev. **†ODILO** (retrograde), cross pattée. 1.13g 315°. *SCBI* 1.352; *MEC* 1.1274. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1961.
 845 *‘Brother/Forthræd’*. Obv. **†FODRED** (retrograde), cross pattée. Rev. **†RODER** (retrograde), cross pattée. 1.19g 170°. *SCBI* 1.353; *MEC* 1.1270.
 846 *‘Cynewulf/Cynewulf’*. Obv. **†CYNAALF** (AA upside down), cross of five pellets. Rev. **†CYNAALF** (AA upside down), cross pattée. 1.21g 90°.
 847 *‘Eanræd/Huætæd’*. Obv. **†EANA**, cross pattée. Rev. **†HVAETREI**, cross pattée. 0.87g 45°.
 848 *‘Eanræd/Wulfæd’*. Obv. **†EOEIRD**, cross pattée. Rev. **†VVLFRD**, cross pattée. 0.97g 300°. Obv. double-struck.

- 849 *‘Eanwulf’*. Obv. **†VVORERLHV** (retrograde), rosette. Rev. **†EΛVI** [], cross pattée. 1.36g 150°.
 850 *‘Eardwulf’*. Obv. **†EARDVVLF** (retrograde), cross of five pellets. Rev. **†EARDVLF** (retrograde), cross of five pellets. 1.24g 280°. *SCBI* 1.354; *MEC* 1.1271.
 851 *‘Hereræd/Dægbeorht’*. Obv. **HERREÐ X**, cross pattée. Rev. **†DAGCBERET**, annulet. 1.32g 270°.
 852 *‘Hereræd/Hereræd’*. Obv. **HERREÐ X**, cross pattée. Rev. **HERREÐ X**, cross pattée. 1.29g 0°.
 853 *‘Hereræd/Wulfæd’*. Obv. **HERREÐ X**, cross pattée. Rev. **ALFHÆARD**, cross pattée. 1.27g 0°.
 854 *‘Man’*. Obv. **†VAETVA**, cross pattée. Rev. **†MONIE** (retrograde), annulet. 0.91g 45°.
 855 *‘Rædwulf/Eardwulf’*. Obv. **REDVF** [] (retrograde), cross pattée w. pellets in angles. Rev. **†EARDVVL** (retrograde), cross pattée. 1.07g 120°. *SCBI* 1.355; *MEC* 1.1272. Rev. double-struck.
 856 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†NVNLΓ** (retrograde), cross pattée w. pellets in angles. Rev. **†EADIVV**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. 1.15g 0°.

833 CM.1.95–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 834 CM.1.93–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 835 CM.2031–2007: ex De Wit S 475; ex Finn list 9 (1997), no. 61.
 836 CM.1.36–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.
 837 CM.1.97–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 838 CM.YG.2178–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Shepherd 39.
 839 CM.ME.432–R: no provenance.
 840 CM.2032–2007: ex De Wit S 476; ex Finn list 9 (1997), no. 62.

841 CM.1.96–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 842 CM.1.103–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Shirley-Fox coll.
 843 CM.ME.434–R: no provenance.
 844 CM.YG.2181–R: ex Young coll. (gift).
 845 CM.ME.433–R: no provenance.
 846 CM.1.99–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.
 847 CM.1.105–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 848 CM.1043–1999: ex Bonser coll. (gift); found Torksey, Lincolnshire, 1997.
 849 CM.1.94–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.

850 CM.YG.2179–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Shepherd 39.
 851 CM.1.101–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.
 852 CM.1.102–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.
 853 CM.1.100–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.
 854 CM.2034–2007: ex De Wit S 474; ex Finn list 7 (1996), no. 67.
 855 CM.YG.2180–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 222.
 856 CM.1.106–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.



IRREGULAR COINS OF UNCERTAIN RULER (*cont.*)

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| <p>857 <i>Uncertain moneyer</i>. Obv. †EDIIVEVI (retrograde), cross pattée. Rev. †EΛID M, cross pattée. 1.02g 180°.</p> <p>858 <i>Uncertain moneyer</i>. Obv. †HOAVD ÆE, cross pattée. Rev. †HVE[]RD, cross pattée. 0.84g 0°.</p> <p>859 <i>Uncertain moneyer</i>. Obv. †H[]RET, annulet. Rev. †HE[]NNI, cross pattée. 0.79g 70°.</p> <p>860 <i>Uncertain moneyer</i>. Obv. †JNV REX, cross of five pellets. Rev. †DERREI (retrograde), cross pattée. 0.78g 90°.</p> | <p>861 <i>Uncertain moneyer</i>. Obv. †EHDEVOL (retrograde), cross pattée in circle. Rev. †BEOMRE, cross pattée. 0.99g (chipped) 320°. <i>SCBI</i> 1.357; <i>MEC</i> 1.1275.</p> <p>862 <i>Uncertain moneyer</i>. Obv. †ERQRED MO, cross pattée in rosette. Rev. †[], cross of five pellets. 0.73g (chipped) 120°.</p> <p>863 <i>Uncertain moneyer</i>. Obv. pseudo-legend w. pellet. Rev. pseudo-legend w. blank centre (?). 0.66g (chipped).</p> |
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| <p>857 CM.1.104-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.</p> <p>858 CM.2033-2007: ex De Wit S 473; ex Finn list 9 (1997), no. 63.</p> <p>859 CM.1044-1999: ex Bonser coll. (gift); found Torksey, Lincolnshire, 1997.</p> | <p>860 CM.1.107-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.</p> <p>861 CM.1.27-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart; ex Rashleigh 106.</p> <p>862 CM.1534-2015: ex O'Bee (gift); found Torksey productive site, Lincolnshire.</p> | <p>863 CM.587-2010: ex Slack (gift); found Torksey productive site, Lincolnshire.</p> |
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KINGS OF THE NORTHUMBRIANS

COPPER-ALLOY PELLETS (BLANKS FOR MINTING AS NORTHUMBRIAN PENNIES?)

864 Æ 1.48g.

865 Æ 1.74g.

ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK

All coins are pennies, varying significantly in fineness. Historically, the ninth-century coins of Northumbria have also been known as ‘stycas’. For commentary, see Chapter 5, pp. 113–27.

ECGBERHT, 734–66

(with KING EADBERHT, 737–58)

Obv. **EOTBERHTV** around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend to r. of standing figure holding two crosses. North 192.

866 Rev. **ECGBERHT**, figure has flexed knees. 1.07g 270°.

867 Rev. **ECGBERHT** (retrograde), figure to r. and has flexed knees. 0.93g 160°.

868 Obv. no circle. Rev. **ECGBERHT** **Λ**, figure has straight knees. 1.00g 90°.

869 Obv. no circle. Rev. **ECGBERHT** **ΛR**, figure has straight knees. 1.14g 180°.

(with KING ALHRED, 765–74)

870 Obv. **†ALHR/ED** around cross pattée. Rev. **†EGBERHT** **Λ** around cross pattée. North 193. 1.01g 135°.

EANBALD I, 779/80–96

(with KING ÆTHELRED I, second reign, 790–6)

871 Obv. **†AEDILRED** around central cross pattée. Rev. **†EANBALD** (retrograde) around central annulet. 0.89g 315°.

EANBALD II, 796–808 OR AFTER

Obv. legend around cross pattée or other central ornament. Rev. legend around central ornament. North 194.

872 *Æthelweard*. Obv. **†EANBALD AR** (all **A**s and **R** read outwards), cross pattée. Rev. **†EDILVARD**, cross pattée. 1.19g 0°.

873 *Æthelweard*. Obv. **†EANBALD AR** (several letters read outwards), cross pattée in circle. Rev. **†EDILVARD**, cross pattée in circle. 0.95g 0°.

874 *Æthelweard*. Obv. **EANBALD ARE**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend as last, rosette. 0.99g 225°. *SCBI* 1.358; *MEC* 1.1276.

875 *Cynwulf*. Obv. **†EANBALD AREP**, pellet in rosette. Rev. **†CVVVVLF**, cross of five pellets. 1.17g 135°.

876 *Eadwulf*. Obv. **†EANBALD AB**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **†EODVVL**, cross pattée in circle. 1.25g 90°.

877 *Eadwulf*. Obv. **†EANBALD ARE**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **†EADVVLF O**, cross pattée in circle. 1.16g 345°.

878 *Eadwulf*. Obv. **†EANBALD AREP** (**NB** ligatured), central annulet. Rev. **†EADVVLF**, cross pattée in circle. 1.14g 180°. Possibly same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 50.

879 *Eadwulf*. Obv. **†BANALD ARER** (retrograde), cross pattée in circle. Rev. **†EADVVLF**, cross pattée in circle. 1.19g (pierced) 0°.

864 CM.TR.1949-R: Trinity College loan.

865 CM.TR.1950-R: Trinity College loan.

866 CM.1998–2007: ex De Wit S 440; ex

Finn list 10 (1997), no. 68.

867 CM.1999–2007: ex De Wit S 441; ex

NCirc 109 (2001), no. HS0087.

868 CM.1997–2007: ex De Wit S 439; from Finn 1996.

869 CM.149–2010: ex Bude (gift); found Yorkshire Wolds, c. 2008.

870 CM.2001–2007: ex De Wit S 443; ex

Finn list 7 (1996), no. 52.

871 CM.2012–2007: ex De Wit S 454; ex

Finn list 8 (1996), no. 54.

872 CM.1.111–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Hall.

873 CM.2036–2007: ex De Wit S 478; from

Finn 1995.

874 CM.YG.2182-R: ex Young coll. (gift).

875 CM.1.108–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt

London 1951.

876 CM.2037–2007: ex De Wit S 479; ex

NCirc 104 (1996), no. 3347.

877 CM.1.109–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt

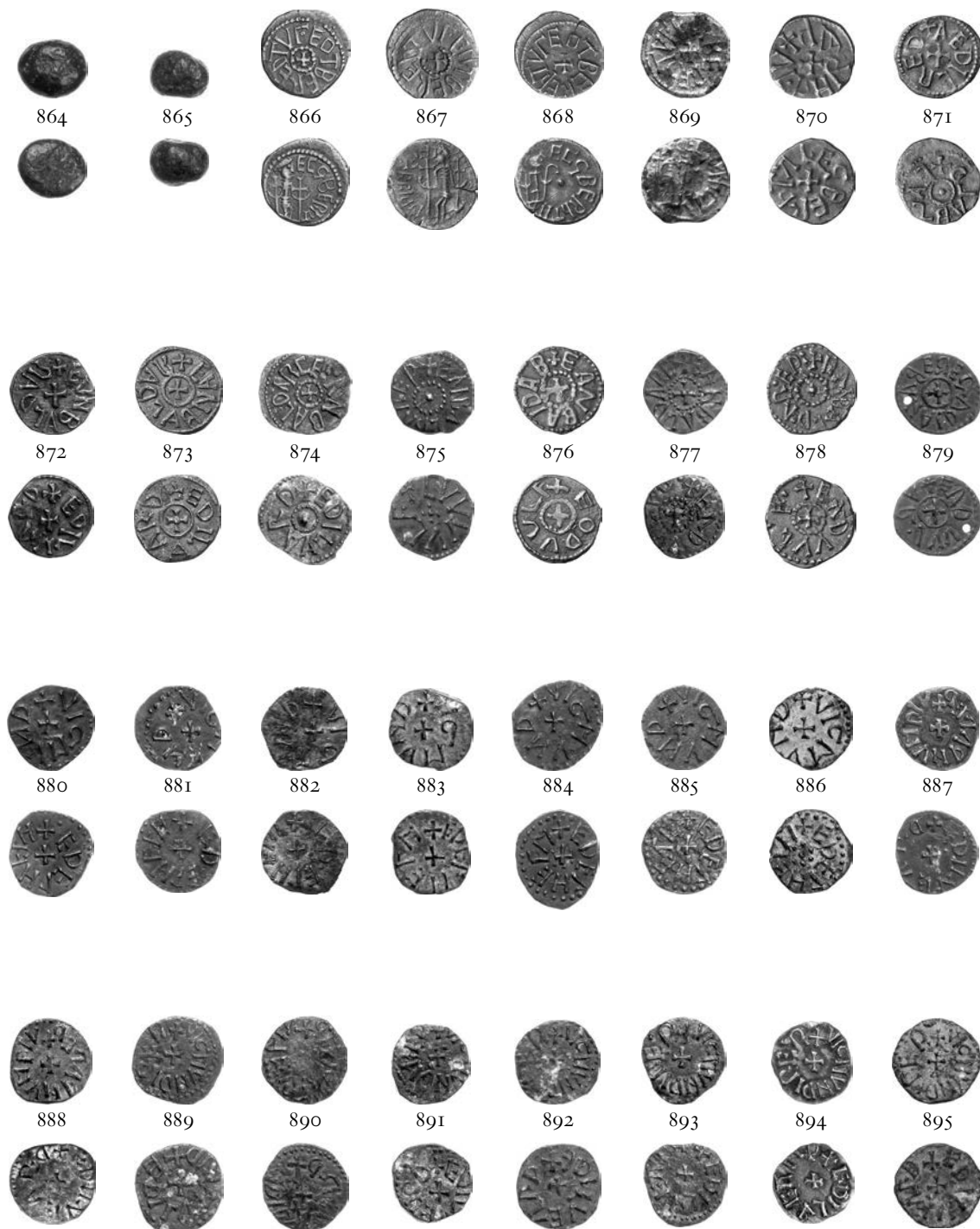
London 1951.

878 CM.2035–2007: ex De Wit S 477; bt

Spink 1979.

879 CM.1.110–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt

London 1951.



WIGMUND, 837–54

Obv. legend around central ornament. Rev. legend around central ornament. North 196.

- 880 *Æthelhelm*. Obv. **†VIGMVND**, cross pattée. Rev. **†EDEFHEGM**, cross pattée. 1.29g 100°. *SCBI* 1.362; *MEC* 1.1280; 1867 *Catalogue*, 17. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1481.
- 881 *Æthelhelm*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.22g 315°. *SCBI* 1.360; *MEC* 1.1278. Obv. double-struck. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1482, and same obv. die as **884–5**.
- 882 *Æthelhelm*. Obv. **†VIGMVND**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.18g 0°. *SCBI* 1.363; *MEC* 1.1281. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1480.
- 883 *Æthelhelm*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.16g 270°. *SCBI* 1.361; *MEC* 1.1279. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1470.
- 884 *Æthelhelm*. Obv. **†VIGMVND**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.16g 150°. Same dies as **885** and Pirie 1996, 1483, and same obv. die as **881**.
- 885 *Æthelhelm*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.15g 215°. *SCBI* 1.359; *MEC* 1.1277. Same dies as **884** and Pirie 1996, 1483, and same obv. die as **881**.
- 886 *Æthelhelm*. Obv. **†VIGMVND**, cross pattée. Rev. legend as last, rosette. 1.15g 90°.
- 887 *Æthelweard*. Obv. **†VIGMVND AREP** (retrograde), cross pattée. Rev. **†EDINEARD**, cross pattée. 1.21g 0°. *SCBI* 1.372; *MEC* 1.1285. Same dies as **888** and Pirie 1996, 707.
- 888 *Æthelweard*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†EDILVEARD**, cross pattée. 1.16g 90°. *SCBI* 1.371; *MEC* 1.1284. Same dies as **887** and Pirie 1996, 707.

- 889 *Æthelweard*. Obv. **†VIGMVND IPEP**, cross pattée. Rev. **†EDILVEARD** (retrograde), cross pattée. 1.20g 270°. *SCBI* 1.366; *MEC* 1.1290. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 914.
- 890 *Æthelweard*. Obv. **†VIGMVND IPEP** (retrograde), pellet. Rev. as last. 0.99g 0°. *SCBI* 1.373; *MEC* 1.1291. Probably same dies as Pirie 1996, 706.
- 891 *Æthelweard*. Obv. **†VIGMVND IRER**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. Rev. **†EDILVEARD**. 1.45g 180°. *SCBI* 1.370; *MEC* 1.1287. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 903.
- 892 *Æthelweard*. Obv. legend as last, cross pattée. Rev. **†EDILVEARD**, cross pattée. 1.33g 180°. *SCBI* 1.367; *MEC* 1.1289. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 911, and same obv. die as **893–6** and Pirie 1996, 908–10, 912–16.
- 893 *Æthelweard*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†EDILVEARD**, cross pattée. 1.20g 240°. *SCBI* 1.369; *MEC* 1.1288. Same dies as **894** and Pirie 1996, 909, and same obv. die as **892** and **895–6** and Pirie 1996, 908, 910–16.
- 894 *Æthelweard*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†EDILVEARD**, cross pattée. 1.08g 0°. *SCBI* 1.368; *MEC* 1.1286. Same dies as **893** and Pirie 1996, 909, and same obv. die as **892**, **895** and **896** and Pirie 1996, 908, 910–16.
- 895 *Æthelweard*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†EDILVEARD**, cross pattée. 1.18g 0°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 908, and same obv. die as **892–4** and **896** and Pirie 1996, 909–16.

880 CM.ME.437-R: ex Babington 1866.
881 CM.1.37-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.
882 CM.5.27-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
883 CM.4.4.-1922: ex Perceval 1922.
884 CM.1.117-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.
885 CM.YG.2183-R: ex Young coll. (gift).
886 CM.1.118-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.

887 CM.YG.2185-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 239.
888 CM.ME.439-R: no provenance.
889 CM.YG.2189-R: ex Young coll. (gift).
890 CM.YG.2190-R: ex Young coll. (gift).
891 CM.YG.2187-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 239.

892 CM.YG.2188-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 239.
893 CM.ME.440-R: no provenance.
894 CM.YG.2186-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 239.
895 CM.5998-2007: ex J. C. Mossop coll.; bt 1960.

ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK

ARCHBISHOP WIGMUND (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around central ornament. Rev. legend around central ornament.

- 896 *Æthelweard*. Obv. **†VIGMVND IRER**, cross pattée. Rev. **†EDILVEARD** (retrograde), cross pattée. 1.08g o°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 913, and same obv. die as **892–5** and Pirie 1996, 908–12, 914–16.
- 897 *Æthelweard*. Obv. **†VIGMVND APEP**, cross pattée. Rev. **†EDILVEARD**, cross pattée. 1.27g 270°. *SCBI* 1.364; *MEC* 1.1282. Possibly same dies as Pirie 1996, 695, and same obv. die as **898–9**.
- 898 *Æthelweard*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.16g 270°. *SCBI* 1.365; *MEC* 1.1283. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 692, and same obv. die as **897** and **899**.
- 899 *Æthelweard*. Obv. **†VIGMVND APEP**, cross pattée. Rev. legend as last, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. 1.09g 270°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 697, and same obv. die as **897–8**.
- 900 *Coenræd*. Obv. **†VIGMVND**, cross pattée. Rev. **†COENRED**, cross pattée. 1.40g 270°. *SCBI* 1.374; *MEC* 1.1298. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 416, and same obv. die as **901**.
- 901 *Coenræd*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.19g 15°. *SCBI* 1.375; *MEC* 1.1299. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 418, and same obv. die as **900**.
- 902 *Coenræd*. Obv. **†VIGMVND APEP**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. Rev. as last. 1.11g 90°. *SCBI* 1.377; *MEC* 1.1292. Same dies as **903** and Pirie 1996, 432.
- 903 *Coenræd*. Obv. as last **†VIGMVND IREP**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. Rev. legend as last, cross pattée. 0.99g 270°. Same dies as **902** and Pirie 1996, 432.
- 904 *Coenræd*. Obv. **†VIGMVND IPEP**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.26g 30°. *SCBI* 1.380; *MEC* 1.1296. Probably same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 397–9.
- 905 *Coenræd*. Obv. as last. Rev. legend as last, omega in circle. 1.11g o°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 404.
- 906 *Coenræd*. Obv. as last. Rev. legend as last, cross pattée. 1.07g o°. *SCBI* 1.376; *MEC* 1.1293. Probably same dies as Pirie 1996, 410.
- 907 *Coenræd*. Obv. legend as last, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. Rev. as last. 1.06g o°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 426.
- 908 *Coenræd*. Obv. **†VIGMVND IREP**, cross pattée. Rev. as last. 1.27g 180°. Same dies as **909**, and same rev. die as Pirie 1996, 431.
- 909 *Coenræd*. Obv. as last. Rev. legend as last, cross pattée. 1.19g 180°. *SCBI* 1.379; *MEC* 1.1295. Same dies as **908**, and same rev. die as Pirie 1996, 431.
- 910 *Coenræd*. Obv. **†VIGMVND IREP**, cross pattée. Rev. legend as last, cross pattée in circle. 1.20g 180°. Same dies as **911** and Pirie 1996, 400.
- 911 *Coenræd*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.15g 90°. *SCBI* 1.378; *MEC* 1.1294. Same dies as **910** and Pirie 1996, 400.
- 912 *Coenræd*. Obv. as last. Rev. legend as last, cross of five pellets. 1.10g 90°. *MEC* 1.1297. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 422.
- 913 *Coenræd*. Obv. **[†VIGMV]ND[]**, cross pattée (?). Rev. legend as last, cross pattée. 0.86g (chipped) o°. Possibly same rev. die as Pirie 1996, 417.
- 914 *Hunlaf*. Obv. **†VIGMVND**, cross pattée. Rev. **†HVILÆF**, cross pattée. 1.26g 180°. Probably same dies as Pirie 1996, 924.
- 915 *Hunlaf*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.14g 180°. *SCBI* 1.381; *MEC* 1.1301. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 930.
- 916 *Hunlaf*. Obv. **†VIGMVND IPE** (?), rosette. Rev. **†HVR[ED]**, cross pattée. 0.80g 90°. *SCBI* 1.382; *MEC* 1.1300. Probably same dies as Pirie 1996, 1226.
- 917 *Hunlaf*. Obv. **†VIGMVND IR**, cross pattée. Rev. **†HVILÆF**, rosette. 1.29g 270°. Probably same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 1233–5.
- 918 *Hunlaf*. Obv. **†VIGMVND IR**, cross pattée. Rev. **†HVILÆF**, rosette. 1.24g 90°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1231.
- 919 *Hunlaf*. Obv. **†VIGMVND IR**, rosette. Rev. **†HVILÆF** (VIL ligatured), rosette. 1.18g o°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1220.
- 920 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†VIGMVND IREP**, cross pattée. Rev. illegible. 1.00g (worn) o°.
- 896 CM.1.120–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.
897 CM.YG.2184–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 237.
898 CM.ME.438–R: no provenance.
899 CM.1.119–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.
900 CM.YG.2194–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 237.
901 CM.YG.2195–R: ex Young coll. (gift).
902 CM.YG.2191–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 237.
903 CM.1.113–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Jermin 1959.
904 CM.YG.2193–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Shepherd 57.
- 905 CM.1.114–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.
906 CM.YG.2192–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 237.
907 CM.1.112–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.
908 CM.1.116–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.
909 CM.28.10–1920: ex Hasluck coll. (gift).
910 CM.1.115–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Jermin 1959.
911 CM.ME.441–R: no provenance.
912 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 1926.687: ex Ridgeway coll. (gift).
913 CM.586–2010: ex Slack (gift); found Torksey productive site, Lincolnshire.
- 914 CM.1.122–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.
915 CM.5.28–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
916 CM.ME.442–R: no provenance.
917 CM.1.123–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.
918 CM.2038–2007: ex De Wit S 480; from Spink 1973.
919 CM.1.121–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.
920 CM.559–2004: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, productive site (EMC 1994.5108).



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915



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WULFHERE, 854–892 or 900

Obv. legend around central ornament. Rev. legend around central ornament. North 197.

921 *Eardwulf*. Obv. **VVLFHED AREP**, cross pattée. Rev. **HEADVFVV** (partially retrograde), cross pattée. 1.06g 45°. *SCBI* 1.383; *MEC* 1.1302. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 1289, and same rev. die as Pirie 1996, 1951, 1960, 1964. This coin is probably of irregular production (see Pirie 1996, 1289).

922 *Wulfræd*. Obv. **VVLFHERE ABD**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles. Rev. **WVLFRED** (retrograde), cross pattée. 1.12g 0°. *SCBI* 1.385; *MEC* 1.1304. Possibly same dies as Pirie 1996, 1288.

923 *Wulfræd*. Obv. **WVLFHERE ABED**, cross of five pellets. Rev. **WVLFRED**, cross pattée in circle. 1.23g 0°. *SCBI* 1.384; *MEC* 1.1303. Same obv. die as Pirie 1996, 1270–5.

924 *Wulfræd*. Obv. **VVLFHERE AED** (retrograde), cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. Rev. **WVLFRED** (retrograde); cross pattée. 1.16g 30°. Possibly same dies as Pirie 1996, 1279.

925 *Wulfræd*. Obv. **VVLFHERE AREP**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **VVLFRED**, cross pattée. 1.37g 70°. Same obv. die as 926 and Pirie 1996, 1263–9.

926 *Wulfræd*. Obv. as last. Rev. **WVLFRED** (retrograde), cross pattée. 1.17g 200°. Same dies as Pirie 1996, 1266, and same obv. die as 925.

921 CM.YG.2196-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 244.

922 CM.YG.2197-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Shepherd 57.

923 CM.1.39–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

924 CM.1.125–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.

925 CM.2039–2007: ex De Wit S 481; from Finn 1995.

926 CM.1.124–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 53.

KINGS OF THE EAST ANGLES

All coins are silver pennies. The mint is never named, but is presumed to be Ipswich and possibly other locations. For commentary, see Chapter 6, section (c), pp. 136–7 and Chapter 7, section (g), pp. 163–4.

BEONNA, 749–60 OR AFTER

- 927 Anonymous. Obv. **beonna rex** around central pellet. Rev. interlace design. 0.91g 290°. *MEC* 1.1121A; Archibald 1985, C73; North 430/1. SEM/XRF analysis (M. Cowell in Archibald 1985): 53.5% Ag, 37.1% Cu, 1.5% Au, 3.1% Pb, <0.1% Zn, 4.9% Sn. Same dies as Archibald 1985, C73–5 and same rev. die as C71–2 and C74–6.
- 928 *Effe*. Obv. **BEONNA REX** (mix of Roman and runic lettering) around central annulet. Rev. **+** / **E** / **F** / **E** around

standard containing pellets, with sprays emanating from corners. 1.04g 300°. *MEC* 1.1121B; Archibald 1985, C42; North 430.

- 929 *Wilred*. Obv. **tbenna rx** around central annulet. Rev. **twilfred** around central cross. 0.95g 0°. SEM/XRF analysis (M. Cowell in Archibald 1985): 50.2% Ag, 40.4% Cu, 1.5% Au, 2.3% Pb, 0.4% Zn, 5.2% Sn. *MEC* 1.1121C; Archibald 1985, C59.

ÆTHELBERHT II, d. 794

Obv. **EðILBERHT RE+** around cross of petals w. trefoils of pellets in angles in circle. Rev. **+** / **L** / **U** / **L** in angles of cross fourchée w.

lozenge superimposed and pellet and cross of petals at centre, w. trefoils of pellets in angles.

- 930 *Lul*. 1.31g 280°. Naismith 2014d.

EADWALD, c. 796–8

Obv. **EADV** / **AD** / **REX** in three lines, divided by pellets. Rev. **E** / **AD** / **N** / **OÐ** in angles of quatrefoil, divided by pellets. Naismith E2.1a; North 432.

- 931 *Eadnoth*. 1.31g 270°. Same dies as Naismith E2.1b–h.

ÆTHELSTAN, c. 825–45

Portrait coinage (c. 825–30)

Obv. **EPE[LZT]AN REX** around bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **+(MON)/ MONE** / **TA** in three lines, divided by pelletted lines w. hooked terminals. Naismith E31.1a; North 437.

- 932 *Man*. 0.96g (fragment) 0°. Same obv. die as Naismith E31.1b.

Early Non-Portrait coinages (c. 830–7/8)

- 933 *Eadnoth*. Obv. **+(EPEL)TAN**, central **A**. Rev. **+(EAD)NOD MO[]**, cross pattée in inner circle. 0.82g (fragment) 90°. Naismith E36.1b; North 440.

- 934 *Man*. Obv. **ÆPELSTANI**, **A** in circle. Rev. **MON** / **HMONE** / **TA** in three lines, w. pellets around. 1.04g 0°. Naismith E38.1f; North 443; Pagan 1982, p. 60. Same dies as Naismith E38.1d–e.

- 935 *Regenhere*. Obv. **ÆPELSTAN R**, central **A**. Rev. **ÆREGHER M**, pellet in circle. 1.35g 45°. Naismith E39.5c; North 444; Pagan 1982, p. 62. Same dies as Naismith E39.5a–b and d.

Later Non-Portrait coinages (c. 837/8–45)

- 936 *Eadnoth*. Obv. **ÆPELSTANI**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **ÆEADNOD MON**, cross pattée in circle. 1.15g (chipped) 270°. Naismith E44.1b; North 446/1; Pagan 1982, p. 59. Same dies as Naismith E44.1a.

- 937 *Man*. Obv. **ÆDILSTAN R**, cross pattée w. wedges in angles in circle. Rev. **MON MONET**, cross pattée w. wedges in angles in circle. 1.36g 0°. *SCBI* 1.449; *MEC* 1.1172; Naismith E45.1a; North 445; Pagan 1982, p. 62.

- 938 *Man*. Obv. **ÆPILSTAN R**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. Rev. **MON MONET**, cross pattée in circle. 1.34g 0°. *SCBI* 1.448; *MEC* 1.1171. Naismith E45.3b; North 447/1; Pagan 1982, p. 60.

- 939 *Man*. Obv. **ÆPELEA RE**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **HMON MONET**, cross pattée in circle. 1.27g 0°. Naismith E45.4a. Same obv. die as Naismith E45.4b.

927 CM.79–1983: from University Purchase Fund, 1984; from the Middle Harling hoard (Archibald 1985, MH 51).

928 CM.80–1983: from University Purchase Fund, 1984; from the Middle Harling hoard (Archibald 1985, MH 33).

929 CM.81–1983: from University Purchase Fund, 1984; from the Middle Harling hoard (Archibald 1985, MH 43).

930 CM.1–2014: loan from a private collector; ex Dix, Noonan and Webb auction 123, 11.6.2014, lot 309; found in the vicinity

of Pevensey, East Sussex, March 2014 (EMC 2014.0071).

931 CM.1.227–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Baldwin 1982; found near Norwich, Norfolk, c. 1982 (Blackburn and Bonser 1985, 51) (EMC 1985.0051).

932 CM.430–2000: from Davey; found Riddlesworth, Norfolk, April 2000 (*CR* 2000, 84; EMC 2000.0029).

933 CM.120–2010: found Market Rasen, Lincolnshire, January/February 2010.

934 CM.1.228–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Baldwin; ex Wells.

935 CM.1.231–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 412; ex Evans; from the Middle Temple hoard.

936 CM.1.229–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Argyll coll.; ex *NCirc* 50 (1942), no. 16355; possibly ex *NCirc* 18 (1910), no. 76487 (Evans).

937 CM.1.30–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart; ex Rashleigh 111; ex Cuff 343.

938 CM.YG.2131–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 307; ex Nunn 59; ex Montagu 347; ex Marsham 96.

939 CM.1.230–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1962.



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ÆTHELWEARD, c. 845–55

- 940 *Æthelhelm*. Obv. **ÆDELƿARD REX**, cross pattée w. crescents in angles in circle. Rev. **ÆDELHELM**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. 1.32g 310°. *SCBI* 1.450; *MEC* 1.1173; Naismith E48.1a; North 452; Pagan 1982, p. 67. Same dies as Naismith E48.1b; same obv. die as Naismith E48.1c.
- 941 *Dudda*. Obv. **ÆDELƿARD REX**, **Ǻ** in circle. Rev. **ƿDƿDDA MONE**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. 1.30g 0°. Naismith E49.1e; North 450. Same dies as Naismith E49.1b–d; same obv. die as E49.1a.
- 942 *Dudda*. Obv. **ÆDELƿARD REX**, **Ǻ** in circle. Rev. **ƿDƿDDA MO[NE]**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. 0.66g (fragment) 0°. Naismith E49.1g; North 450; Pagan 1982, p. 68. Probably same obv. die as Naismith E49.1f; probably same rev. die as E49.1a.

EDMUND, 855–69

Early coinage (855–c. 862)

- 943 *Æthelwulf*. Obv. **ÆADMV[ND] REX**, cross pattée w. crescents in angles in circle. Rev. **[ƿ]EDELƿVLƿ M[ON]**, cross pattée w. wedges in angles in circle. 0.95g (badly chipped) 180°. Naismith E55.1n; North 457.
- 944 *Beornferth*. Obv. **ÆADMVND REX ǺN**, three standing crosses in circle. Rev. **BEORNƿRI-ƿ MO**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. 1.36g 340°. *SCBI* 1.451; *MEC* 1.1174; Naismith E56.1a; North 459; Pagan 1982, p. 72. Same dies as Naismith E56.1b.
- 945 *Dudda*. Obv. **ÆADMVN[ƿ] REX ǺN**, cross and crescent in circle. Rev. **ƿD[ƿD]DA MNE**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. 1.18g (badly chipped) 45°. Naismith E57c; North 460; Pagan 1982, p. 74. Same dies as Naismith E57d–e.
- 946 *Eadmund*. Obv. **ÆADMVND REX ǺN**, **Ǻ** in circle. Rev. **ÆADMVND MONE**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. 1.29g 180°. *SCBI* 1.453; *MEC* 1.1177; Naismith E58a; North 456; Pagan 1982, p. 75.
- 947 *Tiwiga*. Obv. **ÆADMVND REX ǺN**, omega and tau in circle. Rev. **ƿTƿICA MON**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. 1.32g (chipped) 0°. Naismith E60.2c; North 462; Pagan 1982, p. 79. Same dies as Naismith E60.2a–b; same obv. die as E60.2d–e.
- 948 *Tiwiga*. Obv. **ÆADMVND REX ǺN**, omega and cross in circle. Rev. **ƿTƿIECA MON**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. 1.16g 90°. *SCBI* 1.455; *MEC* 1.1179; Naismith E60.1c; North 462; Pagan 1982, p. 80. Same dies as Naismith E60.1d–f; same obv. die as E60.1g; same rev. die as E60.1b.

Late coinage (c. 862–9)

- 949 *Beornferth*. Obv. **ÆADMVND REX**, three standing crosses in circle. Rev. **BEORNƿRD MO**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. 1.42g 90°. *SCBI* 1.452; *MEC* 1.1175; Naismith E62.1b; Pagan 1982, p. 74. Same dies as Naismith E62.1a.
- 950 *Beornheah*. Obv. **ÆADMVND REX**, **Ǻ** in circle. Rev. **ƿBEORNHÆH**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. 1.30g 180°. *MEC* 1.1176; *CCC Catalogue*, 146; Naismith E63b; North 456; Pagan 1982, p. 74. Same obv. die as Naismith E63c–f.
- 940 CM.1.29–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.
- 941 CM.1.232–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959; ex Evans; ex Montagu 352; ex Bergne 79; ex Brice coll.
- 942 CM.1.233–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Baldwin 1951; probably Lawrence 212.
- 943 CM.1.235–1990: ex Blunt coll.; metal-detector find, 1986.
- 944 CM.YG.3132–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Weber 7.
- 945 CM.1.237–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Grantley 917.
- 946 CM.YG.3134–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 310; ex Montagu 359; ex Brice coll.
- 947 CM.1.236–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 660; ex *NCirc* 24 (1916), no. 39329; ex *NCirc* 21 (1913), no. 4980; ex *NCirc* 19 (1911), no. 92001; ex Rashleigh 119; ex Dymock 82; ex Cuff 335; ex Barratt coll.
- 948 CM.YG.3135–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 312; ex Montagu 363.
- 949 CM.YG.3133–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 311.
- 950 CM.LS.5507–R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll.; bt in Tunbridge Wells 2.7.1872; from the Croydon (1862) hoard.

KINGS OF THE EAST ANGLES

EDMUND, 855–69 (*cont.*)

ÆTHELRED, *c.* 870

Late coinage (c. 862–9) (cont.)

951 *Eadmund*. Obv. **HEADMVND REX**, **Æ** in circle. Rev. **HEADMVND MO**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. 1.29g 180°. *SCBI* 1.454; *MEC* 1.1178; Naismith E65e; North 456; Pagan 1982, p. 76. Same rev. die as Naismith E65f.

952 *Eadweald*. Obv. **HEADMVND REX**, **Æ** in circle. Rev. **HEADWÆLD MO**, cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. 1.30g 270°. Naismith E66.1y; North 456; Pagan 1982, p. 77. Same obv. die as Naismith E66.1x.

Temple/Cross-and-Pellets type

Obv. **EDELREDE RE**, tetrastyle temple w. cross at centre. Rev. **MEORNÆE M**, cross pattée in circle.

953 *Beornheadh*. 1.23g (slightly chipped) 90°. Blackburn 2011b, *ÆS* (p. 375).

OSWALD, *c.* 870

(Not represented in this collection. For commentary, see Chapter 11, section (f), pp. 287–8.)

KINGS OF KENT

For gold shillings of Eadbald of Kent (616–40), see above 2–3. All coins are silver pennies. For commentary, see Chapter 6, section (d), pp. 138–45.

HEABERHT, fl. *c.* 764

(Not represented in this collection. For commentary, see Chapter 6, section (c), pp. 132–8.)

ECGBERHT II, *c.* 764–79?

Early/Light coinage

CANTERBURY

Obv. **HEGGBERHT** around circle containing **R**. Rev. **IVDD** between two lines of pellets, w. crosses and ornaments above and below.

954 *Udd*. 1.17g 300°. *SCBI* 1.428; *MEC* 1.1122; Lockett 1920, pl. iv, 5; Blunt 4; Chick 87e. Same dies as Chick 87f, g, h, i and j; same rev. die as Chick 87g.

EADBERHT ‘PRÆN’, 796–8

Three-Line coinage (796–97/8)

CANTERBURY

Obv. legend in three lines, divided by lines. Rev. legend distributed across three lines, divided by lines, with ornaments in unoccupied segments.

955 *Æthelmod*. Obv. **EAD** / **BEARHT** / **REX**. Rev. **HEPEL** / **MOD** / **M**. 1.20g 90°. Naismith C2g; North 203; BLS 2c.

956 *Babba*. Obv. as last. Rev. **BÆBBÆ** / **M**. Naismith C4a; North 202; BLS 1c. 1.19g 90°. *SCBI* 1.429; *MEC* 1.1136; Naismith C4a; North 202; BLS 1c.

Tribrach coinage (797/8)

CANTERBURY

957 *Duda*. Obv. **EADBEARHT REX**, **M** in circle. Rev. **[DV]** / **DÆ** / **MÆ** in angles of double tribrach with hooked terminals. 0.99g (chipped) 0°. Naismith C10; North 206/1.

CUTHRED, 798–807

Tribrach coinage (798–c. 805)

CANTERBURY

Obv. legend cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. Rev. **SIG** / **EBE** / **RHT**, in angles of tribrach with hooked terminals.

958 *Sigebeorht*. Obv. **HECVÐRED REX**. 1.23g 315°. Naismith C20.1b; North 208/2; BLS Cd 5.

959 *Sigebeorht*. Obv. **HECVÐ** / **RED** / **REX**. Rev. annulet at centre of tribrach. 1.38g 180°. *SCBI* 1.430; *MEC* 1.1141; Naismith C20.2e; North 210/2; BLS Cd 11b.

Cross-and-Wedges coinage (c. 805–7)

CANTERBURY

Obv. **HECVÐRED REX** / **ÆANT** around bust r. breaking circle. Rev. legend around circle containing cross pattée with wedges in angles.

960 *Duda*. Rev. **HDVDA MONETA**. 1.25g (chipped) 90°. *SCBI* 1.431; *MEC* 1.1142; Naismith C30.1a; North 211; BLS Cd 15d.

951 CM.1.28–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

952 CM.1.234–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex *NCirc* 61 (1953), no. AS3; ex Argyll coll.

953 CM.161–2009: ex Cross; from S. Morris 14.3.2009; found south Norfolk, before 1982 (EMC 2010.0321).

954 CM.35–1955: ex Lockett 324; ex Carlyon-Britton 292; found Stamford Hill,

London, with Chick 87f (EMC 1986.9122).

955 CM.1.126–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 325; ex Drabble 342; ex Bruun 36; ex Bascom 13; ex Astronomer 78; ex Montagu 285; ex Marsham 50; from the Delgany hoard.

956 CM.TR.1944–R: Trinity College loan 1937.

957 CM.91–2013: Spink 27.6.2012, lot 403; found Urchfont, Wiltshire, 3.11.2011 (EMC 2011.0285).

958 CM.1.127–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Drabble 344; probably ex Ready 38.

959 CM.46–1955: ex Lockett 329; ex Carlyon-Britton 294.

960 CM.ME.402–R: no provenance.



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CUTHRED, 798–807 (*cont.*)

- 961 *Duda*. Rev. **HDVA MONETA**. 1.15g 180°. Naismith C30.1; North 211; BLS Cd 15.
 962 *Sigeborht*. Rev. **HSIGEBERHT MONETA**. 1.25g 135°. *SCBI* 1.432; *MEC* 1.1143; Naismith C33.1a; North 211; BLS Cd 20b.
 963 *Werheard*. Rev. **HVERHEARDI MONETA**. 1.21g (pierced) 270°. *SCBI* 1.433; *MEC* 1.1144; Naismith C35.1a; North 211; BLS Cd 22b. Same dies as Naismith C35.1b.

BALDRED, *c.* 823–5

CANTERBURY

- 964 *Deormod*. Obv. **HBALDRED REX CANT** (NT ligatured), cross-crosslet in circle. Rev. **DI / OR / MO / D M** around

and broken by cross fourchée w. cross pattée in circle. 1.12g 180°. Naismith C61.5a. Same rev. die as Naismith C61.4a.

- 965 *Deormod*. Obv. **HBALDRED REX CANT** (NT ligatured), bust r. in circle. Rev. **DIORMOD MONETA, DRVR / CITS** in circle. 1.27g (chipped) 45°. Naismith C61.2c; North 220; BLS Bd 2.
 966 *Tidbeorht*. Obv. **HBALDRED REX CANT** (NT ligatured), cross pattée in circle. Rev. **HTIDBEARHT**, cross pattée w. one limb fourchée in circle. Naismith C65.2c; North 213; BLS Baldred 15e. 1.23g (chipped) 0°. Same dies as Naismith C65.2a and b.
 967 *Tidbeorht*. Obv. **HBALDRED REX CANT**, bust r. in circle. Rev. **HTIDBEARHT MONET, DRVR / CITS** in circle. 1.38g 0°. *SCBI* 1.434; *MEC* 1.1156; Naismith C65.1a; North 220; BLS Bd 6.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY

All coins are silver pennies minted at Canterbury. For commentary, see Chapters 6–9, pp. 128–210.

JÆNBERHT, 765–92

Light coinage (*c.* 785–92/3) (with OFFA, king of the Mercians)

- 968 Obv. **HJENBERHT ARP** around cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. Rev. **OFFA / REX** (lozenge-shaped O) in two lines divided by pellets with floral terminals. 1.13g (pierced) 90°. *SCBI* 1.435; *MEC* 1.1133; Chick 154a; Blunt 127.
 969 Obv. **HJENB / ERIF A / REP** (NB ligatured) in three lines divided by lines. Rev. **O / F / F / A** in angles of ornamented voided cross. 1.04g (chipped) 90°. Chick 150a.

ÆTHELHEARD, 792–805

Heavy coinage (792/3–6) (with OFFA, king of the Mercians)

- 970 Obv. **ÆTHELHARD PONT**, staurogram in circle. Rev. **OFFA REX MER** (lozenge-shaped O), staurogram in circle. 1.25g 20°. Chick 241a; Blunt 134.

- 971 Obv. **ÆDIL / HEARD / ARCEPI** in three lines divided by lines. Rev. **OFFA / REX / M** (lozenge-shaped O) in three lines divided by pellets. 1.43g 160°. *SCBI* 1.436; *MEC* 1.1135; Chick 247j; Blunt 136.

- 972 Obv. as last. Rev. as last, but w. filled ornaments in upper segment. 1.29g 180°. Chick 247a; Blunt 136.

Æthelheard alone (796–8)

- 973 *Eadgar*. Obv. **ÆDILHEARD AR, EP** in circle. Rev. **EA / DG / A / JR** around and divided by cross pattée, w. small cross pattée w. pellets in angles in circle. 0.77g (fragment) 180°. Naismith C8a; North 231/1.

Tribrach coinage (798–805) (with COENWULF, king of the Mercians)

- 974 Obv. **ÆDILHEARD AR, EP** in circle. Rev. **CO / ENVVL / F REX / M** in angles of double tribrach w. hooked terminals. 1.36g (slightly chipped) 0°. Naismith C22.3h; North 233; BLS Æth 1b.

961 CM.374–2013; ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, 2006 (EMC 2013.0151).

962 CM.YG.2117–R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Bliss 45.

963 CM.1.24–1930; ex Duncanson; ex Smart; ex Rashleigh 83; White (1848) 34; ex Dean of St Patrick's 105.

964 CM.1.130–1990; ex Blunt coll.; found Lambeth, London, 1973 (Stott 1991, 61; Blunt 1974; EMC 1991.0241).

965 CM.1.129–1990; ex Blunt coll.; found Huncote, Leicestershire (Blackburn and Bonser 1984, 12; EMC 1984.0012).

966 CM.1.131–1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Bascom 16; ex Rashleigh 85; ex Shepherd 13; ex Bergne 47; found near Aylesford, Kent.

967 CM.YG.2124–R; ex Young coll.; ex Carlyon-Britton 295; ex Astronomer 80; ex Montagu 292; ex Brice coll.; ex Wigan; ex Cuff 260; from M. Young; from the Suffolk hoard.

968 CM.ME.399–R; acq. after 1866.

969 CM.2241–2003; from Chick; ex Dupree coll.; ex St Oswald (1964) 72 (Blunt and Dolley 1960–1, p. 360); probably found in South Yorkshire in the eighteenth century.

970 CM.1.132–1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 591; ex Grantley 892; ex Rashleigh 90.

971 CM.YG.2115–R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 297; ex Astronomer 123; ex Montagu 300; ex Shepherd 49; ex Murchison 77.

972 CM.1.133–1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 590; found Grantham, Lincolnshire, 1929 (EMC 1983.0003).

973 CM.108–1999; from Baldwin 26.5.1999; found Kent 1998, in the same field as a penny of Ecgbert of Wessex.

974 CM.1.134–1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 2633; ex Bascom 19; ex Murdoch 38; ex Montagu 301; ex Bergne 110; ex Murchison 38; ex Dymock 40; ex Devonshire 155.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY

ARCHBISHOP ÆTHELHEARD, 792–805 (*cont.*)

Tribach coinage (798–805) (with COENWULF, king of the Mercians) (*cont.*)

- 975 Obv. **†ÆDILHEARD AR**, **EP** in circle. Rev. **†COENVVLFR**
REX, **M** in circle. 1.37g 0°. *SCBI* 1.437; *MEC* 1.1140;
Naismith C22.1b; North 232; BLS Æth 2f.

WULFRED, 805–32

Early coinage (c. 805–10)

- 976 Obv. **†WULFREDI AR**[**CHIEPI**][**SCOPI**] around facing tonsured bust. Rev. **†DORO**[**VERNIA**][**E CIVITATIS**] around alpha and omega monogram in circle. 0.76g (fragment) 0°. Naismith C36.2c; North 236.

Large Portrait coinage (c. 810–22/3)

Earlier coins

Obv. **†WULFREDI ARCHIEPISCOPI**, facing tonsured bust in circle.
Rev. legend around *Dorovernia* monogram in circle.

- 977 *Sæbeorht*. Rev. **†SÆBERHT MONETA**. 1.39g 225°. Naismith C46.1d; North 240; BLS Wulfred 3d. Same obv. die as Naismith C46.1c.
978 *Sæbeorht*. Rev. **†SÆBERHT MONETA**. 1.33g 0°. *SCBI* 1.438; *MEC* 1.1148; Naismith C46.1a; North 240; BLS Wulfred 3b.

Later coins

Obv. **WULFRED A** / **RCHIEPI**, facing tonsured bust breaking circle.
Rev. as last.

- 979 *Sæbeorht*. Rev. **†SÆBERHT MONETA**. Naismith C46.2q; North 240/1; BLS Wulfred 4D. 0.90g 90°. *SCBI* 1.439; *MEC* 1.1152. Same dies as Naismith C46.2p; same obv. as C46.2r and s.
980 *Sweðheard*. Rev. **†SVVEFHERD MONETA**. 1.50g 270°. *SCBI* 1.440; *MEC* 1.1153; Naismith C47.2a; North 240/1; BLS Wulfred 7A.

Baldred-period coinage (c. 823–5)

Obv. **†WULFRED ARCHIEPI**, facing tonsured bust in circle. Rev. **†SVVEFHERD MONET**, **DRVR** / **CITS** in circle.

- 981 *Sweðheard*. 1.41g 90°. Naismith C68a; North 239; BLS Wulfred 17a. Same obv. die as Naismith C68b.

DOROB-C coinage (c. 828–32)

(Not represented in this collection. For commentary, see Chapter 7, section (d), pp. 151–7.)

CEOLNOTH, 833–70

DOROB-C coinage (833–c. 839)

(Not represented in this collection. For commentary, see Chapter 7, section (d), pp. 151–7.)

First Monogram coinage (c. 839–44)

Obv. **†CIALNO** / **Ð ARE**, facing tonsured bust breaking circle.
Rev. **†VVNERE MONETA**, *Dorovernia* monogram in circle.

- 982 *Wynhere*. 1.29g 135°. *SCBI* 1.444; *MEC* 1.1161; Naismith C105a; North 241.
983 *Wynhere*. 1.26g 270°. Naismith C105l; North 241. Same dies as Naismith C105k.

Cruciform coinage (c. 844–9)

- 984 *Wynhere*. Obv. **†CIVLNOÐ** / **ARCEPI**, tonsured bust breaking circle. Rev. **†VVYNHERE MONETA**, Chi-Rho in circle. 1.25g 90°. *SCBI* 1.445; *MEC* 1.1162; Naismith C119.1a; North 242.

Mint-signed coinage (c. 849–54)

- 985 *Lil*. Obv. **†ÆOLNOÐ** / **ARCHIEP**, facing tonsured bust breaking circle. Rev. **†LIL MONETA DOROVER**, cross pattée w. **EI** / **VI** / **T** / **ΛS** in angles in circle. 1.17g 260°. Naismith C135b; North 243. Same obv. die as Naismith C135a.

Inscribed/Open Cross coinage (c. 854–64)

- 986 *Hebeca*. Obv. **†ÆOLNOÐ** / **ARCHIEP**, facing tonsured bust breaking circle. Rev. **†HEBE** / **CA** / **MO** / **N** / **E** / **T** / **A**, distributed on arms and in angles of cross. 1.27g 90°. *SCBI* 1.443; *MEC* 1.1315; Naismith C154a; North 245.

Lunettes coinage (c. 865–70)

- 987 *Tōga*. Obv. **†ÆOLNOÐ** / **ARCHIEP**, bust r. breaking circle. Rev. **TOGA** / **MON** / **ET** in and between two lunettes. 1.15g (slightly chipped) 270°. North 249; *BMC* rev. type a.

975 CM.47-1955; ex Lockett 333; ex *N'Cir* 24 (1916), no. 41526.

976 CM.386-1991; from S. Brown (finder); found Bawsey, Norfolk, March–April 1990 (EMC 2002.0205).

977 CM.1.3653-1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Bagnall coll.; ex Drabble 346; ex Carlyon-Britton 1618; ex Rashleigh 94; ex Cuff 392.

978 CM.ME.403-R; no provenance.

979 CM.1.25-1930; ex Rashleigh 93.

980 CM.YG.2122-R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Bliss 46; ex Montagu (1897) 3.

981 CM.1.135-1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 2634; from Baldwin; from the Dorset hoard.

982 CM.1.26-1930; ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

983 CM.1.135a-1990; ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1948.

984 CM.YG.2128-R; ex Young coll.; ex Carlyon-Britton 302; ex Montagu 319; ex

Marshall 114; ex Pembroke 33; ex Cotton (Archibald 2006, 10).

985 CM.1.136-1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex de Vere; ex Ryan 596; ex Maish 10; ex Sotheby 6.4.1899, lot 196; ex Briggs 186.

986 CM.YG.3151-R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 301.

987 CM.1.137-1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 601.



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ÆTHELRED, 870–88

Portrait/Quatrefoil type (c. 875–80)

- 988 *Æthelred*. Obv. []**ÆRL**[], bust r. breaking circle (?). Rev. []**R** / **ED**[] in quatrefoil with cross and other ornaments (?). 0.35g (small fragment) 270°. Blackburn and Keynes 1998, 3; North 250. Same dies as *BMC* 61.

Cross and Lozenge coinage (c. 875–80)

- 989 *Torhtmund*. Obv. **ÆDELRED** / **ÆRCHIEPI**, bust r. Rev. **†TO** / **RHT** / **MV** / **ND** in quarters of long cross w. lozenge and small cross pattée at centre. 1.33g 270°. *SCBI* 1.446; *MEC* 1.1353; Blunt 1962a, 2; Keynes and Blackburn 1985, 51; 1998, 19; North 251.

PLEGMUND, 890–923

Class 1 (890–c. 895)

Obv. legend around **DO** / **RO** (Os lozenge-shaped) in circle. Rev. legend in two lines w. pellets above and three crosses between.

- 990 *Hunferth*. Obv. **†PLEGMUND** **ÆRCHIEP**. Rev. **HVNFR** / **EÐ MO** (**NF** ligatured; **O** lozenge-shaped). 1.34g 180°. *SCBI* 1.447; *MEC* 1.1369; North 254.
991 *Hunferth*. Obv. **†PLEGMUND** **ÆRCHIEP** (**MV** ligatured). Rev. **HVNFR** / **EÐ MO** (**O** lozenge-shaped); trefoils instead of pellets above and below. 1.52g (chipped) 0°. North 254.
992 *Hunferth*. Obv. **†PLEGMUND** **ÆRCHIEP** (*sic*; **VM** ligatured); cross pattée in circle. Rev. **HVNFR** / **EÐ MO** (**NF** ligatured; **O** lozenge-shaped); crosses instead of pellets above and below. 1.37g 270°. North 253.

Class 2 (c. 905–23)

Obv. **†PLEGMUND** **ÆRCHIEP**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines with pellets above and below and three crosses between.

- 993 *Eicmund*. Rev. **EICMV** / **ND MON**. *CTCE* P.5(d) (Middle II–Late I). 1.55g 0°. *MEC* 1.1370; *CTCE* P.5(d) (Middle II–Late I); North 256. Same dies as *SCBI* 16.90 and *SCBI* 20.672.
994 *Sigehelm*. Rev. **ΣICEHE** / **LM MON**. 1.59g 90°. *CTCE* P.7(f) (Middle II–Late II); North 256.

988 CM.389–1995: from Bonser 1995; found Santon Downham, Norfolk, 1994 (possibly from soil removed from site of the Thetford bypass). (*CR* 1996, 155).

989 CM.YG.1137–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 303; ex Murdoch 44; found near Tetbury, Gloucestershire, before 1902 (*EMC* 1986.9353).

990 CM.38–1955: ex Lockett Executors 1955; ex Lockett 344; ex Bascom 22.

991 CM.1.139–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1949.

992 CM.1.138–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1958.

993 CM.118–1967: ex Chilvers coll.; ex Ryan 609; ex Carlyon–Britton 305; ex Montagu 336; ex Gibbs.

994 CM.1.140–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Argyll coll.; ex Carlyon–Britton 900; ex Rashleigh 102; ex Devonshire 159.

ANONYMOUS CANTERBURY SERIES (c. 822–3)

All coins are silver pennies, minted at Canterbury. For commentary, see Chapter 6, section (d), p. 141.

‘ROYAL’ COINS

- 995 *Werheard*. Obv. **†FERHEARD MONETA**, bust r. in circle. Rev. **DORO / BERNIA / CIVITA / S** in four lines, w. cross above. 1.41g 270°. Naismith C56.2a; BLS An 7; North 221/1.

‘ARCHIEPISCOPAL’ COINS

Obv. **HLVNING MONETA**, facing tonsured bust in circle. Rev. **DORO / BERNIA / CIVITA / S** in four lines, w. cross above. North 238.

- 996 *Luning*. 1.36g o°. *SCBI* 1.441; *MEC* 1.1154; Naismith C57.2a; BLS Wulfred 13a. Same rev. die as Naismith C57.2b.
997 *Luning*. 1.37g 180°. *SCBI* 1.442; *MEC* 1.1155; Naismith C57.2b; BLS Wulfred 13b. Same rev. die as Naismith C57.2a.
998 *Luning*. 1.16 (chipped; broken and repaired) o°. Naismith C57.2i; BLS Wulfred 13i.

KINGS OF THE MERCIANS

All coins are silver pennies. For commentary, see Chapters 6–8, pp. 128–73.

OFFA, 757–96

Early coinage (c. 760–80/5)

CANTERBURY?

Eoba. Obv. **Θ / F / R / M** in angles of cross pattée. Rev. **€ / Θ / B / A** in angles of cross with pelleted annulets at centre and terminals. Chick 102; Blunt 10.

- 999 1.18g o°. Chick 102a.
1000 1.19g 180°. Chick 102b.

LONDON?

Mang. Obv. **Θ F / R M** in two lines. Rev. **MA / NG** in two lines. Chick 5.

- 1001 Obv. **Θ / F [/ R / M]**. Rev. **[MA] / NG**. 0.56g (fragment) 180°. Chick 5a.
1002 Obv. **[Θ /] F [/ R / M]**. Rev. **[MA] / N[G]**. 0.28g (fragment) 90°. Chick 5b.

EAST ANGLIA (IPSWICH?)

Obv. **Θ / F / R / M** in two lines, w. rosette at centre. Rev. **VVIL / RED** in two lines, divided by line. Chick 160.

- 1003 *Wilred*. 1.26g (chipped) o°. Chick 160b; Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 221(c).

Light coinage (c. 780/5–92/3)

CANTERBURY?

- 1004 *Babba*. Obv. **†O / FF / A R / EX** in angles of cross-crosslet with central ornaments. Rev. **B / A / B / A** in

panels of standard with floral sprays on each side. 1.11g 90°. Chick 91a; Blunt 6. Same dies as Chick 91b; same rev. die as Chick 91Ba.

- 1005 *Eoba*. Obv. **Θ / F** in panels of standard w. sprays from corners, **R / M** (lozenge-shaped **Θ**) below, either side of standing cross. Rev. **€ / Θ / B / A** (lozenge-shaped **Θ**) in angles of cross with triangular terminals and annulet at centre w. small cross pattée. 0.57g (corroded) 270°. Chick 104a; Blunt 16.
1006 *Eoba*. Obv. **Θ / F** in panels of standard w. sprays from corners, cross above and floral motifs l. and r.; **R M** (lozenge-shaped **Θ**) below. Rev. **€ / Θ / B / A**. 1.21g o°. *SCBI* 1.390; *MEC* 1.1127; Chick 106f; Blunt 17. Same rev. die as Chick 106g.
1007 *Heabeorht*. Obv. **†O / FF / A R / EX** in angles of cross with lobes in angles. Rev. **TH** (ligatured) / **BE / A / E** in angles of voided cross w. complex internal ornamentation. 1.10g (pierced) 180°. Chick 123b; Blunt 60.
1008 *Osmod*. Obv. **†O / FF / A R / EX** in angles of cross with lobes in angles. Rev. **Θ / SM / Θ / O** in angles of cross w. trefoil terminals and annulet at centre. 1.13g 280°. *SCBI* 1.393; *MEC* 1.1130; Chick 125b; Blunt 19. Same obv. die as Chick 125c.

995 CM.1.128–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 602; ex Carlyon–Britton 896; ex Rashleigh 95; found at Eynsham Abbey, Oxfordshire, 1854 (EMC 1963.0020).

996 CM.YG.2123–R: ex Carlyon–Britton 299.

997 CM.37–1955: ex Lockett 337; ex *NCirc* 15 (1907), no. 46785; ex Astronomer 131; ex *NCirc* 14 (1906), no. 31662; ex Montagu 309; ex Brice coll.; ex Lake–Price 20; ex Murchison 91; ex Dymock 42.

998 CM.1.3654–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lawrence (gift) 1950.

999 CM.2236–2003: ex Chick 2003; from A. Morris (finder), May 1995; found Gussage St Michael, Dorset, 28.8.1994.

1000 CM.1.143–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1957; found Udine, Friuli–Venezia Giulia, Italy (Blunt 1986, p. 164).

1001 CM.2324–2003: ex Chick 2003; from Norris (finder); found at East Tilbury, Thurrock, April 1984.

1002 CM.2325–2003: ex Chick 2003; from Norris (finder); found at East Tilbury, Thurrock, April 1989.

1003 CM.1.148–1990: ex Blunt coll.; Christies sale 23.7.1985, lot 107; found St Osyth, Essex, early 1980s.

1004 CM.2238–2003: ex Chick 2003; from Finn 1995; found in Hertfordshire, 1995.

1005 CM.1.142–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex SCMB February 1981, no. E28; found in the Thames at Wandsworth.

1006 CM.ME.398–R: acquired after 1886.

1007 CM.1.144–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 358.

1008 CM.EM.67–R: Emmanuel College loan 1937.



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OFFA, 757–96 (cont.)

LONDON?

- 1009 *Æthelweald*. Obv. **✠OFFA REX✠**, bust r. breaking circle. Rev. **ED / IL / VA / LO** in angles of lobed cross w. central circle containing small cross w. trefoil terminals and saltire lobed cross. 1.26g 90°. *SCBI* 1.391; *MEC* 1.1128; Chick 10p; Blunt 57. Same dies as Chick 10q and r.
- 1010 *Dud*. Obv. **OFFA / REX** in two lines divided by line w. forked terminals. Rev. **✠O / UO** in two lines divided by line w. forked terminals. 1.01g 0°. *SCBI* 1.388; *MEC* 1.1125; Chick 28a; Blunt 25. Same rev. die as Chick 27d.
- 1011 *Dud*. Obv. **✠OFFA REX MERCIORUM** (lozenge-shaped Os), bust r. w. large Latin cross before. Rev. **✠ / O / U / O** in angles of lobed cross, each lobe containing small cross with trefoil terminal. 1.30g 90°. *MEC* 1.1124a; Chick 25b; Blunt 27. Same dies as Chick 25a and c.
- 1012 *Dud*. Obv. **✠OFFA R[X M]ER**, bust r. breaking circle. Rev. **✠DV O** w. two fantastic creatures curving above and below. 0.94g (fragment) 180°. Chick 26a.
- 1013 *Eadhun*. Obv. **OFFA / REX**, bust r. w. elaborate hairstyle. Rev. **EA / D / HV / N** in angles of lozenge with cross terminals, containing cross of five pellets. 1.19g 90°. *SCBI* 1.389; *MEC* 1.1126; Chick 32a; Blunt 39. Same dies as Chick 32b; same obv. die as Chick 25c and d.
- 1014 *Ealhmund*. Obv. **✠OFFA REX✠**, bust r. breaking circle. Rev. **ALH / MUN / O** in three lines, enclosed by snake-like creature. 1.18g 90°. *SCBI* 1.386; *MEC* 1.1123; Chick 37f; Blunt 42. Same dies as Chick 37g; same rev. die as Chick 37d.
- 1015 *Ealhmund*. Obv. **O / F / B / M** in angles of lozenge w. floral terminals and containing annulet and pellets. Rev. **ALH / MUN / O** in three lines, divided by line w. floral terminals 1.19g 0°. *SCBI* 1.387; *MEC* 1.1124; Chick 38e; Blunt 40; Lockett 1920, pl. viii, 5.
- 1016 *Ealhmund*. Obv. **✠OFFA[]**, bust r. breaking circle. Rev. **[]LHMUN[]** in angles of lobed cross and cross pattée. 0.77g (fragment) 270°. Chick 36c; Blunt 43. Same obv. die as Chick 36a and b.
- 1017 *Ealhmund*. Obv. **✠OFFA REX✠**, bust r. breaking circle. Rev. **HE / AL / MU / NO** in angles of lozenge containing annulet with saltire and cross with trefoil terminals. 0.89g (corroded) 270°. Chick 48d; Blunt 44.
- 1018 *Ibba*. Obv. **OFFA / REX**, bust r. Rev. **HI / B / B / A** in angles of voided cross with floral terminals, containing small cross pattée. 1.02g (chipped) 270°. Chick 55d; Blunt 63.
- 1009 CM.YG.1107-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Bliss 35; ex Montagu 175; found in the City of London (Stott 1991, no. 53) (EMC 1986.9128).
- 1010 CM.ME.396-R: acquired before c. 1886.
- 1011 CM.1-1985: ex Spink sale 40, 6.12.1984, 71; ex Mallinson 71.
- 1012 CM.2328-2003: ex Chick, 2003; found Waldershare Park Estate, near Coldred, Kent, 31.8.1996 (CR 1999, 81) (EMC 1999.0137).
- 1013 CM.YG.418-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 271.
- 1014 CM.48-1955: ex Lockett 348; ex Carlyon-Britton 272; ex Montagu 192; ex Brice coll. (cited in Fitzwilliam Museum MS); ex Sotheby sale 11.8.1879, lot 327; found at Stilton, Cambridgeshire (EMC 1986.9123).
- 1015 CM.39-1955: ex Lockett 354; ex Mann 134; ex Carlyon-Britton 274; ex Montagu 221.
- 1016 CM.2327-2003: ex Chick, 2003; from Beer (finder); found east of Fordwich, near Canterbury, Kent, February 1988.
- 1017 CM.1.141-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Spink 1955.
- 1018 CM.2239-2003: ex Chick 2003; from Spink November 1989; ex Spink sale 6, 10.10.1979, lot 261; ex *NCirc* 56 (1948), no. 8092; ex Drabble 322; ex Carlyon-Britton 1603; found St Kyneburga's churchyard, Castor, Northamptonshire, by 1900.

KINGS OF THE MERCIANS

OFFA (cont.)

Light coinage (cont.)

LONDON (cont.)

- 1019 *Lulla*. Obv. **†OFFA REX†**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†L** / **U** / **LL** / **Λ** broken by four annulets, saltire and cross with trefoil terminals in circle. 1.16g 90°. *SCBI* 1.392; *MEC* 1.1129; *CAS Catalogue* 1847, p. 28 n. 3; Chick 58a; Blunt 67. Same obv. die as Chick 58b.
- 1020 *Lulla*. Obv. **[OFFA] REXME[]**, bust r. breaking circle. Rev. **†L** / **Λ** broken by four annulets, saltire w. trefoil terminals and cross in circle (?). 0.54g (fragment) 0°. Chick 61b; Blunt 69. Same dies as Blunt 61a.
- 1021 *Winoth*. Obv. **OFFA** / **REX** in two lines, divided by line with floral terminals. Rev. **UI** / **N** / **○** / **δ** in angles of lozenge with floral terminals, containing small saltire cross pattée. 1.23g 180°. *SCBI* 1.394; *MEC* 1.1131; 1867 *Catalogue*, 13; *Perne Catalogue*, Saxon and English 9; Chick 76d; Blunt 83.
- 1022 *Winoth*. Obv. **†OFFA REX†**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **U** (ligatured) / **IN** / **○** / **δ** / **S** in angles of lozenge with floral terminals, containing small pelletted annulet. 1.16g 180°. Chick 71a.

LONDON OR CANTERBURY?

- 1023 *Tinweald*. Obv. **†OFFA REX†**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†TIR+VV+†IH**, saltire and cross w. trefoil terminals in circle. 1.11g 30°. Chick 135a.
- 1024 *Tinweald*. Obv. **OF** / **FA** / **RE** / **X** in angles of voided cross containing cross fourchée and annulet w. small cross pattée. Rev. **TIRVVΛLD**, lobed cross and cross w. trefoil terminals in circle w. floral sprays. 1.04g (pierced) 270°. Chick 134a; Blunt 80.

EAST ANGLIA (IPSWICH?)

- 1025 *Æthelwæd*. Obv. **OFFA+REX**, cross on steps, breaking circle. Rev. **OE** / **δE** / **LR** / **EO** in angles of lozenge with rosettes at terminals, and rosette in centre. 1.17g 180°. Chick 177b. Same dies as Chick 177a.

- 1026 *Eadnoth*. Obv. **○** / **F** / **F** / **Λ** in angles of cross w. leaf-like arms. Rev. **eadnoth** w. lines and floral ornaments above and below. 1.07g 45°. Chick 165a.
- 1027 *Eadnoth*. Obv. **OFFA** (lozenge-shaped **○**) in centre of hexafoil, w. pellets around. Rev. as last. 1.12g 180°. Chick 164b. Same dies as Chick 164a.
- 1028 *Ecbald*. Obv. **OF** / **FA** / **RE** / **X** in angles of lozenge w. rosettes at terminals, and rosette and pellets at centre. Rev. **ecbald** w. lines and interlace ornaments above and below. 1.09g 90°. Chick 166a. Same dies as Chick 166b, c and d.
- 1029 *Egghun*. Obv. **○** / **FF** / **Λ+** / **RE** / **X** in angles of cross fourchée w. lozenges and annulet at centre. Rev. **E** / **g** / **C** / **H** / **V** / **I** in angles of hexagram w. rosettes at terminals and in centre. 1.13g 300°. Chick 170a; Blunt 110. Same obv. die as Chick 169a.
- 1030 *Lul*. Obv. **†OFFA REX**, bust r. breaking circle. Rev. **lul** above frame containing wolf suckling twins. 1.10g (slightly chipped) 0°. Chick 171a.
- 1031 *Lul*. Obv. **†OFFA REX**, bust r. breaking circle. Rev. **†lul** w. fantastic creatures coiling above and below. 1.27g 270°. Chick 172a.
- 1032 *Wiltwæd*. Obv. **OF** / **FA** / **RE** / **X+**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†H** / **IH** / **TR** / **ED** in angles of cross fourchée, w. lozenge at centre containing saltire and small cross pattée. 1.23g 45°. Chick 180a.
- 1033 *Wiltwæd*. Obv. **+** / **OF** / **FA** / **RE** / **X** in angles of angular voided cross w. square panel and pellet in centre. Rev. **†H** / **H** / **TR** / **ED** in angles of lozenge w. floral terminals and cross pattée at centre. 1.15g 10°. Chick 184a.
- 1034 *Wiltwæd*. Obv. **+** / **OF** / **FA** / **REX** in angles of cross of mushroom-like arms. Rev. **†H** / **IH** / **TR** / **ED**. Chick 183b. 0.94g (chipped) 90°. Overstruck on specimen of Chick 136 (see Chick 1991). Same dies as Chick 183a; same obv. die as Chick 183c.

1019 CM.ME.371-R: Cambridge Antiquarian Society 1886; ex Palmer 1845.
1020 CM.2326-2003; ex Chick 2003; from S. Brown (finder), October 1991; found Bawsey, Norfolk, October/November 1989 (EMC 2002.0193).

1021 CM.ME.397-R: ex Old University collection; ex Perne.
1022 CM.2240-2003; ex Chick 2003; from Goldsmith (finder), December 1995; found Long Lane, Greys, Essex, Autumn 1991.

1023 CM.2237-2003; ex Chick 2003; from Spink 1992; found Northamptonshire, 1992 (CR 1996, 170; EMC 1996.0170).

1024 CM.1.145-1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 617; ex Grantley 831; ex Evans; ex Holton 49.

1025 CM.2232-2003; ex Chick 2003; from Spink 1997; found Monkton Court Farm, Monkton, Kent, 17.8.1997 (CR 1997, 113; EMC 1997.0113).

1026 CM.1.149-1990; ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1985; found Norfolk/Suffolk border, mid-1980s.

1027 CM.2229-2003; ex Chick 2003; bt Spink 1993; found at Burgh Castle, Norfolk, 1992 (EMC 2001.0945).

1028 CM.2230-2003; ex Chick 2003; bt Spink (exchange), January 2002; found Wenhasston, Suffolk, 1991 (CR 1993, 192; EMC 1993.0192).

1029 CM.2231-2003; ex Chick 2003; from H. Norris (finder) November 1991; found East Tilbury, Essex, 16.11.1991 (EMC 2001.0638).

1030 CM.2112-2003; from CNG 2003; found near Needham Market, Suffolk, January 2003 (EMC 2003.0046).

1031 CM.2228-2003; ex Chick 2003; from Finn 1996; found Akenham, Suffolk, March 1996 (EMC 1997.6001).

1032 CM.2233-2003; ex Chick 2003; from Spink November 1987; found Eriswell, Suffolk, 1986/7.

1033 CM.2234-2003; ex Chick 2003; from Spink May 1992; ex *NCirc* 97 (1989), no. 170; found Suffolk, 1988.

1034 CM.2235-2003; ex Chick 2003; from Spink August 1990; found Shalford, Surrey, April 1990.



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1041



1042



OFFA (*cont.*)

Heavy coinage (c. 792/3–6)

CANTERBURY?

- 1035 *Babba*. Obv. **†OFFÆ REX M** (lozenge-shaped **O**), rosette in circle. Rev. **BABBÆ / M** in two lines divided by lines, w. geometric ornaments around. 1.19g (broken and repaired) 130°. *SCBI* 1.395; *MEC* 1.1134; Chick 219c; Blunt 85. Same dies as Chick 219b.
- 1036 *Babba*. Obv. **OFFÆ / REX / M** in three lines, divided by lines. Rev. as last. No wt. (fragments held together by metal casing) 0°. Chick 220a.

LONDON?

- 1037 *Diola*. Obv. **†OFFÆ / REX / M** (lozenge-shaped **O**) in three lines, divided by lines. Rev. **† / DI / O / LÆ** (lozenge-shaped **O**) in angles of long cross pommée. 1.17g (chipped) 180°. Chick 204a.

EAST ANGLIA (IPSWICH?)

- 1038 *Lul.* Obv. **OFF[Æ / REX] / M** (lozenge-shaped **O**) in three lines, divided by lines. Rev. **L / U / [L]** in quarters of quatrefoil, divided by lines. 0.54g (fragment) 180°. Chick 251e; Blunt 114.
- 1039 *Wihtræd.* Obv. **†OFFÆ / REX / M** in three lines, divided by lines. Rev. **[JHT / RE / O** in angles of lozenge w. crescent terminals and smaller lozenge and pellet within. 1.12g (chipped) 270°. *MEC* 1.1134a; Chick 254b; Blunt 115. Same obv. die as Chick 254a and 256a.
- 1040 *Wihtræd.* Obv. as last. Rev. **UI / HT / RE / O** in panels of lozenge w. crescent terminals, w. cross pattée w. central pellet within. 1.14g 180°. Chick 258a; Blunt 115. Same dies as Chick 258b.

COENWULF, 796–821

Early coinage (796–797/8)

LONDON?

- 1041 *Ceolheard.* Obv. **[H]OENVV / L REX F / M** (lozenge-shaped **O**) in three lines, divided by lines w. hooked terminals in centre. Rev. **CIOL / HÆRD** (lozenge-shaped **O**) in two lines, divided by line w. floral terminals. 0.98g (chipped) 60°. Naismith L1a.

- 1042 *Diola.* Obv. **CEIVVLF / REX / M** in three lines, divided by lines w. hooked terminals in centre. Rev. **DI / O / LÆ** (lozenge-shaped **O**) in angles of double tribach w. omega-shaped terminals and pellets within. 1.43g 135°. Naismith L2b; North 343; BLS Coenwulf 3b. Same obv. die as Naismith L2c.

1035 CM.1.18–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart; ex Beaufoy 43.

1036 CM.1.146–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Till 404; ex Dean of St Patrick 108 (sold with cast).

1037 CM.1.147–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendinning sale 8, 8.7.1987, lot 420; found near Dorking, Surrey, 1987 (*CR* 1987, 108; EMC 1987.0108).

1038 CM.2330–2003: ex Chick 2003; from Wood, October 1989; found East Tilbury, Essex, 9.10.1989.

1039 CM.ME.400-R: ex Grierson (gift), 1985; ex *NCirc* 93 (1985), no. 5726; ex Mack (not in sales) (*SCBI* 20, 574); ex *NCirc* 27 (1919), col. 360; ex Twisden 42.

1040 CM.1.150–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 3578; ex Ready 30.

1041 CM.119–1995: from I. Bailey (finder), Jan. 1995; found Packenham, Suffolk, October 1994 (*CR* 1994, 179; EMC 1994.0179).

1042 CM.1.152–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Shand 292; ex Mann 136; ex Carlyon–Britton 280; ex Rashleigh 47; ex Cuff 289; ex Dewdney; from the Dorking hoard.

KINGS OF THE MERCIANS

COENWULF (*cont.*)

Tribrach coinage (797/8–805) (North 342–3)

Obv. **†COENVVLF REX** (lozenge-shaped **O**), **†M** in circle. Rev. legend in angles of double or triple tribrach w. hooked terminals.

CANTERBURY?

- 1043 *Duda*. Rev. **DV** / **D** / **†A**. 1.27g 315°. *SCBI* 1.397; *MEC* 1.1137; Naismith C13.1a; BLS Coenwulf 7a.
 1044 *Eoba*. Rev. **†E** / **†AB** / **†A**. 1.25g (pierced) 0°. *SCBI* 1.990; *MEC* 1.1138; Naismith C14.1a.
 1045 *Eoba*. Obv. **†COENVVLF RE[X** / **†M**. Rev. **†E** / **OB** / **†A**. 0.35g (fragment). Naismith C14.1f.
 1046 *Eoba*. Obv. **†COEN[VVLF RE]X** / **†M**. Rev. **†E** / **†AB** / **†A**. 0.65g (cut halfpenny) 270°. Naismith C14.1.
 1047 *Sæbeorht*. Rev. **SE** / **BE** / **†RH**. 1.27g (chipped) 350°. *MEC* 1.1139; Naismith C14.1h.
 1048 *Sæbeorht*. Obv. **†COENVVLF REX** / **†M**. Rev. **SEB** / **ERHT** in two lines separated by three-lined bone-shaped device. 1.20g (chipped) 90°. Naismith C15.1a; BLS Coenwulf 4; North 343/1.

LONDON?

- 1049 *Eama*. Rev. **EA** / **†M** / **†A**. 1.33g 45°. Naismith L10b; BLS Coenwulf 15.
 1050 *Ludoman*. Rev. **LVD** / **OM** / **†AN**. 1.20g (chipped) 225°. Naismith L13a; BLS Coenwulf 20a.

Cross and Wedges coinage (c. 805–10) (North 344)

Obv. **†COENVVLF** / **REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. legend, cross pattée w. wedges in angles in circle.

CANTERBURY?

- 1051 *Sæbeorht*. Rev. **†SEBERHT MONETA**. 1.23g 0°. *SCBI* 1.401; *MEC* 1.1145; Naismith C26a; BLS Coenwulf 27.
 1052 *Werheard*. Rev. **†VERHEARDI MONETA**. 1.33g 0°. *SCBI* 1.403; *MEC* 1.1146; Naismith C28a; BLS Coenwulf 30d.
 1053 *Werheard*. Rev. **†FERHEARD MONETA**. 1.28g 270°. Naismith –; North 356; BLS –.

1043 CM.YG.2116-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Shepherd 22.

1044 CM.ME.401-R: acquired before 1886.
 1045 CM.7-2000: found Holme-next-Sea, Norfolk, November 1999 (CR 1999, 80; EMC 1999.0131).

1046 CM.544-2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers; possibly found at Walsingham, Norfolk.

1047 CM.62-1983: from P. L. Evans (finder); found Chapel Field, Bottisham, Cambridgeshire, 5.4.1983 (EMC 1986.9139).

1048 CM.1.151-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 17.7.1959, lot 127.

1049 CM.1.153-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Drabble 331; ex *NCirc* 24 (1916), no. 39292; probably ex *NCirc* 18 (1910), no. 76458 (Evans); possibly ex Borghesi 1369; possibly ex Sabbatini; found in Italy by 1739 (Blunt 1986, pp. 164–5).

1050 CM.1.154-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 3591; ex Drabble 813; ex Coles; possibly ex Maish 6; ex Napier (but apparently not in sale); ex Sotheby sale 6.4.1899, lot 192; ex E. H. Evans (1894) 7; ex Montagu (1888) 10; ex Brice coll.; ex Borghesi 1368; from the Rome (?) hoard.

1051 CM.YG.2118-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 878.

1052 CM.YG.2119-R: ex Carlyon-Britton 276; ex Montagu 246; ex Brice coll.; ex Bergne 61; ex Pembroke 17.

1053 CM.1.155-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1978.

1054 CM.YG.2120-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 278; ex Astronomer 93; ex *NCirc* 15 (1907), no. 46873; ex *NCirc* 14 (1906), no. 31652; ex Montagu 233; ex Brice coll.; ex Bergne 59.

Large Portrait coinage (c. 810–21)

CANTERBURY?

- 1054 *Dealla*. Obv. **†COENVVLF** / **REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†DEALLA MONETA**, cross crosslet w. pellets in circle. 1.33g 180°. *SCBI* 1.398; *MEC* 1.1147; Naismith C38.1a; North 356; BLS Coenwulf 43a.
 1055 *Oba*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†OBA+†MON+†EZA** (lozenge-shaped **O**), cross moline in circle. 1.39g 0°. *SCBI* 1.399; *MEC* 1.1150; Naismith C41.2e; North 352; BLS Coenwulf 65c. Same obv. die as Naismith C41.2f, g and h.
 1056 *Oba*. Obv. **†COENVVLF** / **REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†OBA+†M** ON **†E[CA]**, cross moline in circle. 0.57g (fragment) 270°. Naismith C41.2q; North 352; BLS Coenwulf 65.
 1057 *Oba*. Obv. **†COENVVLF** / **REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†OBA+†MON+†EZA** (lozenge-shaped **O**), cross moline in circle. 1.14g (chipped and pierced) 50°. *SCBI* 1.400; *MEC* 1.1151; Naismith C41.2l; North 352; BLS Coenwulf 65d.
 1058 *Sigestef*. Obv. **†OENVVLF REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†SIGESTEF MONET**, **†A** in circle. 1.08g 135°. Naismith C42f; North 360; BLS 61. Same dies as Naismith C42e.
 1059 *Tidbeorht*. Obv. **†COENVVLF** / **REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†TIDBEARHT MONETA**, cross moline in circle. 1.50g 90°. Naismith C44.3a; North 352; BLS Coenwulf 40. Same obv. die as Naismith C44.3b.
 1060 *Tidbeorht*. Obv. **†COENVVLF REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†TIDBEARHT MONETA**, pincer cross w. wedges in angles. 1.43g 270°. *SCBI* 1.402; *MEC* 1.1149; Naismith C44.2a; North 347; BLS Coenwulf 45g. Same obv. die as Naismith C44.2c and d; same rev. as C44.2b.
 1061 *Tidbeorht*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†TIDBEARHT M[ONET]A**, cross of four crescents w. pellet at centre in circle. 1.08g (chipped) 225°. Naismith C44.4b; North 358; BLS Coenwulf 58d. Same obv. die as Naismith C44.4a.

1055 CM.YG.2121-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 279; ex Hay.

1056 CM.1655-2001: from Rickett (finder); found Torksey productive site, Lincolnshire (Blackburn 2011a, 4).

1057 CM.TR.1945-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Hughes (gift) 1876; found Haslingfield, Cambridgeshire (EMC 1986.9151).

1058 CM.1.159-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Elmore-Jones (exchange) 1964.

1059 CM.1.156-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961; found near Yaxham, Norfolk, 1961 (EMC 1963.0007).

1060 CM.1.19-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart; ex Devonshire 18; ex Sotheby sale 20.11.1847, lot 13.

1061 CM.1.158-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lawrence; ex Montagu 244; ex Marsham 70.



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COENWULF (*cont.*)

Portrait coinage (c. 800/10–21)

EAST ANGLIA (IPSWICH?) (c. 800–21)

- 1062 *Herebeorht*. Obv. **†[COE]NVVLF REX M**, circle containing bust r. Rev. **†[HE]REBERHT**, cross-crosslet in circle. 1.13g (chipped) 225°. Naismith E9.1c; North 364; BLS Coenwulf 101e. Same dies as Naismith E9.1b.
- 1063 *Herebeorht*. Obv. **†COENVVLF / REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†HEREBERHT**, rosette of five pellets in circle. 1.39g 0°. Naismith E9.3c; North 349/1; BLS Coenwulf 102b. Same rev. die as Naismith E9.3b.

- 1064 *Lul*. Obv. **†COENVVLF / REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **† / L / V / L** in quarters of quatrefoil, divided by lines, w. rosettes in outer angles. 1.33g 90°. Naismith E10.2h; North 363; BLS Coenwulf 98f. Same obv. die as Naismith E10.2g.
- 1065 *Lul*. Obv. **†COENVVLF] REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **† / L] / V / L** in quarters of quatrefoil, each letter within teardrop. 0.60g (fragment) 0°. Naismith E10.1c; North 362; BLS Coenwulf 97. Probably same rev. die as Naismith E10.1a–b.

1062 CM.1.165–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lawrence.

1063 CM.1.166–1990: ex Blunt coll.; probably ex Wells; found Suffolk.

1064 CM.1.164–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 624; ex Bruun 25; ex Carlyon-Britton 880.

1065 CM.709–2008: from Elkins Coins; found Suffolk, 2008.

KINGS OF THE MERCIANS

COENWULF (*cont.*)

Portrait coinage (*cont.*)

EAST ANGLIA (IPSWICH?) (*cont.*)

- 1066 *Wihtræd*. Obv. **†COENVVLF RĒ†**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†FINTRED**, hexagram in circle. 1.45g 90°. Naismith E12.4a; North 367/1; BLS Coenwulf 105.
- 1067 *Wihtræd*. Obv. **†COENVVLF / REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†I / HT / R / EP** in angles of lozenge w. crossed terminals and pellets within. 1.20g 0°. Naismith E12.7d; North 372; BLS Coenwulf 110c. Same obv. die as Naismith E12.7c.
- 1068 *Wodel*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†O / O / E / L+** (lozenge-shaped **O**) in angles of cross w. rosette terminals and central rosette. 1.14g (pierced and chipped) 0°. Naismith E13.1e; North 369; BLS Coenwulf 111d. Same rev. die as Naismith E13.1f.

LONDON? (*c.* 805–21)

- 1069 *Ælfhun*. Obv. **†COENVVLF / REX M**, bust r. of 'Carolingian' style. Rev. **†AELHVVI**, cross-crosslet. 1.34g (chipped) 0°. Naismith L18.1a; North 345.

- 1070 *Ceolheard*. Obv. **†COENVV / LF REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†CEOLHĒARD M**, cross-crosslet. 1.13g (chipped) 135°. Naismith L20.4c; North 345; BLS Coenwulf 87. Same dies as Naismith L20.4d.
- 1071 *Eanmund*. Obv. **†COENVVLF REX M**, bust r. Rev. **†EAMMVNDI MO**, cross-crosslet. 0.71g (chipped) 180°. Naismith L21a; North 345; BLS Coenwulf 83.
- 1072 *'Eretcod'*. Obv. **†COENVVLF / REX M**, bust r. Rev. **ERE-TOD MONET**, cross-crosslet. 1.23g (chipped) 225°. Naismith L22b; North 345; BLS Coenwulf 96b. Same rev. die as Naismith L22a.

ROCHESTER? (*C.* 810–21)

- 1073 *Dunn*. Obv. **†[COENVVLF R]EX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†VNN M[]**, cross of four crescents in circle. 0.97g (fragment) 90°. Naismith R.1.2b; North 357; BLS Coenwulf 78.

CEOLWULF I, 821–3

CANTERBURY

- 1074 *Oba*. Obv. **†CIOLVVLF REX MERCI**, standing cross w. **OR** and **V** on either side in circle. Rev. **†OBĀ DORBERNIA**, cross-crosslet w. pellets in angles in circle. 1.29g (chipped) 270°. Naismith C49.3a.

EAST ANGLIA (IPSWICH?)

- 1075 *Eadgar*. Obv. **†CEOLVVLF / REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†EAD / ǶAR** in two lines, divided by lines w. forked terminals, and w. star between. 1.33g 45°. Naismith E16d; North 393; BLS Ceolwulf 27d.
- 1076 *Herebeorht*. Obv. **†CEOLVVLF / REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **HER / EBE† / RHT** (retrograde) in three lines, divided by lines w. hooked terminals. 1.34g 90°. *SCBI* 1.404; *MEC* 1.1169; Naismith E17f; North 392; BLS Ceolwulf 28f. Same dies as Naismith E17g.

- 1077 *Wodel*. Obv. **†CEOLVVLF / REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†FOD / DEL MO / NETA** in three lines, divided by lines w. hooked terminals. 1.32g 270°. *SCBI* 1.405; *MEC* 1.1170; Naismith E20.2j; North 392; BLS Ceolwulf 32h. Same obv. die as Naismith E20.2h–i and E20.1a.

LONDON?

- 1078 *Ceolheard*. Obv. **†CIOLVVLF REX**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **CEOLHĒARD**, cross-crosslet. 1.25g (chipped) 180°. Naismith L25.1a; North 378; BLS Ceolwulf 19.

ROCHESTER

- 1079 Anonymous? Obv. **†[CIO]LVVLF R[EX]**, bust r. in circle. Rev. **†DO[ROBEB]I Ƕ**, **Ƕ** in circle. 0.89g (fragment) 270°. Naismith R.3.2; North 386; BLS Ceolwulf 18.

1066 CM.1.167–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 3588; ex Bliss 38; from the Croydon (c. 1906) hoard.

1067 CM.1.168–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 378; ex Grantley 850.

1068 CM.1.169–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Grantley 843; ex Murdoch 26; ex Montagu 250; ex Whitbourn; found in Kent.

1069 CM.1.162–1990: ex Blunt coll.; found Methwold, Norfolk, August 1985 (Blackburn and Bonser 1985, 48; EMC 1985.0048).

1070 CM.1.160–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex *NCirc* 48 (1950), no. 28692; ex Duart Smith 32; ex Glendining sale 17.11.1937, lot 299.

1071 CM.1.161–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Mangakis 1954.

1072 CM.1.163–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 623; ex Drabble 329.

1073 CM.1.157–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lawrence; probably from the Delgany hoard.

1074 CM.2267–1997: from J. D. Ford (finder), October 1997; found near Lambley, Nottinghamshire, March 1997 (*CR* 1997, 119; EMC 1997.0119).

1075 CM.1.174–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 638; ex Grantley 859; ex Evans; from the Delgany hoard (Evans 1882, 11).

1076 CM.ME.404-R: no provenance.

1077 CM.1.20–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

1078 CM.1.170–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 635; ex Grantley 855; ex Evans.

1079 CM.20–2011: ex Barrow; found at Martinstown, Dorset (EMC 2010.0351).



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CEOLWULF I, 821–3 (cont.)

ROCHESTER (cont.)

- 1080 Anonymous? Obv. **†C[IO]LV[VL]F R[EX]**, bust r. in circle. Rev. **†D[OROBREB]A**, Y-shaped device w. crossed leg in circle. 0.75g (fragment) 225°. Naismith R 3.3a.
- 1081 *Ealhstan*. Obv. **†C[IO]LVVLV F REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†EALHTAN MONETA**, small cross pattée w. four crescents in circle. 1.23g (chipped) 270°. Naismith R 6.3c; North 377; BLS Ceolwulf 9c. Same obv. die as Naismith R 6.2a and R 6.6a.
- 1082 *Ealhstan*. Obv. **†C[IO]LVVLV F REX M**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **EALHTAN MONE** (retrograde), **TA** in circle. 1.13g 180°. Naismith R 6.2a. Same obv. die as Naismith R 6.3c and R 6.6a.
- 1083 *Eanwulf*. Obv. **†C[IO]LVVLV F REX**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†EANVVLF MONET**, **Æ** in circle. 1.17g (chipped) 270°. Naismith R 7.2b; North 376; BLS Ceolwulf 11b.

BEORNWULF, 823–5

EAST ANGLIA (IPSWICH?)

- 1084 *Eadgar*. Obv. **†B[EOR]NVVLV F RE**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†EÆ[D] / 3AR** in two lines, divided by lines w. crossed terminals, w. cross between. 1.04g (fragment) 0°. Naismith E 22.1d; North 396. Same dies as Naismith E 22.1c.
- 1085 *Eadnoth*. Obv. **†BEO[RNVV]LF REX**, bust r. in circle. Rev. **†EADNOÞ [MON]ET**, cross-crosslet in circle. 1.04g (fragment) 90°. Naismith E 23e; North 397; BLS Beornwulf 3d. Same dies as Naismith E 23d.

LONDON?

- 1086 *Beo...wulf*. Obv. **†B[EOR]NVVLV F REX**, cross pattée and saltire in circle. Rev. **†BEO[]VLV**, cross-crosslet. 0.93g (fragment) 90°. Naismith L 26a; Booth 1998, 87 (as Berhtwulf); Blunt 1958–9, p. 10; North 405; BLS pl. VII, C.

1080 CM.61–1999: ex Hull (gift); from the Thornage hoard.

1081 CM.1.171–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 636; ex Bruun 27; ex O'Hagan 300; ex Montagu 256; ex Marsham 78; ex Wigan.

1082 CM.1.172–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Spink; found near Newmarket, Suffolk or in London, 1981.

1083 CM.1.173–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 634; ex Drabble 333; probably ex *NCirc* 24 (1916), no. 39295; ex *NCirc* 21 (1913), no. 4083; ex *NCirc* 18 (1910), no. 76462 (Evans); from the Delgany hoard.

1084 CM.6439–2007: from Valued History; found near Cromer, Norfolk, May 2007 (EMC 2007:0154).

1085 CM.1.175–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Grantley 862; ex Evans; from the Delgany hoard.

1086 CM.1.176–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Seaby 1953.

KINGS OF THE MERCIANS

LUDICA, 825–7

EAST ANGLIA (IPSWICH?)

- 1087 *Eadgar*. Obv. **HLVDICA REX**, bust r. Rev. **HEADGAR MON**, cross-crosslet in circle. 1.17g (chipped) 270°. Naismith E26a; North 399; BLS Ludica 1a.

WIGLAF, 827–40

LONDON?

- 1088 *Rædmund*. Obv. **WVIGLAF REX M**, **Æ** in circle. Rev. **REDMV** / **h** / **D** in three lines, divided by lines. 1.19g (chipped) 170°. Naismith L29.2a; North 401/1.

ECGBERHT, 829–30

For coins issued for Ecgberht as king of the Mercians, see below **1187–8**.

BERHTWULF, 840–52

LONDON?

- 1089 *Beornweald*. Obv. **BERHTVLF REX**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **BVRNVVALD**, cross w. two limbs crosslet in circle. 1.29g 0°. *SCBI* 1.407; *MEC* 1.1168; Naismith L33.1c; North 407; Booth 17.
1090 *Beornweald*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last 1.18g (chipped) 270°. *SCBI* 1.406; *MEC* 1.1167; Naismith L33.1b; North 407; Booth 16.
1091 *Beornweald*. Obv. **BERHTVLF R[EX]**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **BVRNV[VALD] M**, cross moline in circle. 0.65g (fragment) 0°. Naismith L33.9a; Booth 71.
1092 *Brid*. Obv. **BERHTVLF REX**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **BRID MONETA**, cross-crosslet in circle. 0.96g (chipped) 0°. Naismith L34.1b; North 406; Booth 2.
1093 *Deneheah*. Obv. **BERHTVLF REX**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **DENEHEAH**, cross w. two limbs crosslet and two moline in circle. 0.93g (chipped) 0°. Naismith L35.1b; North 408/417; Booth 27.
1094 *Eanf* J. Obv. **[BE]RHTVLF REX**, Chi-Rho in circle. Rev. **HEAN[] M**, **m** in circle. 0.85g (fragment) 90°. Naismith L39a; North 404; Booth 84.
1095 *Oswulf*. Obv. **BERHTVLF REX**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **OSVVLV**, cross-crosslet in circle. 1.27g 90°. Naismith L41.2b; North 406; Booth 8.

1087 CM.1.177–1990: ex Blunt coll.; possibly ex Coats; ex Wigan; from Cureton 1837; possibly from the Suffolk hoard.

1088 CM.382–1991: from Spink November 1991; ex Hay; found Soham, Cambridgeshire, November 1990 (*CR* 1996, 183; *EMC* 1996.0183).

1089 CM.YG.2130–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 283; possibly ex *NCirc* 18 (1910), no. 76463 (Evans); probably ex Astronomer 102; ex Montagu 271; ex Shepherd 27.

1090 CM.1.21–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

1091 CM.1.182–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex *NCirc* 91 (1983), no. 1034; ex Mack (not in

sales) (*SCBI* 20, 604); ex Matthews; ex *NCirc* 35 (1927), no. 65666; ex *NCirc* 30 (1922), no. 3607; ex Carlyon–Britton; ex Rashleigh 65b; probably from the Trewiddle hoard.

1092 CM.1.181–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lawrence; possibly ex Barclay 18; possibly from the Dorking hoard.

1093 CM.1.180–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lawrence; possibly ex Carlyon–Britton 887.

1094 CM.1.178–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Grantley 867; ex Boyne 1123; ex Murchison 102; ex Dymock 67b.

1095 CM.1.179–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 642; ex V. M. Brand; probably ex Cuff 301.

BURGRED, 852–74

The mint is presumed to be London unless otherwise stated.

Lunettes coinage

Obv. legend around bust r., breaking circle. Rev. legend in three lines, divided by various ornaments. The complex stylistic and typological classification of this type is discussed on pp. 159–63.

Reverse type a on large flans

- 1096 *Tatel*. Obv. **BURGRED REX M**. Rev. **TATEL** / **MON** / **ETA** (lozenge-shaped O). 1.21g 90°. North 423; MacKay 2015, P1.11; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style A. Same rev. die as *BMC* 386.

Reverse types a/b

- 1097 *Eannæd*. Obv. **BURGRED REX M**. Rev. **HEANRED** / **MON** / **ETA**. 1.29g 270°. *SCBI* 1.415; *MEC* 1.1319; North 423; MacKay 2015, H3.17; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style F.

Reverse type c

- 1098 *Æthelwulf*. Obv. **BURGRED RE+**. Rev. **HEDELVF** / **F MON** / **ETA**. 1.21g 90°. *MEC* 1.1320; *CCC Catalogue*, 144; North 425; MacKay 2015, H11.63; *BMC* rev. type c; obv. style H.

- 1099 *Coenæd*. Obv. **BURGRED REX M**. Rev. **HEANRED** / **MON** / **ETA**. 1.23g 0°. *SCBI* 1.422; *MEC* 1.1316; North 425; *BMC* rev. type c; obv. style F.

- 1100 *Cynehelm*. Obv. **BURGRED REX+**. Rev. **CVNEHL** / **MON** / **ETA**. 1.29g 180°. North 425; MacKay 2015, V4.11; *BMC* rev. type c; obv. style V.

1096 CM.1.202–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 396; ex Drabble 338; ex Montagu 280; ex Addington.

1097 CM.YG.1136–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Weber 5; possibly part of a hoard, with **1103**, **1107** and **1113**.

1098 CM.LS.5505–R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll.; bt in Tunbridge Wells 2.7.1872; from the Croydon (1862) hoard (Spufford 1961, 63).

1099 CM.YG.1135–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 286; from the London (Waterloo Bridge) hoard (Heywood 1906, pl. no. 9).

1100 CM.1.207–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Baldwin 1952; ex Argyll coll.



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BURGRED, 852–74 (*cont.*)

- 1101 *Deonvulf*. Obv. **HBVRGRED REX**. Rev. **DIÆRVL / F MON / ETÆ**. 1.22g 180°. *MEC* 1.1322; *CCC Catalogue*, 143; North 425; MacKay 2015, H10.35; *BMC* rev. type c; obv. style H.
- 1102 *Dudda*. Obv. **HBVRGRED REX**. Rev. **HDVDDÆ / MON / ETÆ**. 1.38g 90°. North 425; MacKay 2015, H1.12; *BMC* rev. type c; obv. style H.
- 1103 *Dudecil*. Obv. **HBVRGRED REX**. Rev. **HDVDEC / IL MO / NETÆ**. 1.37g 0°. *SCBI* 1.423; *MEC* 1.1318; North 425; MacKay 2015, P.2.10; *BMC* rev. type c; obv. style H.
- 1104 *Dudecil*. Obv. **HBVRGR+** / **ED REX**. Rev. **HDVDECI / I MON / ETÆ**. 1.04g 90°. North 425; MacKay 2015, P.4.7; *BMC* rev. type c; obv. style G.
- 1105 *Hygenæd*. Obv. **HBVRGRED REX**. Rev. **HVGERE / D MON / ETÆ**. 1.16g 0°. North 425; MacKay 2015, H11.102; *BMC* rev. type c; obv. style H.
- 1106 *Leofman*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX**. Rev. **HLIÆFMÆ / N MON / ETÆ** (**NM** ligatured). 1.06g (slightly chipped) 180°. North 425; MacKay 2015, V1.9; *BMC* rev. type c; obv. style V.
- 1107 *Wine*. Obv. **HBVRGRED REX M**. Rev. **HVINE / MON / ETÆ**. North 425; MacKay 2015, H3.23; *BMC* rev. type c; obv. style F. 1.12g 90°. *SCBI* 1.424; *MEC* 1.1321.

1101 CM.LS.5504-R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll.; bt in Tunbridge Wells 2.7.1872; from the Croydon (1862) hoard (Spufford 1961, 60).

1102 CM.1.208–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; ex Carlyon-Britton 287(d).

1103 CM.YG.3153-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Weber 5; possibly part of a hoard, with **1097**, **1107** and **1113**.

1104 CM.1.209–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1953; ex Argyll coll.; bt in Derby.

1105 CM.1.210–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.

1106 CM.1.211–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Argyll coll.; probably ex Rashleigh 776.

1107 CM.YG.3154-R: ex Young coll. (gift); Weber 5; possibly part of a hoard, with **1097**, **1107** and **1113**.

KINGS OF THE MERCIANS

BURGRED (cont.)

Lunettes coinage (cont.)

Reverse type d

- 1108 *Æthelwulf*. Obv. **HBVRGRED REX**. Rev. **EÐELVL / F MON / ETΛ**. 1.43g 180°. North 426; MacKay 2015, H3.19; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style H.
- 1109 *Æthelwulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. **EÐELVL / F MON / ETΛ**. 1.34g 270°. North 426; MacKay 2015, H11.67; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style H.
- 1110 *Æthelwulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HBELVL / F MON / ETΛ**. 1.27g 270°. North 426; MacKay 2015, H11.68; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style H.
- 1111 *Æthelwulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.13g 90°. North 426; MacKay 2015, V5.153; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style V.
- 1112 *Ceolwulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HCIALΛ / F MON / ETΛ**. 1.34g 90°. North 426; MacKay 2015, H1.10; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style V.
- 1113 *Coennæd*. Obv. as last. Rev. **LENRED / MON / ETΛ**. 0.75g (broken) 270°. *SCBI* 1.425; *MEC* 1.1317; North 426; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style H.
- 1114 *Coennæd*. Obv. **[HBVRGRED] REX M**. Rev. **[E]NRE[D] / [MON] / ETΛ**. 0.42g (fragment) 90°. North 426; MacKay 2015, H10.16; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style H.
- 1115 *Deonwulf*. Obv. **HBVRGRED REX**. Rev. **DIARVL / I MON / ETΛ**. 1.32g 180°. North 426; MacKay 2015, H11.34; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style H.
- 1116 *Duda*. Obv. **HBVRER / ED REX**. Rev. **HDVDΛ / MON / ETΛ**. 1.32g 90°. North 426; MacKay 2015, P4.4; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style G.
- 1117 *Dudecil*. Obv. **HBVRGRED RE+**. Rev. **HDVEE / IL MO / NETΛ**. 1.49g 180°. North 426; MacKay 2015, P2.13; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style G. Same dies as *BMC* 254.
- 1118 *Heahwulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HEAVVL / F MON / ETΛ**. 1.32g 95°. North 426; MacKay 2015, H10.57; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style H.

- 1119 *Hygenæd*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HVEERE / D MON / ETΛ**. 1.38g 90°. *SCBI* 1.426; *MEC* 1.1323; North 426; MacKay 2015, H11.119; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style H.
- 1120 *Hussa*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX**. Rev. **HVSSΛ / MON / ETΛ**. 1.23g 0°. North 426; MacKay 2015, H11.120; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style H.
- 1121 *Osmund*. Obv. **HBVRGRED REX**. Rev. **OSMUND / MON / ET**. 1.30g 180°. North 426; MacKay 2015, H11.137; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style H.
- 1122 *Osmund*. Obv. as last. Rev. **OSMUND / MON / ETΛ**. 1.19g 270°. North 426; MacKay 2015, H11.130; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style H.
- 1123 *Wulfheard*. Obv. **BVRGRED RE M**. Rev. **VVLFEAR / D MON / ETΛ**. 1.39g 270°. *SCBI* 1.427; *MEC* 1.1324; North 426; MacKay 2015, H11.146; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style H.

Reverse type e

- 1124 *Coennæd*. Obv. **HBVRGRED RE**. Rev. **LENRED / M / ON / ET / Λ**. 1.10g (chipped) 90°. North 427; MacKay 2015, H11.18; *BMC* rev. type e; obv. style V.

Reverse types a/b of late style

- 1125 *Æthel*]. Obv. **[BVRGRED [REX]]**. Rev. **EÐE[] / M[]**. 0.39g (fragment) 180°. North 423; *BMC* rev. type a; uncertain obv. style.
- 1126 *Æthellaf*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX**. Rev. **EÐELLAF / MON / ETΛ**. 1.52g 180°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.150; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1127 *Æthelwulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. **EÐEVL / MON / ETΛ**. 1.26g 90°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.146; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1128 *Beagstan*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX+**. Rev. **BEAGZTΛ / N MON / ETΛ** (NM ligatured). 1.35g 0°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V4.18; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.

1108 CM.1.216-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1963; ex Lockett 404(a); from Spink.

1109 CM.1.217-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Seaby 1952; ex Argyll coll.

1110 CM.1.218-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Seaby; ex Grantley.

1111 CM.1.219-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Seaby; ex Grantley 875; ex Lawrence.

1112 CM.1.212-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Seaby 1958; ex Argyll coll.

1113 CM.YG.3152-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Weber 37; possibly part of a hoard, with 1097, 1103 and 1107.

1114 CM.1767-2008: from G. Taylor; found at Torksey productive site, Lincolnshire (Blackburn 2011a, 8).

1115 CM.1.213-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; ex Grantley 875; ex Briggs 1893.

1116 CM.1.214-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Seaby 1952; ex Argyll coll.

1117 CM.1.215-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Baldwin.

1118 CM.1.220-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Seaby; ex Grantley 875 (d).

1119 CM.ME.445-R: no provenance (acq. by 1886).

1120 CM.1.221-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Baldwin.

1121 CM.1.223-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Argyll coll.; from Baldwin.

1122 CM.1.222-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Argyll coll.; from Forrer; ex Carlyon-Britton 289.

1123 CM.YG.3155-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 291.

1124 CM.1.224-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex R. Carlyon-Britton 1957.

1125 CM.369-1991: ex S. Brown (gift); found Caldecote, Norfolk.

1126 CM.1.193-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Argyll coll.; from Baldwin.

1127 CM.1.194-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Spink.

1128 CM.1.185-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; ex Gibson.



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KINGS OF THE MERCIANS

BURGED (cont.)

Lunettes coinage (cont.)

Reverse types a/b of late style (cont.)

- 1129 *Beagstan*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX+**. Rev. **BEÆGZTÆ / N MON / ETÆ** (NM ligatured). 1.34g 90°. *SCBI* 1.409; *MEC* 1.1326; North 423; Mackay 2015, V5.9; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1130 *Beagstan*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.27g 0°. *SCBI* 1.408; *MEC* 1.1325; North 423; Mackay 2015, V4.4; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1131 *Beagstan*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.25g 90°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.16; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1132 *Beagstan*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX M**. Rev. **BEÆGZTÆ / N MON / ETÆ** (NM ligatured). 1.08g 330°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.17; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1133 *Beornheah*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX**. Rev. **†BERHEÆ / H MON / ETÆ** (HM ligatured). 1.30g 270°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.47; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1134 *Beornheah*. Obv. **BVRER+ED REX**. Rev. as last. 1.17g 90°. *SCBI* 1.410; *MEC* 1.1327; North 423; Mackay 2015, V5.41; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1135 *Beornheah*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX+**. Rev. **†BERÆNH / MON / ETÆ**. 1.14g (pierced and gilded) 0°. North 423; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style H.
- 1136 *Beornheah*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX+**. Rev. **†BERHEÆ / H MON / ETÆ** (HM ligatured). 1.03g 0°. *SCBI* 1.411; *MEC* 1.1328; North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.36; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1137 *Coenred*. Obv. **BVRGRED REMX**. Rev. **ÆENRED / MON / ETÆ**. 1.11g 270°. *SCBI* 1.412; *MEC* 1.1329; North 423; MacKay 2015, H12.11; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style H.
- 1138 *Cynehelm*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX M**. Rev. **ÆYNEHL / M MON / ETÆ**. 1.30g 180°. *SCBI* 1.413; *MEC* 1.1330; North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.59; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1139 *Deorwulf*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX**. Rev. **DIÆRVL / F MON / ETÆ**. 1.30g 270°. *SCBI* 1.420; *MEC* 1.1331; North 424; MacKay 2015, V2.11; *BMC* rev. type b; obv. style V.
- 1140 *Diga*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†DIEÆ / MON / ETÆ**. 0.88g (chipped) 270°. *MEC* 1.1332; *CCC Catalogue*, 142; North 423; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1141 *Diga*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†DIEÆ / MON / ETÆ**. 1.18g 0°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.96; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1142 *Diga*. Obv. **BVRERE+D REX**. Rev. **†DIEÆ / MON / ETÆ**. 1.15g 0°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.97; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1143 *Dudda*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX+**. Rev. **†DVDDÆ / MON / ETÆ**. 1.22g 270°. North 423; MacKay 2015, H11.47; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style H.
- 1144 *Dudwine*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX**. Rev. **DVDFINE / MON / ETÆ**. 1.29g 270°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V2.18; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1145 *Dudwine*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX M**. Rev. **DVDFINE / MON / ETÆ**. 1.38g 90°. *SCBI* 1.414; *MEC* 1.1333; North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.109; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1146 *Dudwine*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX M**. Rev. **DVDFINE / MON / ETÆ**. 1.27g 180°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V2.19; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1147 *Eadwulf*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX+**. Rev. **ÆADVLF / MON / ETÆ**. 1.16g 90°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.134; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1148 *Guthhere*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX**. Rev. **ÆV-ÐERE / MON / ETÆ**. 1.23g 180°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.158; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1149 *Heahwulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HEÆVVVL / F MON / ETÆ**. 1.10g 180°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V4.27; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1129 CM.YG.3156-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 286a; probably from the London (Waterloo Bridge) hoard (Heywood 1906, pl. no. 13).
- 1130 CM.1.23-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.
- 1131 CM.1.183-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.
- 1132 CM.1.184-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Gibson; ex Argyll coll.
- 1133 CM.1.186-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Sotheby, July 1959.
- 1134 CM.4.6-1922: ex Perceval coll. (gift); possibly part of a hoard with **1136**, **1163**, **1150** and **1185**.
- 1135 CM.560-1995: from Owens 1995.
- 1136 CM.4.7-1922: ex Perceval coll. (gift); possibly part of a hoard with **1134**, **1163**, **1150** and **1185**.
- 1137 CM.YG.3157-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 286.
- 1138 CM.ME.446-R: no provenance.
- 1139 CM.YG.3158-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 286; ex Evans.
- 1140 CM.LS.5503-R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis; from Tunbridge Wells 2.7.1872; from the Croydon (1862) hoard (Spufford 1961, 22).
- 1141 CM.1.187-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Forrer.
- 1142 CM.1.188-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Argyll coll.; from Spink.
- 1143 CM.1.189-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Baldwin.
- 1144 CM.1.190-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Baldwin.
- 1145 CM.TR.1955-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex King (gift) 11.11.1876.
- 1146 CM.1.191-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Spink.
- 1147 CM.1.192-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Forrer.
- 1148 CM.1.195-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Daniels.
- 1149 CM.1.197-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Spink.



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KINGS OF THE MERCIANS

BURGED (*cont.*)

Lunettes coinage (cont.)

Reverse types a/b of late style (*cont.*)

- 1150 *Heahwulf*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX M**. Rev. **HEAVVL F / MON / ETΛ**. 1.25g 270°. *SCBI* 1.417; *MEC* 1.1335; North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.175; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1151 *Heahwulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HEAVVL F / MON / ETΛ**. 1.16g 270°. *SCBI* 1.416; *MEC* 1.1334; North 423; MacKay 2015, H10.52; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style H.
- 1152 *Heahwulf*. Obv. **BVRDRED REX M**. Rev. **HEAVVL F / MON / ETΛ**. 1.15g 0°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V4.22; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1153 *Hereferth*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX M**. Rev. **HEREFER / Ð MON / ETΛ**. 1.11g 0°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.188; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1154 *Hussa*. Obv. **BVRGRED RE+**. Rev. **HHVSSL / MON / ETΛ**. 1.33g 90°. North 423; MacKay 2015, H11.116; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style H.
- 1155 *'Lefle'*. Obv. **BVRGRED RE+**. Rev. **HLEFLE / MON / ETΛ**. 1.23g 90°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.192; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1156 *Leofweald*. Obv. **BVRGRED RE+**. Rev. **LIÆFVΛ / D MON / ETΛ**. 1.17g 180°. North 423; MacKay 2015, H12.41; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style H.
- 1157 *Lulla*. Obv. **[BVRGRE]D / REX**. Rev. **LV[LΛ] / MON / [ETΛ]**. 0.62g (fragment) 180°. North 423; *BMC* rev. type a; uncertain obv. style. The identity of the king on this coin is uncertain.
- 1158 *Osmund*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX**. Rev. **OSMUND / MON / ETΛ**. 1.26g 90°. *SCBI* 1.418; *MEC* 1.1336; 1867 *Catalogue*, 14; North 423; MacKay 2015, H11.129; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style H.

- 1159 *Tidhelm*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX**. Rev. **TIDHELM / MON / ETΛ**. 1.36g 180°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.218; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1160 *Wulfheard*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX**. Rev. **VVLFEAR / D MON / ETΛ**. 1.24g 270°. *SCBI* 1.421; *MEC* 1.1339; North 424; MacKay 2015, V5.228; *BMC* rev. type b; obv. style V.
- 1161 *Wulfheard*. Obv. **BVRGRED RE+**. Rev. **VVLFEAR / D MON / ETΛ**. 1.19g 90°. *MEC* 1.1338; MacKay 2015, H12.50; North 423; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style H.
- 1162 *Wulfheard*. Obv. as last. Rev. **VVLFEAR / D MON / ETΛ**. 1.04g 0°. North 423; MacKay 2015, H12.53; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style H.
- 1163 *Wulfheard*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX**. Rev. **VVLFERD / MON / ETΛ**. 0.97g 90°. *SCBI* 1.419; *MEC* 1.1337; North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.222; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1164 *Wulfheard*. Obv. **BVRGRED REX M**. Rev. **VVLFEAR / D MON / ETΛ**. 0.77g (chipped) 270°. North 424; MacKay 2015, V5.224; *BMC* rev. type b; obv. style V.
- 1165 *Wulfred* (?). Obv. **BVRGRED REX**. Rev. **VVLERE / MON / ETΛ**. 0.69g 180°. North 423; MacKay 2015, V5.232; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V.
- 1166 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **[BVR]ER[ED REX]**. Rev. **[] / MON / [ETΛ]**. 0.48g (fragment) 90°. *MEC* 1.1340; *CCC Catalogue*, 145; North 423; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style uncertain.

Lead pieces with incuse impressions of Burged Lunettes pennies

- 1167 *Lulla*. Obv. **HBVRGRED [REX]**. Rev. **HLVLLΛ / MON / ETΛ**. 3.78g 270°. North 423; MacKay 2015, TP.1; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V(?).
- 1168 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **BVR[]** (retrograde), bust l., breaking circle. Rev. **[]L[] / [MO]N / [ETΛ]** in three lines, divided by lines. 5.53g. MacKay 2015, TP.3; *BMC* rev. type a (?).

LEAD TRIAL PIECE OF LUNETTES TYPE (UNCERTAIN RULER)

- 1169 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. illegible legend around faint bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **IINII / MON / ETΛ** (retrograde)

in three lines, the upper and lower lines enclosed in lunettes. 2.19g. MacKay 2015, TP.2; *BMC* rev. type a.

1150 CM.4.8–1922: ex Perceval coll. (gift); possibly part of a hoard with **1134**, **1136**, **1163** and **1185**.

1151 CM.28.3–1920: ex Hasluck coll. (gift).

1152 CM.1.196–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt

1952; ex Argyll coll.; ex C. A. Halliday (?).

1153 CM.1.198–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Daniels.

1154 CM.1.199–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt

1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Spink.

1155 CM.1.200–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt

1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Baldwin.

1156 CM.1.201–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt

1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Spink.

1157 CM.912–2000: ex Patterson (gift); found at Heckington, Lincolnshire, 2000 (*CR* 2000, 83; *EMC* 2000.0075).

1158 CM.ME.447–R: ex Babington (gift) 1866.

1159 CM.1.203–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; ex Grantley 872; ex Briggs 1893.

1160 CM.YG.3159–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 291; from the London (Waterloo Bridge) hoard (Heywood 1906, pl. no. 22).

1161 CM.QC.5205–R: Queens' College loan 2002.

1162 CM.1.204–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Argyll coll.; ex Grantley 870; from the London (Westminster Bridge) hoard.

1163 CM.4.9–1922: ex Perceval coll. (gift); possibly part of a hoard with **1134**, **1136**, **1150** and **1185**.

1164 CM.1.206–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1962.

1165 CM.1.205–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; ex Gibson.

1166 CM.LS.5506–R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll.; possibly bt in Tunbridge Wells 2.7.1872; possibly from the Croydon (1862) hoard.

1167 CM.1.225–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Spink 1987; found Tilbury, Thurrock, 1986.

1168 CM.1804–2008: from G. Taylor (finder); found Torksey productive site, Lincolnshire (Blackburn 2011a, 23).

1169 CM.1803–2008: from G. Taylor (finder); found Torksey productive site, Lincolnshire (Blackburn 2011a, 22).



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KINGS OF THE MERCIANS

CEOLWULF II, 874–9

Cross and Lozenge coinage (c. 875–79) (North 629)

LONDON?

1170 *Dudecil*. Obv. **ƿIOVVLF** / **REX M**, bust r. Rev. **DVD** / **EL**
/ **L MON** / **ETΛ** in angles of long cross w. lozenge at

centre containing small cross pattée. 1.42g 150°. Blackburn and Keynes 1998, 34.

QUEEN OF THE MERCIANS

CYNETHRYTH, d. after 796

Light coinage (c. 785–92/3)

CANTERBURY?

1171 *Eoba*. Obv. **EOBA** (lozenge-shaped **Θ**) before crude bust
r. Rev. **HCYNEÞRYÐ REGINΛ**, **M** in circle. 1.21g 0°. *SCBI*
1.396; *MEC* 1.1132; Chick 147c; Blunt 120.

1172 *Eoba*. Obv. inscription off flan, crude bust r., similar in
style to previous. Rev. **[HCYNE]ÞRYÐ RE[GINΛ]**, **M** in
circle. 0.40g (fragment) 270°. Chick 147b.

BISHOP OF LONDON

EADBERHT, 772×782–787×789

Early/Light coinage (with OFFA, king of the Mercians)

LONDON

1173 Obv. **ƿAD** / **BERH** / **T ƿ** in three lines, divided by lines.
Rev. **OF** / **FΛ** / **HR** / **EX** in angles of lozenge containing

annulet w. cross pommée and cross w. trefoil terminals.
1.22g 90°. Chick 81c; Blunt 35.

KINGS OF THE WEST SAXONS

All coins are silver pennies unless otherwise stated. For commentary, see Chapters 6–8, pp. 128–73.

BEORHTRIC, 786–802

(Not represented in this collection. For commentary, see Chapter 6, section (b), pp. 131–32.)

1170 CM.1.226–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt
London 1964; ex Bagnall coll.; ex Ryan 648; ex
Drabble 339; ex Montagu 281; ex Brice coll.; ex
Shepherd 29; ex Kenyon; ex Yorke-Moore 305;
from the Cuerdale hoard (Dolley 1963, no. 7
and pl. 8, 3).

1171 CM.49–1955: ex Lockett 361; ex
Crompton-Roberts (*NCirc* 28 (1920), no.
81294); ex Montagu 224; ex Brice coll.;
from Webster; found in Hampshire (EMC
1986.9132).

1172 CM.2329–2003: ex Chick (gift); from
Wood; found East Tilbury, Thurrock, April
1992.

1173 CM.2242–2003: ex Chick 2003; from
Bernard, August 1997; found Fetcham, Surrey,
1996.



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ECGBERHT, 802–39

West Saxon coinage (c. 802–39)

WEST SAXON MINT (SOUTHAMPTON/WINCHESTER?)

- 1174 *Eamweald*. Obv. **†ECGBEORHT REX, S7X / ONIO / RVM** in three lines in circle. Rev. **†E7N77LD MONET7**, cross pattée in circle. 1.27g 270°. Naismith W6c; North 590.
- 1175 *Ifa*. Obv. **†[ECGBEO[RHT REX], S7X / ONIO / RVM** in three lines in circle. Rev. **[I]777 M7O7**], cross pattée in circle. 0.78g (fragment) 270°. Naismith W8.2a; North 590.
- 1176 *Weolthun*. Obv. **†ECGBEORHT REX**, Saxon monogram in circle. Rev. **†7ECHTVHN**, cross pattée in circle. 1.23g (chipped and corroded) 330°. Naismith W11a; North 589.
- 1177 *Wihnoth*. Obv. **†ECGBEORHT REX**, Saxon monogram in circle. Rev. **VVIHTNO7 MOE**, cross pattée in circle. 1.02g (chipped and worn) 180°. Naismith W12; North 589.

Early coinage

CANTERBURY? (825–C. 828)

- 1178 *Oba*. Obv. **†ECGBEORHT REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **†OBA7 MONET7**, six bars emanating from pellet in circle. 1.40g 270°. *SCBI* 1.523; *MEC* 1.1157; Naismith C71.3a; North 566. Same dies as Naismith C71.3b and c.
- 1179 *Sureheard*. Obv. **†HECB[EARHT R]EX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **†[SVV]EFHER[D]**, cross pattée with one limb fourchée in circle. 0.73g (fragment) 180°. Naismith C74.3a; North 568.
- 1180 *Tidbeorht*. Obv. **†H[ECBEARHT REX]**, pellet in circle. Rev. **†[T]ID[BEARHT]**, pellet in circle. 0.47g (fragment) 270°. Naismith C75.4a.

ROCHESTER? (825–C. 830)

- 1181 *Dunn*. Obv. **ECGBEORHT RE**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†DVNN MONET7**, cross pattée in circle. 1.34g 270°. *SCBI* 1.525; *MEC* 1.1163; Naismith R12.1c; North 574–5.
- 1182 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **E[]IVI RE**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†7LR7]MON**, cross pattée w. two limbs moline in circle. 0.71g (fragment) 180°. Naismith R13a. The attribution of this coin to Rochester under Ecgbert is based on style.

DOROB-C coinage (c. 828–39) (North 573)

CANTERBURY

Obv. **†ECGBEAR / HT REX**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. legend around *Dorobernia* [civitas] monogram in circle.

- 1183 *Beornmod*. Rev. **†BIORNMOD MONET**. 1.39g 180°. *SCBI* 1.520; *MEC* 1.1158; Naismith C78.1a. Same obv. die as Naismith C78.1b.
- 1184 *Bosel*. Rev. **†BOSEL MONETV**. 1.36g 180°. Naismith C79.2.
- 1185 *Deormod*. Rev. **†DIORMOD MNET**. 1.43g 270°. *SCBI* 1.521; *MEC* 1.1159. Naismith C82a. Same obv. die as Naismith C82b.
- 1186 *Oba*. Rev. **†OBA MONET7**. 1.26g (chipped) 90°. *SCBI* 1.522; *MEC* 1.1160. Naismith C85a.

Coinage as king of the Mercians (829–30) (North 585)

LONDON?

Obv. **†ECGBERHT REX M**, cross potent in circle. Rev. **†REDMVDN MONE, TA** in circle.

- 1187 *Rædmund*. 1.24g (chipped) 270°. *SCBI* 1.524; *MEC* 1.1166; Naismith L31.1a.
- 1188 *Rædmund*. Obv. **†E[ECBE]RHT REX M**. Rev. **†R[EDM]VDN MONE / TA**. 0.98g (fragment) 180°. Naismith L31.1b.

Later coinage (c. 830–9)

ROCHESTER

- 1189 Anonymous. Obv. **ECGBEORHT RE**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†ZCZ ANDREAZ, 7** in circle. 1.27g 0°. Naismith R14.5a; North 587. Same dies as Naismith R14.5b.
- 1190 *Beagmund*. Obv. **†ECGBEORHT REX**, cross potent and pellets in circle. Rev. **†BE7CMVND MONET7**, cross potent in circle. 1.28g 0°. *MEC* 1.1164; Naismith R16.1h; North 579–80.
- 1191 *Beagmund*. Obv. **†ECGBEO[RHT REX]**, cross potent in circle. Rev. **†BE7CM[VNDMON]**, bar flanked by two crescents and pellets in circle. 0.84g (fragment) 180°. Naismith R16.4a.

1174 CM.1.302–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1974; ex Ryan 690; ex Bruun 53; ex Witte 37; ex Murchison 145.

1175 CM.1.303–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1949; ex Grantley.

1176 CM.135–2009: ex Atkinson; found near Shalfleet, Isle of Wight, December 2007 (Naismith 2008a; EMC 2008.0137).

1177 CM.799–2012: ex Buttrey (gift) 2012; found Warminster, Wiltshire, 2012 (EMC 2012.0169).

1178 CM.YG.2125–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 322; ex Rashleigh 200; from the Trewhiddle hoard.

1179 CM.1.305–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1949; ex Grantley 973 (Grantley 1900, p. 161).

1180 CM.461–2008: ex Parkes (gift); found near Maidstone, Kent, 2008 (EMC 2008.0217).

1181 CM.5.30–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 464; ex Warne 172.

1182 CM.1.307–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendinning sale 6, 24.5.1972, lot 805; from the Dorking hoard.

1183 CM.YG.2120–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Bliss 62; from the Croydon (1906) hoard.

1184 CM.1.304–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lawrence (gift) 1950.

1185 CM.4.5–1922: ex Perceval coll. (gift); possibly part of a hoard with **1134, 1136, 1150** and **1163**.

1186 CM.1.22–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

1187 CM.ME.362–R: no provenance.

1188 CM.1.308–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 2690; ex Grantley 974 (cf. Grantley 1900, p. 159); ex Wickham 177.

1189 CM.1.306–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 457; BM duplicates, 1925; probably from the Middle Temple hoard.

1190 CM.119–1967: ex Chilvers coll.; ex Ryan 688; ex Crompton–Roberts (*NCirc* 28 (1920), no. 81328); ex Montagu 467; ex Marsham 131.

1191 CM.2356–2009: from S. James; found near West Wrattling, Cambridgeshire, September 2009 (EMC 2009.0317).

KINGS OF THE WEST SAXONS

ÆTHELWULF, 839–58

SAXONIORVM and contemporary coinages (839–c. 844)

CANTERBURY? (North 596)

Obv. **ÆDELVVLF REX**, cross pattée w. wedges in angles in circle.
Rev. legend around **ΣXX / ONIO / RVM**.

1192 *Deora*. Rev. **DIAR MONETA**. 0.93g (chipped) 0°. Naismith C97b.

1193 *Herebeald*. Rev. **HEREBEALD MONET**. 1.14g 270°. Naismith C98.1d.

ROCHESTER?

1194 Anonymous. Obv. **ÆDELVVLF REX**, cross pattée w. wedges in angles in circle. Rev. **†OCCIDENTALIVM, ΣXX / ONIO / RVM** in circle. 1.43g 270°. Naismith R18.1h; Booth 1998, b; North 597.

1195 *Beagmund*. Obv. **ÆDELVVLF REX**, bust r. in circle. Rev. **†BEALGMVND**, cross pattée in circle. 1.27g 90°. Naismith R19.1f; North 592/594. Same dies as Naismith R19.1a–e.

1196 *Beagmund*. Obv. **ÆDELVVLF RE**, bust r. in circle. Rev. **†BEALGMVND MO**, bar with moline terminals and flanked by crescents in circle. 1.18g 270°. Naismith R19.5a; North 595; Booth 1998, a. Same dies as Naismith R19.5b–c; same obv. die as R19.5d–e.

1197 *Beagmund*. Obv. **E[ÆDELV]LF RE**, bust r. in circle. Rev. **†BEALGMVND MO**], bar flanked by two crescents and pellets in circle. 0.88g (fragment) 0°. Naismith R19.5f; North 595.

1198 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **E[ÆDELVVLF REX]**, bust r. in circle. Rev. **[JED]**], bar with potent terminals and flanked by wedges in circle. 0.31g (fragment). Naismith – (vol. 1, p. 173).

Portrait coinage

CANTERBURY? (c. 844–9)

1199 *Dægheah*. Obv. **ÆDELVVLF REX**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†DEIHEVH MONETA**, Chi-Rho in circle. 1.35g 45°. Naismith C107.1b; North 608. Same dies as Naismith C107.1a.

1200 *Herebeald*. Obv. **ÆDELVVLF RE†**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **HEREBEALD MONET**, cross pattée superimposed on cross pommée in circle. 1.18g (broken in two pieces) 90°. Naismith C111.3g; North 613.

1192 CM.1.309–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lawrence 218.

1193 CM.1.310–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lawrence 219.

1194 CM.1.321–1990: ex Blunt coll.; possibly ex Hanham; ex Grantley 979; ex Crowther 16; ex Montagu 493; ex Shepherd 64; ex Dymock 107; ex Durrant 9; ex Engleheart 51; from the Dorking hoard.

1195 CM.1.317–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Evans; probably from the Middle Temple hoard.

1196 CM.1.318–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex BM duplicates; ex Barnett coll.; possibly from the Middle Temple hoard.

1197 CM.1.319–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 707; ex Grantley 984 (Grantley 1900, p. 169).

1198 CM.44–2011: from Jackson; found near Papworth, Cambridgeshire, January 2011 (EMC 2011.0012).

1199 CM.1.312–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 694; ex *NCirc* 25 (1917), no. 55871.

1200 CM.1.313–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lawrence 222.

1201 CM.1.314–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 460; ex Bliss 66; ex Montagu 474; ex Marsham 136; ex Wigan.

1202 CM.1.322–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 706; ex Grantley 983; ex Lawrence; ex Boyne 1133; ex Burn 351.

1203 CM.1.324–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 464; ex *NCirc* 24 (1916), no. 39360; ex *NCirc* 22 (1914), no. 24530; ex Carlyon-Britton 326.

1201 *Osmund*. Obv. **ÆDELVVLF REX**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†OZMVND MONETA**, **Æ** in circle. 1.18g 90°. Naismith C116.2b; North 609. Same dies as Naismith C116.2a.

ROCHESTER? (c. 844–6/7)

1202 *Beagmund*. Obv. **ÆDELVVLF REX**, cross pattée w. wedges in angles in circle. Rev. **†BEALGMVND**, cross-crosslet in circle. 1.24g (chipped) 90°. Naismith R23.2b; North 605; Booth 1998, c.

1203 *Dunn*. Obv. **†ÆDELVVLF REX**, cross pattée w. wedges in angles in circle. Rev. **†DVN MONETA**, cross pattée w. wedges in angles in circle. 1.27g 0°. Naismith R25.2b; North 604. Same dies as Naismith R25.2a.

1204 *Dunn*. Obv. **ÆDELVVLF REX**, cross pattée w. wedges in angles in circle. Rev. **†DVN MONETA**, cross moline in circle. 1.16g 90°. Naismith R25.1d; North 606.

1205 *Wilheah*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†VVILHEAH**, **Æ** in circle. 1.11g (slightly chipped) 180°. Naismith R27a; North 602.

ROCHESTER? ('BERHTWULF' COINAGE) (c. 846/7–9)

1206 *Beornmoth*. Obv. **ÆDELVVLF REX**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†BIARNNOÐ**, **Æ** in circle. 1.12g 270°. Naismith R29c; North 599; Booth 1998, C.

1207 *Manning*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†MANINC M**, **Æ** in circle. 0.92g 270°. Naismith R30.2a; North 613; Booth 1998, M; Ruding 1840, pl. 27, 1.

1208 *Wealhheard*. Obv. **E[ÆDELVV]LF REX**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†VVELJHHEARD**, cross pattée w. two limbs moline in circle. 0.78g (fragment) 180°. Naismith R31b; Booth 1998, K. Same obv. die as Naismith R31a.

DORB/CANT type (c. 849–54)

Obv. legend around **D O R B** and two contraction marks in circle.
Rev. legend around *Cant* monogram in circle.

CANTERBURY

1209 *Osmund*. Obv. **ÆDELVVLF REX**. Rev. **†OSMVND MONETA**. 1.13g (slightly chipped) 270°. Naismith C131f; North 614.

1204 CM.1.323–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Wells 1951.

1205 CM.1.325–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Carlyon-Britton 1636; probably ex Nunn 75.

1206 CM.1.311–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 695; ex *NCirc* 29 (1921), no. 96447; ex Crompton-Roberts (*NCirc* 28 (1920), no. 81333); ex Montagu 475.

1207 CM.1.315–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 468; ex Carlyon-Britton 324; ex Rashleigh 207; ex Loscombe 1062; from the Trevwhiddle hoard.

1208 CM.1.320–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Baldwin.

1209 CM.1.316–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Shortt (exchange); from Gordon.

ÆTHELWULF, 839–58 (*cont.*)

ROCHESTER

1210 *Weallheard*. Obv. **†E-ÐEL-†VVL-†REX**. Rev. **†VVE-ΛLHHE-ΛRD**. 1.35g o°. *SCBI* 1.526; *MEC* 1.1165; Naismith R36a; North 597.

Inscribed/Open Cross coinage (c. 854–8) (North 618)

Obv. **†Æ-ÐELVVL- REX** around bust r., breaking circle. Rev. legend distributed in panels and angles of cross.

CANTERBURY?

1211 *Æthelnoth*. Rev. **†E-ÐELN / O-Ð / MO / N / E / T / Λ**. 1.29g (broken and repaired) o°. *SCBI* 1.528; *MEC* 1.1306; Naismith C139b. Same dies as Naismith C139c; same obv. die as C139d.

1210 CM.YG.2129-R: ex Young coll. (gift);
ex Carlyon-Britton 328; ex Barratt coll.

1211 CM.ME.443-R: ex Babington (gift).

KINGS OF THE WEST SAXONS

ÆTHELWULF (*cont.*)

Inscribed/Open Cross coinage (cont.)

Obv. **†ÆÐELVLF REX** around bust r., breaking circle. Rev. legend distributed in panels and angles of cross.

CANTERBURY? (*cont.*)

- 1212 *Man.* Rev. **†MÆN / NÆ / MO / N / E / T / Æ**. 1.34g o°. *SCBI* 1.530; *MEC* 1.1307; Naismith C146a. Same obv. die as Naismith C146b–c.
- 1213 *Torhtwulf.* Rev. **†TORHT / VLF / MO / N / E / T / Æ**. 1.31g 180°. *SCBI* 1.532; *MEC* 1.1309; Naismith C147a.

- 1214 *Torhtwulf.* Rev. as last. 1.04g (chipped) 180°. Naismith C147l.

ROCHESTER?

- 1215 *Æthelhere.* Rev. **†ÆÐELE RE / MO / N / E / T / Æ**. 1.32g o°. *SCBI* 1.529; *MEC* 1.1305; Naismith R38b.
- 1216 *Tirweald.* Obv. **†ÆÐLVLF REX**. Rev. **†TIRV / ÆL / D M / O / N / E / T**. 1.18g 180°. *SCBI* 1.531; *MEC* 1.1308; Naismith R41.1a.

ÆTHELBERHT, 860–5

Inscribed/Open Cross coinage (858/60–c. 864) (North 620)

Obv. **†ÆÐELBEÆRHT REX**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. legend distributed in panels and angles of cross.

CANTERBURY?

- 1217 *Beagmund.* Rev. **†BEÆHM / VND / MO / N / E / T / Æ**. 1.06g 180°. *SCBI* 1.533; *MEC* 1.1310; Naismith C167a.
- 1218 *Dægbeorht.* Rev. **†DEGBEÆ / RHT / MO / N / E / T / Æ**. 1.31g 180°. *SCBI* 1.534; *MEC* 1.1311; Naismith C176a.
- 1219 *Dægbeorht.* Rev. **†DEGBEÆ / RHT / MO / N / E / T / Æ**. 1.05g (chipped) 270°. *SCBI* 1.535; *MEC* 1.1312; Naismith C176g. Same obv. die as Naismith C176f.
- 1220 *Dudwine.* Rev. **†DVVDVI / NE / MO / N / E / T / Æ**. 1.14g (chipped) 90°. Naismith C182e.
- 1221 *Hunnæd.* Rev. **†HVNR / ED / MO / N / E / T / Æ**. 1.34g 270°. *SCBI* 1.536; *MEC* 1.1313; Naismith C192b. Same dies as Naismith C192a.
- 1222 *Leofa.* Rev. **†LIAB / †M / O+ / N / E / T / Æ**. 1.06g (chipped) 90°. Naismith C193d.

- 1223 *Wilnoth.* Rev. **†VILN / OÐ / MO / N / E / T / Æ**. 0.88g (chipped) 270°. *SCBI* 1.537; *MEC* 1.1314; Naismith C206a.

Floreate Cross coinage (c. 864–5) (North 621)

CANTERBURY?

- 1224 *Dudda.* Obv. **†ÆÐEL[BEÆ]RHT REX**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†D[VD]D[Æ] MONETÆ**, cross with floral terminals and leaf-like ornaments in angles in circle. 0.81g (badly chipped) o°. Naismith C214.1b.

Lunettes coinage (c. 865)

CANTERBURY?

- 1225 *Dudda.* Obv. **†ÆÐEBERHT E**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **DVDDÆ / MON / ETÆ** in three lines, divided by two lines with hooked terminals. 1.50g 270°. Naismith C214.2a; *BMC* rev. type D. This coin and one other from the Severn Stoke hoard (*Checklist* 71b) are the only known specimens of this anomalous coinage. It was probably issued outside the regular mints of southern England (see above, Chapter 7, section (f), p. 161).

1212 CM.YG.3149-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 325; ex Crowther 13; ex Shepherd 61; ex Dymock; ex Cuff 424.

1213 CM.5.36–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 484; ex Brice coll.

1214 CM.1.3655–1990: ex Blunt coll.; Lawrence 222.

1215 CM.1.45–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart; ex Murdoch 63; ex *NCirc* 15 (1907), no. 46884; ex *NCirc* 14 (1906), no. 24328; ex *NCirc* 12 (1904), no. 5163; ex *NCirc* 11 (1903), no. 94476; ex Montagu 486; ex Lake Price 22; ex

Murchison 164; ex Martin (1859) 6; ex Rich 38; from the Dorking hoard.

1216 CM.5.35–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 487; ex Addington; ex Bergne 144; ex Cuff 429.

1217 CM.5.37–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 499; ex Brice coll.

1218 CM.YG.3150-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Weber 14.

1219 CM.TR.1953-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Frere coll.

1220 CM.1.336–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Seaby; ex Argyll coll.

1221 CM.1.46–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

1222 CM.1.337–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Argyll coll.

1223 CM.ME.444-R: from Baldwin 1908.

1224 CM.52–1994: from Kirk; found at Torksey productive site, Lincolnshire 1993 (*CR* 1994, 192; Blackburn 1993, p. 89; 2002, 9; 2011a, 5; EMC 1994.0192).

1225 CM.1.338–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex *NCirc* 22 (1914), no. 24532; ex Carlyon-Britton 333; ex J. E. Brown 231; ex Haines 162.



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ÆTHELRED I, 865–71

Four-Line type (865–c. 866?)

CANTERBURY? (North 624)

- 1226 *Beornmod*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRE / D REX**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **Æ / BIÆRNM / OD MONE / TÆ** in four lines, divided by lines w. hooked terminals. 1.28g 270°. *SCBI* 1.541; *MEC* 1.1341; Lyons and MacKay 2007, Ae1.2.

WEST SAXON MINT (SOUTHAMPTON/WINCHESTER?)

- 1227 *Osríc*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR / ED REX**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **OSRIC / MONETÆ** in two lines divided by lines, w. cross above and pellets below. 1.17g 270°. Lyons and MacKay 2007, Ae1.9.

Lunettes type (c. 866–71) (North 622)

Obv. legend around bust r., breaking circle. Rev. legend in three lines, divided by various ornaments. The complex stylistic and typological classification of this type is discussed in Chapter 7, section (f), pp. 159–63.

CANTERBURY?

- 1228 *Ælfhere*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED / REX**. Rev. **ELBERE / MON / ETÆ**. 1.21g 0°. *SCBI* 1.539; *MEC* 1.1343; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style C; Lyons and MacKay 2007, Ae2.48.

1226 CM.YG.3160-R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 335; ex Astronomer 150; ex Montagu 504; ex Brice coll.

1227 CM.519–2000: found at Stanmore, Hertfordshire, 3.10.1979.

1228 CM.5.38–1933; ex Henderson coll. (gift); from Spink, Christmas 1895.

1229 CM.1.340–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1962; ex Lockett 482; ex Wilcox.

1230 CM.ME.363-R; from Lincoln, August 1899.

1231 CM.1.339–1990: ex Blunt coll.; found in a garden in London, 1978.

- 1229 *Ælfhere*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ELBERE / MON / ETÆ** (lozenge-shaped O). 1.21g 180°. *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style C; Lyons and MacKay 2007, Ae2.47.

- 1230 *Beornheah*. Obv. as last. Rev. **BEÆHEÆ / MNO / ETÆ** (lozenge-shaped O). 1.14g 0°. *SCBI* 1.538; *MEC* 1.1342; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style C; Lyons and MacKay 2007, Ae2.1.

- 1231 *Dudda*. Obv. **†EREVIÐ / DERED**. Rev. **†DVDDÆ / MON / ETÆ**. 1.20g 270°. *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style C; Lyons and MacKay 2007, Ae3.9.

- 1232 *Man*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED / REX**. Rev. **MÆNN / MON / ETÆ** (lozenge-shaped O). 1.32g 180°. *SCBI* 1.540; *MEC* 1.1344; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style C; Lyons and MacKay 2007, Ae2.100.

- 1233 *Wulfheard*. Obv. as last. Rev. **VVLFEÆR / D OM / NETÆ**. 1.00g (chipped) 90°. *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style C; Lyons and MacKay 2007, Ae2.118.

1232 CM.1.47–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

1233 CM.1.341–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951; ex Wells; ex W. Allen 90; from the Croydon (1862) hoard.

KINGS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

All coins are silver pennies unless stated otherwise. For commentary, see Chapters 8 and 9, pp. 165–74.

ALFRED THE GREAT, 871–99

Lunettes coinage (871–c. 875)

Obv. legend around bust r., breaking circle. Rev. legend in three lines, divided by various ornaments. The complex stylistic and typological classification of this type is discussed in Chapter 7, section (f), pp. 159–63.

CANTERBURY?

- 1234 *Aethelred*. Obv. **ÆTREL** / **REX**. Rev. **EÐERED** / **MON** / **ETÆ**. 1.32g 90°. *MEC* 1.1348; *CCC Catalogue*, 149; North 625; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style C; Lyons and MacKay 2008, AfL1.50.
- 1235 *Deorhelm*. Obv. as last. Rev. **DIÆREL** / **M MO** / **NETÆ**. 0.65g (chipped) 270°. North 625; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style C; Lyons and MacKay 2008, AfL1.14.
- 1236 *Deonwulf*. Obv. **ÆEL[FRED RE]X**. Rev. **DIÆRVL[F]** / **MON** / **[ETÆ]**. 0.82g (badly chipped) 180°. North 628; *BMC* rev. type d; anomalous obv. style (similar to H). Probably a contemporary imitation/forgery.
- 1237 *Ealhhere*. Obv. **ÆTREL** / **REX**. Rev. **ÆÆLHER** / **E MON** / **ETÆ**. 1.04g (chipped) 180°. *MEC* 1.1347; *CCC Catalogue*, 148; North 625; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style C; Lyons and MacKay 2008, AfL1.27.
- 1238 *Guthmund*. Obv. as last. Rev. **EVDMVN** / **D MO** / **NETÆ** (VN ligatured). 0.81g 0°. North 625; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style C; Lyons and MacKay 2008, AfL1.54.
- 1239 *Hebecc*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HEBECÆ** / **MON** / **ETÆ**. 0.84g (chipped) 90°. North 625; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style C; Lyons and MacKay 2008, AfL1.60.
- 1240 *Luning*. Obv. as last. Rev. **LVNING** / **MON** / **ETÆ**. 0.68g (chipped and broken) 220°. *MEC* 1.1349; *CCC Catalogue*, 150; North 625; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style C; Lyons and MacKay 2008, AfL1.97.
- 1241 *Oshere*. Obv. **[ÆELBR]**. Rev. **ÆOSH[ERE]** / **[MON]** / **ETÆ**. 0.41g (small fragment) 90°. North 625; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style C; Lyons and MacKay 2008, AfL1.101–2.

- 1242 *Sæferth*. Obv. **ÆTREL** / **REX**. Rev. **SEFREÐ** / **MON** / **ETÆ**. 1.19g 0°. *SCBI* 1.543; *MEC* 1.1350; North 625; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style C; Lyons and MacKay 2008, AfL1.105.
- 1243 *Sigferth*. Obv. **ÆTREL** / **[REX]**. Rev. **SIGFRE** / **Ð MO** / **[NETÆ]**. 0.78g (fragment) 270°. North 627; *BMC* rev. type c; obv. style C; Lyons and MacKay 2008, AfL1.106.
- 1244 *Tata* (?). Obv. illegible. Rev. **TÆ[TÆ]** / **MO[N]** / **[ETÆ]**. 0.28g (fragment) 180°. North 626; *BMC* rev. type b; obv. style C.
- 1245 *Tirwulf*. Obv. **ÆTREL** / **REX**. Rev. **TIRVL** / **MON** / **ETÆ**. 0.81g (chipped) 0°. North 626; *BMC* rev. type b; obv. style C; Lyons and MacKay 2008, AfL1.115.

LONDON (?) AND OTHER LOCATIONS

- 1246 *Duding*. Obv. **ÆTREL** / **REX**. Rev. **ÆDVIN** / **MON** / **ETÆ**. 1.03g 0°. *MEC* 1.1346; *CCC Catalogue*, 147; North 625; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style H; Lyons and MacKay 2008, AfL2.24.
- 1247 *Wulfred*. Obv. **ÆLFRED M+**. Rev. **VVLFER** / **D MON** / **ETÆ**. 0.80g 0°. North 625; *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style V; Lyons and MacKay 2008, AfL2.64.
- 1248 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **[ÆELBR[E]D** / **[REX]**. Rev. **[]** / **[M]ON** / **[ETÆ]**. 0.36g (fragments). *MEC* 1.1351; *CCC Catalogue*, 151. *BMC* rev. type a; obv. style C/H; Lyons and MacKay 2008, AfL1.1.

UNCERTAIN MINT

- 1249 *Duda*. Obv. **ÆTREL** / **REX**. Rev. **DDVDÆ** / **MON** / **ETÆ**. 0.87g 270°. *SCBI* 1.542; *MEC* 1.1345; North 625; *BMC* rev. type a; Lyons and MacKay 2008, AfL1r4. Contemporary imitation?

1234 CM.LS.5510-R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll.; bt in Tunbridge Wells 2.7.1872; from the Croydon (1862) hoard (Spufford 1961, 159).

1235 CM.1.342–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1949; ex Grantley.

1236 CM.1656–2001: from Rickett (finder); found at Torksey productive site, Lincolnshire (Blackburn 2011a, 16).

1237 CM.LS.5509-R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll.; bt in Tunbridge Wells 2.7.1872; from the Croydon (1862) hoard (Spufford 1961, 155).

1238 CM.1.343–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1986; ex Harris; from Spink 1982.

1239 CM.1.344–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Grantley.

1240 CM.LS.5511-R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll.; bt in Tunbridge Wells 2.7.1872; from the Croydon (1862) hoard.

1241 CM.88–2011: from Bott 2011; found at Torksey productive site, Lincolnshire.

1242 CM.1.49–1930: ex Duncan; ex Smart.

1243 CM.423–1995: from Bonser 1995; found at Torksey productive site, Lincolnshire, 1995 (Blackburn 2002, 13; 2011a, 18) (EMC 1970.1728).

1244 CM.1768–2008: from G. Taylor; found at Torksey productive site, Lincolnshire (Blackburn 2011a, 19).

1245 CM.1.346–1990: ex Blunt coll.

1246 CM.LS.5508-R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll.; bt in Tunbridge Wells 2.7.1872; from the Croydon (1862) hoard (Spufford 1961, 152).

1247 CM.1.345–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1949; ex Grantley; ex Briggs 1893.

1248 CM.LS.5509-R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll. 1891; possibly bt Tunbridge Wells 2.7.1872; possibly from the Croydon (1862) hoard.

1249 CM.ME.448-R: ex Sadd.



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1250



1251



1252

ALFRED THE GREAT, 871–99 (*cont.*)

Cross and Lozenge coinage (c. 875–80) (North 629)

Obv. legend around bust r. Rev. legend in angles of long cross w. lozenge at centre containing small cross pattée.

WINCHESTER?

- 1250 *Hereferth*. Obv. **ÆLFRE** / **D REX**. Rev. **hE** / **RE** / **FE** / **R-Ð**. 1.26g (slightly chipped) 180°. *MEC* 1.1352; Blackburn and Keynes 1998, 24; Keynes and Blackburn 1985, 50.

LONDON?

- 1251 *Leofweald*. Obv. **ÆLFRED** / **REX SM**. Rev. **LIA** / **FV** / **LD M** / **ONE**. 1.27g (broken and repaired) 180°. Blackburn and Keynes 1998, 27.

UNCERTAIN MINT

- 1252 *Lulla*. Obv. **ÆI** / **JEX A**. Rev. **LVL** / **L** / **Λ**. 0.35g (pierced fragment) 270°. Blackburn and Keynes 1998, 55. Possibly a Viking imitation.

1250 CM.640–1960: ex Lockett 3632; ex Carlyon-Britton 1649; ex Murdoch 82; ex Montagu 557; ex Marsham 155; ex Wigan; said by Montagu to be from the Cuerdale hoard.

1251 CM.1.347–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1947; ex Drabble 384; possibly ex Carlyon-Britton.

1252 CM.387–1991: from S. Brown 1991; found Bawsey, Norfolk, 1991 (EMC 2002.0209).

KINGS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

ALFRED THE GREAT (*cont.*)

London Monogram coinage (c. 880)

LONDON

Without moneyer signature (North 644)

Obv. **ÆLFRED** / **ED REX**, Roman-style bust r. Rev. *Lundonia* monogram.

- 1253 1.66g 340°. *SCBI* 1.544; *MEC* 1.1355.
- 1254 1.55g 180°. *SCBI* 1.547; *MEC* 1.1357. Same dies as **1255**.
- 1255 1.50g (chipped) 90°. *SCBI* 1.546; *MEC* 1.1356. Same dies as **1254**.
- 1256 1.38g (fragment, broken) 180°. *SCBI* 1.548; *MEC* 1.1354.
- 1257 1.09g 0°.
- 1258 Obv. **ÆTFRD REX** (F upside down). Rev. *Lundonia* monogram. 1.56g 0°. *SCBI* 1.545; *MEC* 1.1358. Same rev. die as *SCBI* 2.577.

With moneyer signature (North 646)

- 1259 *Tilwine*. Obv. **ÆLFRED** / **ED REX**, Roman-style bust r. Rev. **TILEVINE** / **MONETĀ** in two lines divided by *Lundonia* monogram. 1.60g 270°. *SCBI* 1.549; *MEC* 1.1359.

Halfpenny (North 645)

Obv. **ELF** / **RED E**, Roman-style bust r. Rev. *Lundonia* monogram.

- 1260 0.59g 90°.

Uncertain Monogram type (North 467)

UNCERTAIN MINT

Pennies

- 1261 *Æthelwulf*. Obv. **ÆLFRED** / **REX**, Roman-style bust r. Rev. **EDEL** / **VF MO** above and below monogram including letters G, R/D, O, I, H, E, S and possibly N. 1.51g 100°. *SCBI* 1.550; *MEC* 1.1379; Lindsay 1842, pl. 4, 93. For interpretation, see Appendix I, p. 350. This coin has in the past (including in *MEC* 1) been classified as a Viking imitation, but the literacy of the legends and the weight suggest that it is probably an Anglo-Saxon issue.

Horizontal/Two-Line type (c. 880–99)

Obv. legend (sometimes broken into several segments) around small cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, with varying numbers of pellets around and between.

- 1253 CM.5.46–1933; ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Thorburn 3; possibly from the Erith hoard.
- 1254 CM.YG.1409–R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 343.
- 1255 CM.1.48–1930; ex Duncanson; ex Smart.
- 1256 CM.5.45–1933; ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Thorburn 2; possibly from the Erith hoard.
- 1257 CM.1.3656–1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Gantz.
- 1258 CM.YG.1139–R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 930.
- 1259 CM.YG.1138–R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 340.

- 1260 CM.172–1999; ex Sotheby sale 22.4.1999, lot 439; ex Stack; found at the Thames Exchange site, London.
- 1261 CM.11–1944; ex Grantley 1010; ex Rashleigh 219; ex Bergne 156; ex Lindsay 46; ex Aquilla Smith (previously offered to J. W. Martin: *BNJ* 54 (1984), 55–6); possibly from the Cuerdale hoard.
- 1262 CM.1.3659–1990; ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1954.
- 1263 CM.ME.449–R; no provenance.
- 1264 CM.545–2013; from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.
- 1265 CM.1.348–1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendining sale 9, 13.10.1960, lot 384.
- 1266 CM.1.349–1990; ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970; ex Matthews; from Spink; ex Evans; ex Rolfe.

Imitations of this type were produced extensively in Viking-controlled areas during the later ninth century. These are catalogued with Anglo-Viking coins below (**2404–41**), but definitive attribution of English and Viking issues remains a matter of ongoing research, and the two groups should be consulted together.

CANTERBURY STYLE

With mint signature (North 638)

- 1262 *Deorweald*. Obv. **ÆLFRED REX DORO** (Os lozenge-shaped). Rev. **DIÆRVÆ** / **LD MO** (VÆ ligatured; O lozenge-shaped). 1.58g 270°.
- 1263 *Deorweald*. Obv. as last. Rev. **DIÆRVÆ** / **LD MO** (VÆ ligatured; O lozenge-shaped). 1.54g 250° (double-struck). *SCBI* 1.560; *MEC* 1.1360.
- 1264 *Deorweald*. Obv. **ÆLFRED REX DJORO** (Os lozenge-shaped). Rev. **DIÆ[RVV]** / **ÆLD MO**. 0.82g (cut half-penny; chipped) 90°.
- 1265 *Hereferth*. Obv. **ÆLFRED REX DORO** (Os lozenge-shaped). Rev. **HEREF** / **REÐ MO** (O lozenge-shaped). 1.48g 180°.

Without mint signature (North 635)

- 1266 *Deorweald*. Obv. **ÆLFRED RE**. Rev. **DIÆRVE** / **[Æ]LD MO**. 1.36g (pierced) 225°.

LONDON STYLE (North 636)

- 1267 *Hereferth*. Obv. **E** [**JD**] **X**. Rev. **HER[E]** / **F** []. 0.61g (fragment, broken).

MERCIAN STYLES (North 637)

- 1268 *Cuthbeorht*. Obv. **ÆLFRED RE**. Rev. **CVDB** / **ERHT**. 1.57g 180° (overstruck on London monogram coin). *SCBI* 1.552; *MEC* 1.1363.
- 1269 *Cuthbeorht*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.54g 135°.
- 1270 *Cuthbeorht*. Obv. **ÆLFRED RE**. Rev. as last. 1.45g 180°. Peck-marks: 1/0. *MEC* 1.1364.
- 1271 *Dudig*. Obv. **ÆLFRED RE**. Rev. **DVDIG** / **MON**. 1.55g 0°.
- 1272 *Eadweald*. Obv. as last. Rev. **EADV** / **VÆLD**. 1.44g 0°. Peck-marks: 2/1. *SCBI* 1.554; *MEC* 1.1366.
- 1273 *Eadweald*. Obv. **ÆLFRED RE**. Rev. **EADV** / **VÆLD**. 1.58g 0°. *SCBI* 1.553; *MEC* 1.1365.

- 1267 CM.29–1985, CM.64–1985 and CM.84–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 1).
- 1268 CM.5.48–1933; ex Henderson coll. (gift) 1933; ex J. H. James 8.
- 1269 CM.1.3657–1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Owston Smith 1949; ex Grantley.
- 1270 CM.74–1959; ex Grierson (gift), 1959; from MMAG Basel 1959; possibly from the Cuerdale hoard.
- 1271 CM.1.350–1990; ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Spink; ex Rashleigh 229; ex Cuff 461.
- 1272 CM.1.50–1930; ex Duncanson; ex Smart; possibly from the Cuerdale hoard.
- 1273 CM.YG.3164–R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Shepherd 74.



1253



1254



1255



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1266



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1270



1271



1272



1273



KINGS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

ALFRED THE GREAT (*cont.*)

Horizontal/Two-Line type (cont.)

Obv. legend (sometimes broken into several segments) around small cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, with varying numbers of pellets around and between.

MERCIAN STYLES (*cont.*)

- 1274 *Wynbeorht*. Obv. **ÆL FR ED RE**. Rev. **FYNB / ERHT**. 1.35g 180°.

WINCHESTER STYLE (North 639)

- 1275 *Æthelwulf*. Obv. **ÆL FRE D REX**. Rev. **†ÆDEL / VLF MO**. 1.59g 0°. *SCBI* 1.559; *MEC* 1.1361. Same rev. die as 1276.
1276 *Æthelwulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.55g 0°. Same rev. die as 1275.

- 1277 *Beornhelm*. Obv. **ÆL FRE D REX**. Rev. **BYRN / ELM†**. 1.70g 270°. *SCBI* 1.551; *MEC* 1.1362; 1867 *Catalogue*, 19.
1278 *Wulfræd*. Obv. as last. Rev. **VVLF / RED†**. 1.56g (fragment, broken and mended) 250°. *MEC* 1.1368A.
1279 *Wulfræd*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.53g 50° (reverse corroded by adhesive). *MEC* 1.1368.

UNCERTAIN STYLE (North 367)

- 1280 *Wine*. Obv. **ÆL FR ED RE**. Rev. **VVIN / E MON**. 1.43g 270°.

EDWARD THE ELDER, 899–924

All coins are silver pennies unless otherwise stated. The system of classification derives from *CTCE*. For commentary, see Chapter 9, section (i), pp. 195–200.

Mint-signed type

BATH (North 654)

- 1281 Obv. **ÆAD / VVEARD** / **REX SX** / **ONVM** in four lines. Rev. **B** w. crosses and pellets above and below. 1.61g (slightly chipped) 180°. *CTCE* 1b.

Bust Diademed type (North 651)

BD/HB1

- 1282 *Deora*. Obv. **ÆADVVEARD BEX**, bust l. in circle. Rev. **DIO / RA** in two lines, w. three crosses between. 1.65g 90°. *SCBI* 1.568; *MEC* 1.1371; *CTCE* 14 (Early II (L)).

BD/HCT1

LONDON/WESSEX

- 1283 *Si(ge)god*. Obv. **ÆADVVEARD REX**, bust l. in circle. Rev. **ΣIGOD M / ONETA** in two lines, w. three crosses between and one above and below. 1.44g (slightly chipped) 180°. *CTCE* 38 (Late II / Late I).

BD/HP9

WESSEX

- 1284 *Wulfræd*. Obv. **ÆADVVEARD REX**, bust l. in circle. Rev. **VVLF / RED MO** in two lines, w. pellets above and cross and pellet between. 1.58g 0°. *MEC* 1.1373; *CTCE* 44 (Early II/Early I).

BD/HT8

NORTH-WEST MERCA/NORTH-WEST MIDLANDS

- 1285 *Dudig*. Obv. **ÆADVVEARD REX**, bust l. in circle. Rev. **DVDIG / MONE** in two lines, w. pellets above and cross and pellets between. 1.61g 180°. *SCBI* 1.569; *MEC* 1.1372; *CTCE* 16 (Early II).

B(D)/HT9

WESSEX

- 1286 *Wulfræd*. Obv. **ÆADVVEARD REX**, bust l. in circle. Rev. **VVLF / RED MO** in two lines, w. pellets above and two crosses between. 1.60g 90°. *CTCE* 46 (Early II).

Horizontal/Two-Line type (North 649)

HC 1

SOUTH-EAST MERCA/SOUTH-EAST MIDLANDS

- 1287 *Beornweald*. Obv. **ÆADVVE[R]D REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **BEORNF / OLD M[O]** in two lines, w. three crosses between and cross above and below. 1.35g (chipped) 0°. *CTCE* – (Late II).

- 1274 CM.1.352–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1949; ex Grantley.
1275 CM.YG.3163–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 937.
1276 CM.1.3658–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1949; ex Lawrence; ex Grantley.
1277 CM.ME.450–R: ex Babington (gift) 1866.
1278 CM.51–1975: ex McCormick, 1975; ex D. F. Conybeare; ex E. Conybeare; possibly found near Barrington, Cambridgeshire.

- 1279 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 1936.92: acq. 1936.
1280 CM.1.351–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex O’Byrne 204.
1281 CM.1.353–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Rashleigh 233; ex Bergne 184; ex Murchison 247; ex Dymock 127; ex Cuff 480; possibly from the Cuerdale hoard.
1282 CM.1.51–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart; Murchison 235.
1283 CM.1.373–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1969; from the Vatican hoard (O’Donovan 1964, no. 447).

- 1284 CM.P.1–1960: Peterhouse loan 1960; ex Barnes coll. 1934.
1285 CM.5.49–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 573; ex Brice coll.
1286 CM.1.372–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1958; ex Grantley 1027; ex Montagu 575; ex Brice coll.
1287 CM.615–1998: ex Kimberley and Petty 1998; from the Thurstaston hoard (Blackburn 2001b, 8).



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1293



1294

EDWARD THE ELDER (*cont.*)

HCT 1E

WESSEX

- 1288 *Æthelred*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **ÆDER** / **ED MO** in two lines, w. three crosses between, cross above and pellets below. 1.55g 90°. *CTCE* 69 (Late II).

HLT 1

LONDON

- 1289 *Tila*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **TILA M** / **ONETA** in two lines, w. three crosses between, cross and pellets above and pellets below. 1.59g 45°. *CTCE* 278 (Late II).

1288 CM.1.364-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex O'Byrne 204.

1289 CM.1.369-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1955; ex Argyll coll.

1290 CM.784-1910: from Spink 1910.

1291 CM.1.354-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1956; ex Erskine; from the Cuerdale hoard.

1292 CM.130-1974: from Collins & Clark 1974; ex Wyatt.

HP 1

WESSEX

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and pellet above and below.

- 1290 *Æthelwulf*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **AÐEL+** / **VLF MO**. 1.54g 180°. *SCBI* 1.564; *MEC* 1.1376; *CTCE* 74(ii) (Late I).
- 1291 *Beornweald*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **BERIV** / **ALD MO**. 1.54g 180°. *CTCE* 103(i) (Early I (W var.)/ Early II).
- 1292 *Deorweald*. Obv. as last. Rev. **DEORV** / **VALD MO** (**V** ligatured). 1.45g (chipped) 90°. *MEC* 1.1375; *CTCE* 142(i) (Early II).
- 1293 *Deorweald*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **DEORV** / **VALD MO**. 1.56g 315°. *CTCE* 142(i) (Early II).
- 1294 *Reinulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. **RÆGEN** / **VLF MO**. 1.59g 0°. *CTCE* 248(iii) (Middle II).

1293 CM.1.355-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.

1294 CM.1.358-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1947.

KINGS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

EDWARD THE ELDER (*cont.*)

Horizontal/Two-Line type (cont.)

HP 1 (*cont.*)

Halfpenny (North 650)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and pellet above and below.

- 1295 *Beornweald*. Obv. as last. Rev. **BIORN / VVALD**. o.63g (slightly chipped) 315°. *CTCE* 105 (Middle II).

Pennies

HP 6E

WESSEX

- 1296 *Beornhelm*. Obv. **ÆADVVÆARD REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **BYRN / ELI MO** in two lines, w. three pellets between and pellet above and below. 1.54g 270°. *SCBI* 1.565; *MEC* 1.1374; *CTCE* 123 (Early I).

HP 9

WESSEX

- 1297 *Wulfæd*. Obv. **ÆADVVÆARD REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **VVLF+ / RED MO** in two lines, w. cross and two pellets between and pellet above and below. 1.55g 0°. *CTCE* 305 (Early I).

HQ 1

SOUTH-EAST MIDLANDS

- 1298 *Magnard*. Obv. **ÆADVVÆARD REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **MAEN / ARD MO** in two lines, w. three crosses between and quatrefoil of pellets above and below. 1.37g (bent and chipped) 0°. *CTCE* 227 (Late II).

HQ 8

WESTERN MERCIA/WEST MIDLANDS

- 1299 *Wynbeorht*. Obv. **ÆADVVÆARD REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **VVNB / ERHT** in two lines, w. two crosses and pellet between and quatrefoils of pellets above and below. 1.63g 270°. *CTCE* 310 (Early I or II).

HT 1E

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoils of pellets above and below.

1295 CM.1.359-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 158; ex Ryan 736; ex Grantley 1033; ex Murdoch 108; ex Montagu 586; ex Shepherd 84; ex Murchison 248; ex Martin 25; ex Cuff 491.

1296 CM.1.52-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart; ex Webb 15; ex Montagu 585.

1297 CM.1.356-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1956; ex Erskine; from the Cuerdale hoard (cf. *BNJ* 26 (1949-51), 234 (proceedings)).

1298 CM.791-2005: from the Branham hoard.

1299 CM.1.357-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1962; ex Lockett 550.

1300 CM.1.361-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1956; ex Erskine; ex Shand 320.

1301 CM.1.363-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1956; ex Erskine; ex Ryan 731; from the Vatican hoard (O'Donovan 1964, no. 55).

1302 CM.1.365-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1962; ex Lockett 546; from the Vatican hoard (O'Donovan 1964, no. 172).

1303 CM.616-1998: ex Kimberley and Petty (gift) 1998; from the Thurstaston hoard (Blackburn 2001b, 9).

1304 CM.YG.3181-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 366.

1305 CM.1.362-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1956; ex Erskine; ex Shand 321.

NORTH-WEST MERCIA/NORTH-WEST MIDLANDS

- 1300 *Abba*. Obv. **ÆADVVÆARD REX**. Rev. **ABBA / MON**. 1.65g (cracked) 270°. *CTCE* 49 (Late II).

WESSEX

- 1301 *Æthelsige*. Obv. **ÆADVVÆARD REX**. Rev. **ÆÐELS / IGE MO**. 1.65g 0°. *CTCE* 54 (Late II (W deriv.)). Same dies as O'Donovan 1964, no. 54.

- 1302 *Bioca*. Obv. **ÆADVVÆARD RE**. Rev. **BIOCCA / MONE**. 1.56g 0°. *CTCE* 109 (Late II).

HT1

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoil of pellets above and below.

LONDON

- 1303 *Garheard*. Obv. **ÆADVVÆARD REX**. Rev. **ĠARE / ARD MO**. 1.35g (chipped) 315°. *CTCE* 198(ii) (Late II).

- 1304 *Ganvulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ĠARV / LF MO**. 1.57g 220°. *SCBI* 1.567; *MEC* 1.1378; *CTCE* 199 (Late II).

NORTH-EAST MERCIA/EAST MIDLANDS

- 1305 *Adalbert*. Obv. **ÆADVVÆARD REX**. Rev. **ADAL / BERT**. 1.60g (slightly chipped) 270°. *CTCE* 50 (Late II). Same obv. die as **1306**.

- 1306 *Adalbert*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.51g 350°. *CTCE* 50 (Late II). Same obv. die as **1305**.

- 1307 *Badda*. Obv. **ÆADVVÆARD REX**. Rev. **BAD / DA MO**. 1.59g 0°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I). Same obv. die as **1308-9**.

- 1308 *Badda*. Obv. **ÆAD[VV]EARD REX**. Rev. **BAD / DA MO**. 1.50g (chipped) 0°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I). Same obv. die as **1307** and **1309**.

- 1309 *Badda*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.43g (chipped) 270°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I). Same obv. die as **1307-8**.

- 1310 *Badda*. Obv. as last. Rev. **BAD / DA MO**. 1.39g (chipped) 180°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I). Same dies as **1311-13** and same obv. die as **1314-19**.

- 1311 *Badda*. Obv. **ÆAD[VV]EARD [REX]**. Rev. **BAD / [DA MO]**. 1.03g (fragment) 270°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I). Same dies as **1310** and **1312-13** and same obv. die as **1314-19**.

- 1312 *Badda*. Obv. **ÆADVVÆARD REX**. Rev. as last. 1.47g (slightly chipped) 270°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I). Same dies as **1310-II** and **1313** and same obv. die as **1314-19**.

1306 CM.756-2005: from the Branham hoard.

1307 CM.757-2005: from the Branham hoard.

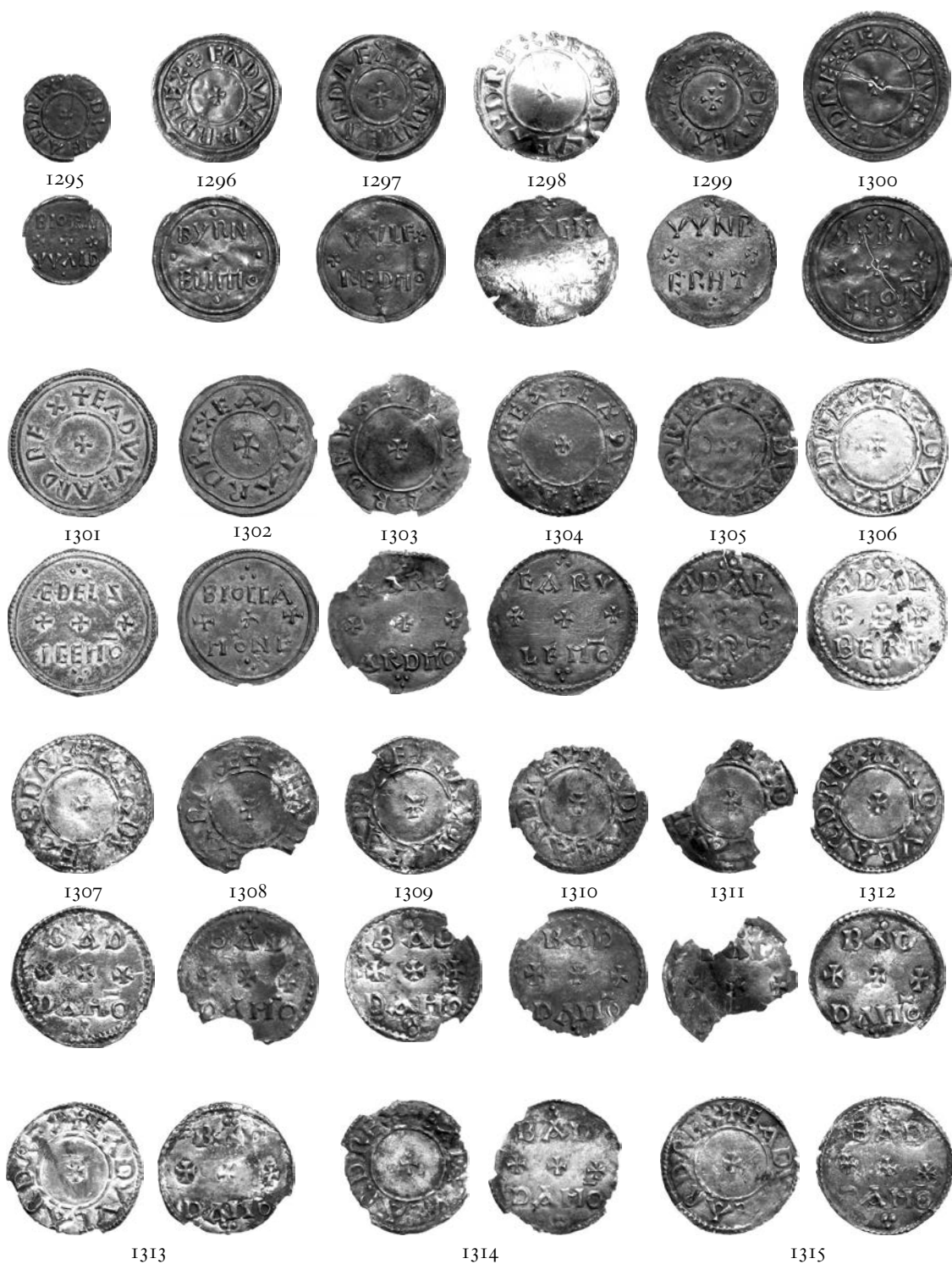
1308 CM.759-2005: from the Branham hoard.

1309 CM.766-2005: from the Branham hoard.

1310 CM.768-2005: from the Branham hoard.

1311 CM.2-2013: ex Lyons (gift); ex Spink sale 214, 26.9.2012, lot 876; possibly from the Branham hoard.

1312 CM.760-2005: from the Branham hoard.



EDWARD THE ELDER (*cont.*)

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS (*cont.*)

1313 *Badda*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.43g 0°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I). Same dies as **1310–12** and same obv. die as **1314–19**.

1314 *Badda*. Obv. as last. Rev. **BAD / DA MO**. 1.43g (chipped and corroded) 160°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I). Same dies as **1315–16** and **1319** and same obv. die as **1310–13** and **1317–18**.

1315 *Badda*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. as last. 1.47g 0°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I). Same dies as **1314**, **1316** and **1319** and same obv. die as **1310–13** and **1316–18**.

1313 CM.764–2005: from the Brantham hoard.

1314 CM.765–2005: from the Brantham hoard.

1315 CM.762–2005: from the Brantham hoard.

KINGS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

EDWARD THE ELDER (*cont.*)

Horizontal/Two-Line type (cont.)

HT 1 (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoil of pellets above and below.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS (*cont.*)

- 1316 *Badda*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **BAD / DA MO**. 1.47g o°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I). Same dies as **1314–15** and **1319** and same obv. die as **1310–13** and **1317–18**.
- 1317 *Badda*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. as last. 1.30g (bent and chipped) 90°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I). Same dies as **1318** and same obv. die as **1310–16** and **1319**.
- 1318 *Badda*. Obv. **HEADVVEAR[D REX]**. Rev. **BAD / DA MO**. 1.30g (chipped and corroded) 270°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I). Same dies as **1317** and same obv. die as **1310–16** and **1319**.
- 1319 *Badda*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. as last. 1.26g (bent and chipped) o°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I). Same dies as **1314–16** and same obv. die as **1310–13** and **1317–18**.
- 1320 *Badda*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. as last. 1.50g 270°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I). Same rev. die as **1321**.
- 1321 *Badda*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.39g (chipped) 180°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I). Same rev. die as **1320**.
- 1322 *Badda*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **BAD / DA MO**. 1.47g (bent, chipped and corroded) 90°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I).
- 1323 *Badda*. Obv. **[+EAD[VVEARD REX]**. Rev. **[+B]AD / [D]A MO**. 0.79g (fragment) 180°. *CTCE* 82(i) (Late I).
- 1324 *Doda*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **DODA / MONE**. 1.53g (chipped) o°. *CTCE* 151 (Late I or II).

- 1325 *Domenc*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **DOMEN / CES MO**. 1.45g (chipped) 90°. *CTCE* – (Late I) Overstuck.
- 1326 *Gunter*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD RE+**. Rev. **GVNT / ER MO**. 1.64g (bent) 90°. *CTCE* 204 (Late II). Same obv. die as **1327**.
- 1327 *Gunter*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD RE+**. Rev. **GVNL / ER MO**. 1.52g (chipped) 270°. *CTCE* 204 (Late II). Same obv. die as **1326** and same rev. die as **1328**.
- 1328 *Gunter*. Obv. as last. Rev. **GVNL / ER MO**. 1.60g (slightly bent) 270°. *CTCE* 204 (Late II). Same rev. die as **1327**.
- 1329 *Gunter*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **GVNT / ER MO**. 1.56g 180°. *CTCE* 204 (Late II). Same dies as **1330** and **1335**.
- 1330 *Gunter*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.55g (chipped) o°. *CTCE* 204 (Late II). Same dies as **1329** and **1335**.
- 1331 *Gunter*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.53g (chipped) 160°. *CTCE* 204 (Late II).
- 1332 *Gunter*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **GVNT / ER MO**. 1.47g 90°. *CTCE* 204 (Late II). Same dies as **1333**.
- 1333 *Gunter*. Obv. **[HEAD[VVEARD REX]**. Rev. **GVNT / [ER] MO**. 1.07g (chipped) 90°. *CTCE* 221 (Late II). Same dies as **1332**.
- 1334 *Gunter*. Obv. **HEADVVEA[R]D REX**. Rev. **[G]VNT / ER MO**. 1.39g (chipped) 180°. *CTCE* 204 (Late II).
- 1335 *Gunter*. Obv. **HEADVV[EARD REX]**. Rev. **GVNT / [E]R M[O]**. 0.94g (fragment) 270°. *CTCE* 204 (Late II).
- 1336 *Gunter*. Obv. **[+E]A[DVVEARD R]EX**. Rev. **GVN[T] / ER M[O]**. 0.74g (bent fragment) 90°. *CTCE* 204 (Late II).

- 1316 CM.763–2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1317 CM.770–2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1318 CM.769–2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1319 CM.771–2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1320 CM.758–2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1321 CM.767–2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1322 CM.761–2005: from the Branham hoard.

- 1323 CM.772–2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1324 CM.4–2013: ex Lyons (gift); ex Spink sale 214, 26.9.2012, lot 517; possibly from the Branham hoard.
- 1325 CM.773–2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1326 CM.774–2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1327 CM.779–2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1328 CM.775–2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1329 CM.776–2005: from the Branham hoard.

- 1330 CM.777–2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1331 CM.778–2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1332 CM.780–2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1333 CM.3–2013: ex Lyons (gift); ex Spink sale 214, 26.9.2012, lot 516; possibly from the Branham hoard.
- 1334 CM.781–2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1335 CM.782–2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1336 CM.783–2005: from the Branham hoard.



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KINGS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

EDWARD THE ELDER (*cont.*)

Horizontal/Two-Line type (cont.)

HT 1 (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoil of pellets above and below.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS (*cont.*)

- 1337 *Landuc.* Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX.** Rev. **LAND / VC MO.** 1.50g (bent and slightly chipped) 180°. *CTCE* 221 (Late II). Same obv. die as **1338-43**.
- 1338 *Landuc.* Obv. **HEADVVEARD [R]EX.** Rev. **LAND / VC MO.** 1.20g (chipped and corroded) 180°. *CTCE* 221 (Late II). Same obv. die as **1337** and **1339-43**.
- 1339 *Landuc.* Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.47g (chipped) 90°. *CTCE* 221 (Late II). Same dies as **1340** and same obv. die as **1337-8** and **1341-3**.
- 1340 *Landuc.* Obv. **[H]EADVVEARD REX.** Rev. **LAND / VC MO.** 1.29g (chipped) 340°. *CTCE* 221 (Late II). Same dies as **1339** and same obv. die as **1337-8** and **1341-3**.
- 1341 *Landuc.* Obv. as last. Rev. **LAND / VE MO.** 1.44g (chipped) 90°. *CTCE* 221 (Late II). Same obv. die as **1337-40** and **1342-3**.
- 1342 *Landuc.* Obv. **HEA[DVVEA]RD REX.** Rev. **LAND / VC M[O].** 1.27g (chipped) 90°. *CTCE* 221 (Late II). Same obv. die as **1337-41** and **1343**.
- 1343 *Landuc.* Obv. **HEAD[VV]EARD REX.** Rev. **LAND / [V]C MO.** 1.24g (chipped and corroded) 340°. *CTCE* 221 (Late II). Same obv. die as **1337-42**.
- 1344 *Landuc.* (?). Obv. **[HEADVVE]ARD [REX].** Rev. **LA[ND] / [VC MO].** 0.41g (fragment). *CTCE* 221 (Late II).
- 1345 *Pitit.* Obv. **HEADV[VEARD REX].** Rev. **[P]ITIT / [MO]NE.** 0.86g (fragment) 270°. *CTCE* 246 (Late II). Same obv. die as **1346-8** and same rev. die as **1350-1**.
- 1346 *Pitit.* Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX.** Rev. **PITIT / MONE.** 1.50g (slightly chipped) 180°. *CTCE* 246 (Late II). Same dies as **1347**, same obv. die as **1345** and **1348**.
- 1347 *Pitit.* Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.59g (bent) 0°. *CTCE* 246 (Late II). Same dies as **1346**, same obv. die as **1345** and **1348**.

- 1348 *Pitit.* Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.48g 180°. *CTCE* 246 (Late II). Same obv. die as **1345-7** and same rev. die as **1349**.
- 1349 *Pitit.* Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.48g (bent and slightly chipped) 180°. *CTCE* 246 (Late II). Same obv. die as **1350** and same rev. die as **1349**.
- 1350 *Pitit.* Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.49g (slightly bent and chipped) 90°. *CTCE* 246 (Late II). Same rev. die as **1345** and **1351**.
- 1351 *Pitit.* Obv. **HEADV[VEARD] REX.** Rev. **PITIT / [M]O[NE].** 1.20g (chipped) 0°. *CTCE* 246 (Late II). Same rev. die as **1345** and **1350**.
- 1352 *Pitit.* Obv. **HEADVVEARDREX.** Rev. **PITIT / MONE.** 1.50g 0°. *CTCE* 246 (Late II). Same dies as **1353** and same obv. die as **1354-61** and **1363**.
- 1353 *Pitit.* Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX.** Rev. as last. 1.60g 90°. *CTCE* 246 (Late II). Same dies as **1352** and same obv. die as **1354-61** and **1363**.
- 1354 *Pitit.* Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.39g (bent and chipped) 180°. *CTCE* 246 (Late II). Same obv. die as **1352-3**, **1355-61** and **1363**.
- 1355 *Pitit.* Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.52g (slightly chipped) 270°. *CTCE* 246 (Late II). Same obv. die as **1352-4**, **1356-61** and **1363**.
- 1356 *Pitit.* Obv. **[HEADVV]EARD REX.** Rev. **PIT[IT]/ MO[NE].** 0.90g (fragment) 180°. *CTCE* 246 (Late II). Same dies as **1357-61** and **1363**. Same obv. die as **1352-5** and same rev. die as **1362**.
- 1357 *Pitit.* Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX.** Rev. **PITIT / MONE.** 1.50g (bent) 0°. *CTCE* 246 (Late II). Same dies as **1356**, **1358-61** and **1663**. Same obv. die as **1352-5** and same rev. die as **1363**.

1337 CM.784-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1338 CM.790-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1339 CM.785-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1340 CM.788-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1341 CM.786-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1342 CM.787-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1343 CM.789-2005: from the Branham hoard.

1344 CM.1.368-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Mitchell (gift), July 1980.
1345 CM.811-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1346 CM.804-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1347 CM.793-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1348 CM.803-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1349 CM.805-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1350 CM.802-2005: from the Branham hoard.

1351 CM.808-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1352 CM.799-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1353 CM.792-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1354 CM.806-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1355 CM.797-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1356 CM.810-2005: from the Branham hoard.
1357 CM.800-2005: from the Branham hoard.



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KINGS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

EDWARD THE ELDER (*cont.*)

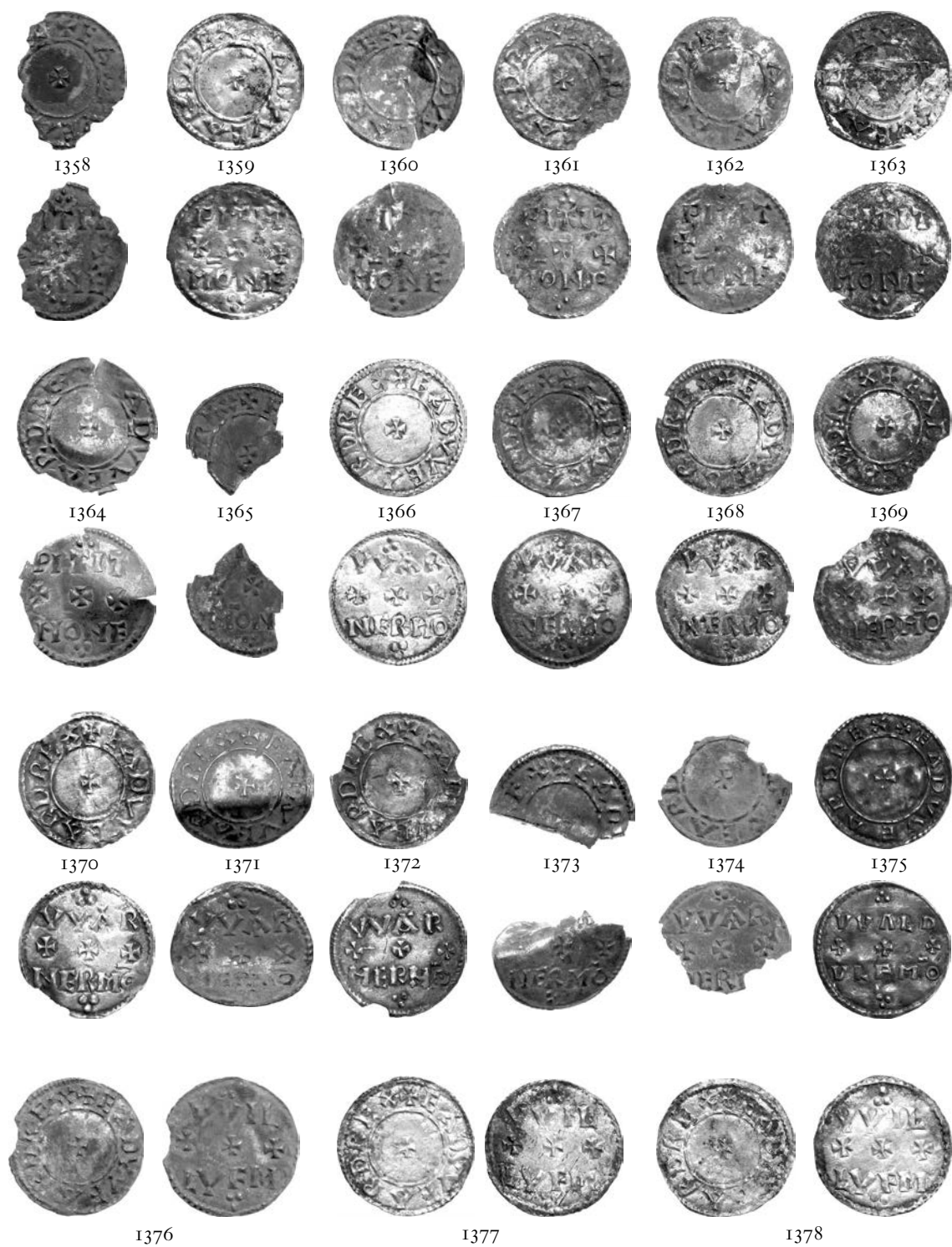
Horizontal/Two-Line type (cont.)

HT 1 (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoil of pellets above and below.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS (*cont.*)

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| 1358 | <i>Pitit.</i> Obv. †EADVVVEA[RD RE]X . Rev. [P]ITIT / MONE . 1.11g (fragment) 180°. <i>CTCE</i> 246 (Late II). Same dies as 1356–7 , 1359–61 and 1363 . Same obv. die as 1352–5 and same rev. die as 1362 . | 1367 | <i>Warner.</i> Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.56g (slightly bent) 315°. <i>CTCE</i> 287 (Late II). Same dies as 1366 and 1368 . |
| 1359 | <i>Pitit.</i> Obv. †EADVVVEARD REX . Rev. PITIT / MONE . 1.56g o°. <i>CTCE</i> 246 (Late II). Same dies as 1356–8 , 1360–1 and 1363 . Same obv. die as 1352–5 and same rev. die as 1362 . | 1368 | <i>Warner.</i> Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.48g (slightly chipped) 340°. <i>CTCE</i> 287 (Late II). Same dies as 1366–7 . |
| 1360 | <i>Pitit.</i> Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.54g (bent and chipped) o°. <i>CTCE</i> 246 (Late II). Same dies as 1356–9 , 1361 and 1363 . Same obv. die as 1352–5 and same rev. die as 1362 . | 1369 | <i>Warner.</i> Obv. as last. Rev. VVAR / MER MO . 1.54g (chipped) 270°. <i>CTCE</i> 287 (Late II). Same obv. die as 1370 . |
| 1361 | <i>Pitit.</i> Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.53g (slightly chipped) o°. <i>CTCE</i> 246 (Late II). Same dies as 1356–60 and 1363 . Same obv. die as 1352–5 and same rev. die as 1362 . | 1370 | <i>Warner.</i> Obv. as last. Rev. VVAR / NER MO . 1.54g (slightly chipped) 180°. <i>CTCE</i> 287 (Late II). Same obv. die as 1369 and same rev. die as 1371 . |
| 1362 | <i>Pitit.</i> Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.50g (slightly bent and chipped) 340°. <i>CTCE</i> 246 (Late II). Same rev. die as 1356–61 and 1363 . | 1371 | <i>Warner.</i> Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.60g (bent) o°. <i>CTCE</i> 287 (Late II). Same rev. die as 1370 . |
| 1363 | <i>Pitit.</i> Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.50g (broken and repaired; corroded) o°. <i>CTCE</i> 246 (Late II). Same dies as 1356–61 . Same obv. dies as 1352–5 and same rev. die as 1362 . | 1372 | <i>Warner.</i> Obv. as last. Rev. VVAR / MER MO . 1.49g (chipped) 70°. <i>CTCE</i> 287 (Late II). |
| 1364 | <i>Pitit.</i> Obv. †EADVVVEARD REX . Rev. as last. 1.37g (bent and chipped) 270°. <i>CTCE</i> 246 (Late II). | 1373 | <i>Warner.</i> Obv. †EAD[VVEA]RD REX . Rev. [VVAR] / NER MO . 1.19g (bent and badly chipped) 180°. <i>CTCE</i> 287 (Late II). |
| 1365 | <i>Pitit.</i> Obv. †E[ADVVEARD] REX . Rev. [P]I[TIT] / MON[E] . 0.82g (bent fragment) 150°. <i>CTCE</i> 246 (Late II). | 1374 | <i>Warner.</i> Obv. [HEAD]VVEARD [REX] . Rev. VVAR / [N]ER [MO] . 0.96g (fragment) 180°. <i>CTCE</i> 287 (Late II). |
| 1366 | <i>Warner.</i> Obv. †EADVVVEARD REX . Rev. VVAR / NER MO . 1.58g 315°. <i>CTCE</i> 287 (Late II). Same dies as 1367–8 . | 1375 | <i>Wældwulf.</i> Obv. †EADVVVEARD REX . Rev. VVALD / VLF MO . 1.53g 100°. <i>CTCE</i> 282 (Late I). |
| | | 1376 | <i>Willuf.</i> Obv. †EADVVVEARD REX . Rev. VVIL / VF M . 1.51g (slightly chipped) 180°. <i>CTCE</i> 293 (Late II). Same obv. die as 1377–82 . |
| | | 1377 | <i>Willuf.</i> Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.53g 120°. <i>CTCE</i> 293 (Late II). Same dies as 1378–82 and same obv. die as 1376 . |
| | | 1378 | <i>Willuf.</i> Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.47g 160°. <i>CTCE</i> 293 (Late II). Same dies as 1377 and 1379–82 and same obv. die as 1376 . |
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|------|---------------------------------------|------|---------------------------------------|------|---|
| 1358 | CM.809–2005: from the Brantham hoard. | 1365 | CM.812–2005: from the Brantham hoard. | 1372 | CM.830–2005: from the Brantham hoard. |
| 1359 | CM.794–2005: from the Brantham hoard. | 1366 | CM.826–2005: from the Brantham hoard. | 1373 | CM.832–2005: from the Brantham hoard. |
| 1360 | CM.795–2005: from the Brantham hoard. | 1367 | CM.827–2005: from the Brantham hoard. | 1374 | CM.833–2005: from the Brantham hoard. |
| 1361 | CM.796–2005: from the Brantham hoard. | 1368 | CM.831–2005: from the Brantham hoard. | 1375 | CM.1.370–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1956; ex Erskine. |
| 1362 | CM.798–2005: from the Brantham hoard. | 1369 | CM.829–2005: from the Brantham hoard. | 1376 | CM.816–2005: from the Brantham hoard. |
| 1363 | CM.801–2005: from the Brantham hoard. | 1370 | CM.828–2005: from the Brantham hoard. | 1377 | CM.814–2005: from the Brantham hoard. |
| 1364 | CM.807–2005: from the Brantham hoard. | 1371 | CM.825–2005: from the Brantham hoard. | 1378 | CM.815–2005: from the Brantham hoard. |



KINGS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

EDWARD THE ELDER (*cont.*)

Horizontal/Two-Line type (cont.)

HT 1 (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoil of pellets above and below.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS (*cont.*)

- 1379 *Willuf*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **VVIL / VF M**. 1.39g (bent and chipped) 300°. *CTCE* 293 (Late II). Same dies as **1377-8** and **1380-82** and same obv. die as **1376**.
- 1380 *Willuf*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.28g (slightly chipped) 180°. *CTCE* 293 (Late II). Same dies as **1377-9** and **1381-2** and same obv. die as **1376**.
- 1381 *Willuf*. Obv. **[HE]ADVVEARD R[EX]**. Rev. **VVI[L] / LVF M**. 1.11g (badly chipped) 0°. *CTCE* 293 (Late II). Same dies as **1377-80** and **1382** and same obv. die as **1376**.
- 1382 *Willuf*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **VVI[L] / LVF M**. 0.85g (fragment) 180°. *CTCE* 293 (Late II). Same dies as **1377-81** and same obv. die as **1376**.
- 1383 *Willuf*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **VVIL / LVF M**. 1.56g (slightly chipped) 180°. *CTCE* 293 (Late II). Same dies as **1384-7**.
- 1384 *Willuf*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.49g 0°. *CTCE* 293 (Late II). Same dies as **1383** and **1385-7**.
- 1385 *Willuf*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. as last. 1.33g (bent and chipped) 0°. *CTCE* 293 (Late II). Same dies as **1383-4** and **1386-7**.
- 1386 *Willuf*. Obv. **[HE]ADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **VVIL / [L]VF M**. 1.13g (badly chipped) 90°. *CTCE* 293 (Late II). Same dies as **1383-5** and **1387**.
- 1387 *Willuf*. Obv. **[HE]ADVVEARD REX**. Rev. as last. 1.21g (slightly bent and badly chipped) 270°. *CTCE* 293 (Late II). Same dies as **1383-6**.

- 1388 *Winegar*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **FINEG / EAR MO**. 1.50g (slightly chipped) 180°. *CTCE* 294 (Late II).
- 1389 *Winegar*. Obv. **[HEADV]VEA[RD REX]**. Rev. **[F]INEG / [EA]R MO**. 0.70g (fragment) 180°. *CTCE* 294 (Late II).
- 1390 *Winel*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **FINEL / MON**. 1.57g (slightly chipped) 70°. *CTCE* – (Late II).
- 1391 *Winel*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.47g (chipped) 180°. *CTCE* – (Late II). Same rev. die as **1392-4**.
- 1392 *Winel*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.56g 260°. *CTCE* – (Late II). Same dies as **1393-4** and same rev. die as **1391**.
- 1393 *Winel*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.43g (chipped) 180°. *CTCE* – (Late II). Same dies as **1392** and **1394** and same rev. die as **1391**.
- 1394 *Winel* (?). Obv. **[HE]ADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **[FINEL] / MON**. 0.53g (fragment). *CTCE* – (Late II). Same dies as **1391-3** and same rev. die as **1391**.

NORTH-WEST MERCA/NORTH-WEST MIDLANDS

- 1395 *Brece*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **BREC / E MO**. 1.45g (slightly chipped) 180°. *CTCE* 118 (Late I).

WESSEX

- 1396 *Clip*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **CLIP M / ONETA**. 1.61g 0°. *CTCE* 132(ii) (Late I).
- 1397 *Ealhstan*. Obv. as last. Rev. **EALHS / TAN MO**. 1.58g 270°. *CTCE* 177(i) (Late I). Same obv. die as *SCBI* 26.138.
- 1398 *Wulfheard*. Obv. as last. Rev. **VVLFE / ARD MO**. 1.59g 270°. *CTCE* 301(i) (Middle II/Late I).

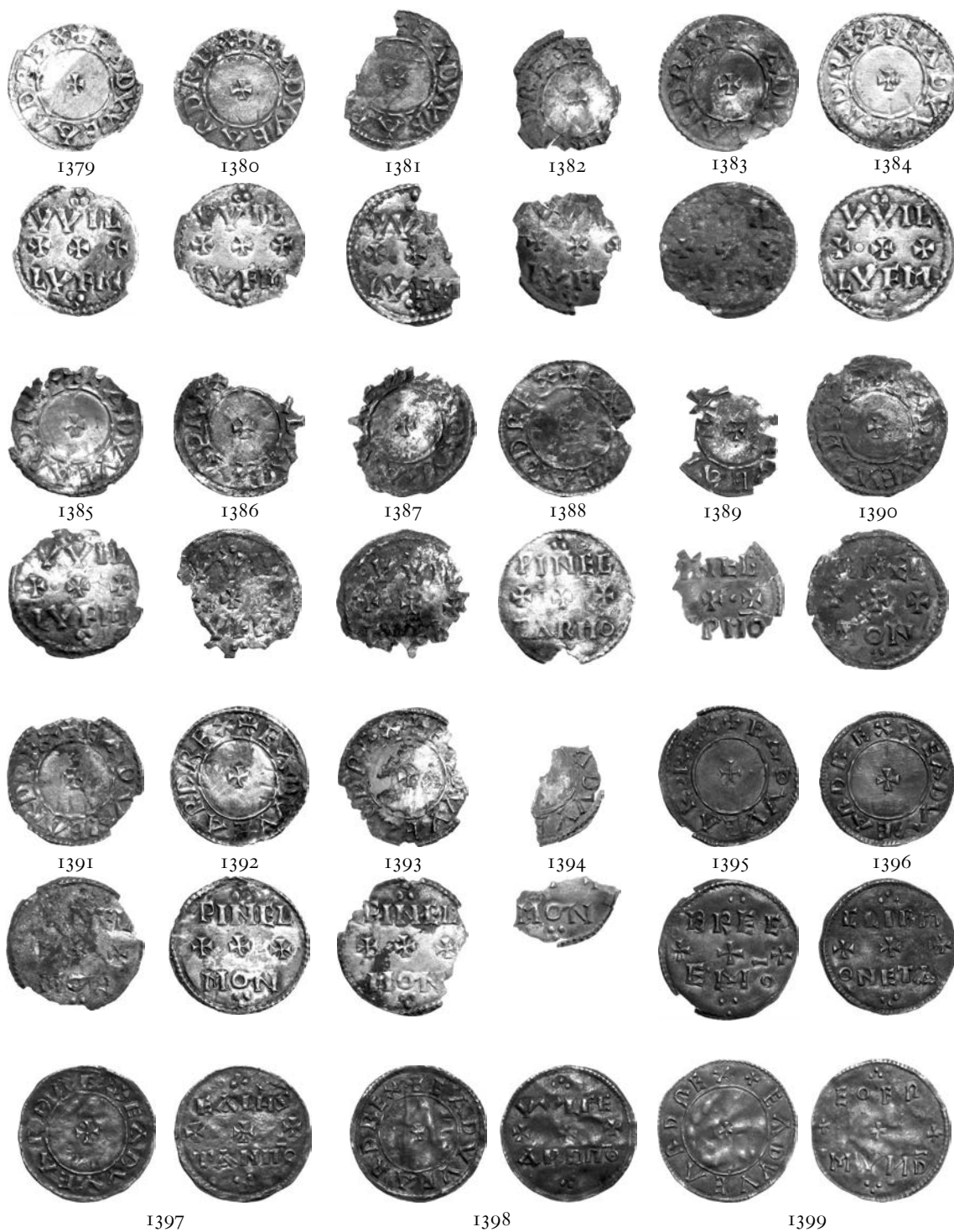
WEST MERCA/WEST MIDLANDS

- 1399 *Eofermund*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **EOFR / MVVD**. 1.59g 180°. *CTCE* 190 (Late I). Same dies as **1400**.

- 1379 CM.818-2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1380 CM.820-2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1381 CM.823-2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1382 CM.824-2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1383 CM.813-2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1384 CM.817-2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1385 CM.819-2005: from the Branham hoard.

- 1386 CM.822-2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1387 CM.821-2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1388 CM.834-2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1389 CM.835-2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1390 CM.836-2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1391 CM.838-2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1392 CM.837-2005: from the Branham hoard.

- 1393 CM.839-2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1394 CM.840-2005: from the Branham hoard.
- 1395 CM.1.366-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1962; ex Lockett 2725.
- 1396 CM.1.367-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1957.
- 1397 CM.6000-2007: ex J. C. Mossop coll.; bt 1959.
- 1398 CM.1.360-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1956; ex Erskine.
- 1399 CM.1.3663-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1956; ex Erskine; ex Grantley 1031.



KINGS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

EDWARD THE ELDER (*cont.*)

Horizontal/Two-Line type (cont.)

HT 1 (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoil of pellets above and below.

WEST MERCIA/WEST MIDLANDS (*cont.*)

- 1400 *Eofermund*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.55g (cracked) 20°. *SCBI* 1.566; *MEC* 1.1377; *CTCE* 190 (Late I). Same dies as **1399**.
 1401 *Osbeorn*. Obv. **[HEADVV]EARD R[EX]**. Rev. **OŠB / [E]AR[N]**. 0.86g (fragment) 180°. *CTCE* 239 (Late I).
 1402 *Wulfæd*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **VVEF / RED MO**. 1.34g 90°. *CTCE* 306 (Late II).

Exceptional obverse types

'Rose'/HM (North 655)

WESSEX

- 1403 *Wulfheard*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**, elaborate floral design in circle. Rev. **VVLFE / ARD MO** in two lines w. cross pommée and three annulets between and triangles above and below. 1.53g 90°. *CTCE* 315(i)(c) (Middle I).

Exceptional reverse types

Church Tower (North 666)

NORTH-WEST MERCIA/NORTH-WEST MIDLANDS

- 1404 *Wulfige*. Obv. **[HEAD]VVEARD RE[X]**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **VV / LF / [ΣI] / GE** on either side of a church tower. 1.11g (chipped) 90°. *MEC* 1.1375A; *CTCE* 324(f) (Middle I).

Hand of God (North 663)

WEST MERCIA/WEST MIDLANDS

- 1405 *Æth(ē)wulf*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **Λ / Ð / V / L F M** on either side of hand of God. 1.62g 270°. *CTCE* 344(e) (Middle II).

Halfpenny (North 664/3)

WEST MERCIA?/WEST MIDLANDS?

- 1406 *Hrothbeorht*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **DEX / TE / HOR / DB / ERHT** in three lines either side of hand of God, superimposed on cross in halo. 0.54g (bent and broken into three pieces) 90°. *CTCE* -. *Dextera* on this coin refers to the right hand of God; it is the only instance of one of the 'exceptional' types carrying a written reference to the design.

One Line (North 656)

Penny

WEST MERCIA?

- 1407 *Wynbeorht*. Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **ƿBERHT O**. 1.58g 0°. *CTCE* 337(i)(b) (Middle I).

For irregular coins in the name of Edward the Elder (many of which were produced under Viking rule), see below **2442–53**.

- 1400 CM.ME.479-R: from Eastwood.
 1401 CM.465-1998: ex Kimberley and Petty 1998; from the Thurstaston hoard (Blackburn 2001b, 10).
 1402 CM.1.371-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1956; ex Erskine; ex Argyll coll.; from Spink.
 1403 CM.1.376-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1962; ex Ryan 753; ex Bruun 76; ex

- Carlyon-Britton 371; ex Astronomer 165; ex Montagu 606; ex Brice coll.; ex Wigan; ex Durrant 20; ex Dimsdale 479.
 1404 CM.3-1985: ex Grierson (gift), 1985; from Spink 5.12.1984; ex Matthews.
 1405 CM.1.375-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961; ex Ryan 749; ex Drabble 403; ex Bruun 80.

- 1406 CM.299-1993: from P. Carter; found Clare, Suffolk 1993 (Blackburn 1993: EMC 1993.5001).
 1407 CM.1.374-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 743; ex Bruun 83; ex Carlyon-Britton 370; ex Montagu 587; ex Brice coll.; ex Bergne 181; ex Cuff 484a; ex Devonshire 177a.



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KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

ÆTHELSTAN, 924/5–39

Abbreviated variant designations in all types follow Blunt (1974), *SCBI* 34 and *CTCE*. All coins are silver pennies unless otherwise stated. For commentary, see Chapter 9, section (j), pp. 201–4.

Horizontal/Two-Line type (North 668)

HB1

- 1408 *Waringod*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN R**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **VVTR / EINGOL** in two lines, w. three crosses between. 1.30g (broken and repaired) 90°. Blunt 1974, 105.

HCT1

- 1409 *Iohannes*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **IOHAN / N MON** in two lines, w. three crosses between, rosette above and cross below. 1.29g 180°. Blunt 1974, 71.

HP1

- 1410 *‘Warcred’*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **ƿAR / CƿED M** in two lines, w. three crosses between and pellet above and below. 1.53g 90°. Blunt 1974, 104.

HQ1

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and quatrefoil of pellets above and below.

NORTH-EAST MERCIA/EAST MIDLANDS (II) (NORTH 668C VAR.)

- 1411 *Herric*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **HERR / IC MON**. 1.43g 90°.
- 1412 *Wæard*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN R†**. Rev. **ƿIAR / D MO†**. 1.46g (chipped) 0°. Blunt 1974, 424.

MERCIA/WESSEX (North 668 var.)

- 1413 *Magnard*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN R†**. Rev. **MAGN / ARD MO**. 1.55g 0°. *SCBI* 1.571; Blunt 1974, 73.
- 1414 *Magnard*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. as last. 1.45g 0°. Blunt 1974, 73.

HQC1

- 1415 *Beornwig*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **BYRNNV / IG MON** (NN ligatured) in two lines, w. three crosses between, cross above and quatrefoil of pellets below. 1.23g 180°. Blunt 1974, 37.

HT1

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoils of pellets above and below.

MERCIA/WESSEX

- 1416 *Ælfræd*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **ÆLFR / ED MO**. 1.53g (chipped) 0°. Blunt 1974, 9.
- 1417 *Ælfstan*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ÆLFST / AN MO**. 1.55g (chipped) 0°. Blunt 1974, 10.
- 1418 *Æthelræd*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ÆÐER / ED MO**. 1.55g 135°. Blunt 1974, 18.
- 1419 *Æthelwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **ÆÐELV / VINE MO**. 1.45g (chipped) 180°. Blunt 1974, 17.
- 1420 *Æthelwulf*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **AÐEL / VLF MO**. 1.54g 0°. Blunt 1974, 15.

1408 CM.1.406–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1957.

1409 CM.1.403–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Mack (exchange) 1966; from Spink 11.12.1962; ex Lockett 2732b; from the Vatican hoard (O'Donovan 1964, no. 507).

1410 CM.1.405–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Lockett 553b.

1411 CM.1.449–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Spink sale 36, 31.5.1984, lot 16; ex Gallwey; ex Stacpoole coll.

1412 CM.1.452–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Mannings 1962; found near Castle Cary, Somerset.

1413 CM.ME.480–R: no provenance.

1414 CM.1.448–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961; ex Lockett 3681c.

1415 CM.1.396–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1964; from Baldwin.

1416 CM.1.385–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1957.

1417 CM.1.386–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1962.

1418 CM.1.389–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961; ex Lockett 3679a.

1419 CM.1.387–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1987.

1420 CM.1.388–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1978.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

ÆTHELSTAN (*cont.*)

Horizontal/Two-Line type (cont.)

HT1 (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoils of pellets above and below.

MERCIA/WESSEX (*cont.*)

- 1421 *Beorngar*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐEL]STAN REX**. Rev. **BERN / GAR MO**. 1.01g (chipped) 270°. Blunt 1974, 30.
 1422 *Beorngar*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐELST]A REX**. Rev. **BE[RN]/ GA[R MO]**. 0.40g (fragment). Blunt 1974, 30.
 1423 *Beor[un]heard (?)*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **BEORA / RD MO**. 1.45g (slightly chipped) 170°. Blunt 1974, 25.
 1424 *Beornhere*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **BYRN / HERE**. 1.46g 90°. Blunt 1974, 36.
 1425 *Bioca*. Obv. as last. Rev. **BIOL / ʌ MOT**. 1.61g 90°. Blunt 1974, 31.
 1426 *Burhhelm*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **BVRHE / HEM MO**. 1.58g 180°. Blunt 1974, 31.
 1427 *Dryhtweald*. Obv. as last. Rev. **DRYHT / VALD MO**. 1.45g 270°. Blunt 1974, 43.
 1428 *Eadmund*. Obv. as last. Rev. **EADM / VND**. 1.66g 90°. SCBI 1.570; Blunt 1974, 46.
 1429 *Earmwulf*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **EARNV / LF MONE**. 1.25g 90°. Blunt 1974, 50.
 1430 *Egðbeorht*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **ECBE / RHT**. 1.39g (chipped, broken and repaired) 0°. Blunt 1974, 51.
 1431 *Folcred*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **FOLCRE / D MONE**. 1.20g (chipped and cracked) 90°. Blunt 1974, 55. Same obv. die as SCBI 34.12.

- 1432 *Garheard*. Obv. as last. Rev. **GARE / ARD MO**. 1.57g 0°. Blunt 1974, 58.
 1433 *Hunlaf*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **HVNL / AF MO**. 1.48g 180°. Blunt 1974, 68.
 1434 *Man*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **MANNA / IONET**; possibly pellet over **M**. 1.38g (chipped) 270°. Blunt 1974, 75.
 1435 *Tila*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐESTLEA REX**. Rev. **TILA M / ONEIA**. 1.43g (chipped) 180°. Blunt 1974, 101.
 1436 *Wigheard*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **VVIH / ARD**. 1.49g 0°. Blunt 1974, 107.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS (I)
(North 668B)

- 1437 *Belci*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐEISTAN REX**. Rev. **BELCI / MONETA**. 1.35g (chipped) 0°. Blunt 1974, 374.
 1438 *Berol*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐELSTAN RE**. Rev. **BEROL / MON**. 1.54g 0°. Blunt 1974, 375.
 1439 *Gota*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐELSTN REX**. Rev. **ƷOTA2 / MONET**. 1.53g 0°. Blunt 1974, 388.
 1440 *Oda*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐELSTAN RE**. Rev. **ODO / MONO**. 1.52g 90°. SCBI 1.572; Blunt 1974, 399.
 1441 *Oda*. Obv. **†Æ[ÐELSTAN RE**. Rev. **ODA M / ONETA**. 1.18g (slightly chipped) 0°. Blunt 1974, 397.

1421 CM.1.391-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961; ex De Vore; ex Rushton 75.
 1422 CM.1.392-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Stewartby (gift) 1973.

1423 CM.1.390-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendining sale 1, 21.2.1957, lot 102.

1424 CM.1.395-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Spink 1966; ex Shand 326(?); ex Walters 55(?); ex Rashleigh 252.

1425 CM.1.393-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961; ex Lockett 3679b; from the Vatican hoard (O'Donovan 1964, no. 491).

1426 CM.1.394-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961; ex Lockett 3679c; from the Vatican hoard (O'Donovan 1964, no. 495).

1427 CM.1.397-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961; ex Lockett 3680; from the Vatican hoard (O'Donovan 1964, no. 498).

1428 CM.5.31-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

1429 CM.1.398-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961; ex Lockett 3680; from the Vatican hoard (O'Donovan 1964, no. 502).

1430 CM.1.399-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lucas 6.

1431 CM.1.400-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Baldwin 1948.

1432 CM.1.401-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Lockett 3681a; from the Vatican hoard (O'Donovan 1964, no. 503).

1433 CM.1.402-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961; ex Lockett 3681b; ex Carlyon-Britton 376.

1434 CM.1.404-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Larsen 19.

1435 CM.1.457-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1957.

1436 CM.1.407-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.

1437 CM.1.438-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961; ex Grantley 1058(a); ex W. Allen 221.

1438 CM.1.439-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Taffs 72.

1439 CM.1.440-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961.

1440 CM.785-1910: from Spink 1910.

1441 CM.1.441-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1957.



I421



I422



I423



I424



I425



I426



I427



I428



I429



I430



I431



I432



I433



I434



I435



I436



I437



I438



I439



I440



I441



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

ÆTHELSTAN (*cont.*)

Horizontal/Two-Line type (cont.)

HT1 (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoils of pellets above and below.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS (I) (*cont.*)

1442 *Saraheard*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN RE**. Rev. **ΣARA / VVARD**. 1.47g 90°. Blunt 1974, 91.

1443 *Thorlaker*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **ÐVRL / †AC MO**. 1.30g (slightly chipped) 315°. Blunt 1974, 99 (with rosettes instead of trefoils). Overstruck on a coin of Louis the Child (899–911), Cologne mint (Blunt 1981).

1444 *Willuf*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN RE**. Rev. **VVIL / LVF M**. 1.47g (chipped) 90°. Blunt 1974, 407.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS (III) (North 668C)

1445 *Æthelnoth*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN RE†**. Rev. **†Ð/EL / NOÐ M**. 1.43g (slightly chipped) 90°.

1446 *Baldric*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **BALDE / RIC MO**. 1.45g 180°. Blunt 1974, 421.

1447 *Smala*. Obv. **ÆÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **ΣMA / ΓA MO**. 1.38g 0°. Blunt 1974, 423.

Halfpenny (North 668/1)

1448 *Clip*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX (NR ligatured)**. Rev. **CLIP / MO (O lozenge-shaped)**. 0.63g (chipped) 180°.

Two-Line/Circumscription mules

Pennies

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend, cross pattée in circle.

LONDON

1449 *Æ[thel]laf*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **†ELLAF MO LVND CIVITT**. 1.39g (slightly chipped) 90°. North 668/672; Blunt 1974, 122.

UNCERTAIN MINT

1450 *Si(ge)gar*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN RE**. Rev. **†SIGARES MOT**. North 668/671; Blunt 1974, 127. 1.52g 0°.

Circumscription type

CC (*with mint name*) (North 672)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend around cross pattée in circle.

CANTERBURY

1451 *Æthelferth*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRIT**. Rev. **†ÆÐELFREÐ MO DOR CIVIT**. 1.57g (double-struck) 0°. Blunt 1974, 131.

CHESTER

1452 *Eadmund*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRT**. Rev. **†ADMVND MO LEG C**; two crescents in rev. field. 1.70g 0°. Blunt 1974, 143.

1453 *Mældomen*. Obv. **ÆÐELSTAN RE† TO BRI**. Rev. **†MÆLDOMEN MO LEG C**. 1.55g 0°. Blunt 1974, 146.

1454 *Mærtten*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BR**. Rev. **†MÆRTTEN MO LEGGE**. 1.46g 180°. Blunt 1974, 147.

1455 *Wulfstan*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRIE**. Rev. **†VVLFSTAN MOIN LEGE CF**. 1.43g (slightly chipped) 90°. *SCBI* 1.573; Blunt 1974, 158.

DERBY

1456 *Beornheard*. Obv. **ÆDELSTAN REX TO BRIT**. Rev. **†BEORNARD ON DEORABV**. 1.57g 270°. Blunt 1974, 161. Same rev. die as *SCBI* 34.74.

1457 *Boga*. Obv. **†ÆDEISTAN RESXVOM**. Rev. **†BOIGA MOT ET DEORADI**. 1.57g 180°. Blunt 1974, 163.

1458 *'Megga'*. Obv. **†ÆDELITAN REX ΣAXORV**; **M** in field. Rev. **MEGGA MOT IN DERABI**. 1.11g 180°. Blunt 1974, 168.

1442 CM.1.442–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Christies sale, 4.11.1986, lot 377; ex Drabble 846a; probably Thorburn 59.

1443 CM.1.451–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1976.

1444 CM.1.443–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1962.

1445 CM.1.446–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Christies (New York) sale 29.6.1984, lot 210.

1446 CM.1.447–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1956.

1447 CM.1.450–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1957.

1448 CM.730–1992: from Spink (exchange) 1992; found Stowting, Kent, 1990 (Blackburn 1993; EMC 1993.5002).

1449 CM.1.408–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Glendining sale 13.10.1960, lot 450; ex Argyll coll.

1450 CM.1.409–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1958; ex Carlyon-Britton 385; ex Rashleigh 253; probably ex Dymock.

1451 CM.1.410–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 3688a; ex Carlyon-Britton 959.

1452 CM.1.412–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1956; ex Erskine.

1453 CM.1.413–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1987; ex Mack (not in sales) (*SCBI* 20, 718); ex Carlyon-Britton 963.

1454 CM.1.414–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Parsons (1954) 142.

1455 CM.ME.481–R: no provenance.

1456 CM.1.415–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1963; ex Bruun 91; ex Carlyon-Britton 384; ex Montagu 609; ex Bateman 297.

1457 CM.1.416–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960.

1458 CM.1.417–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1958; ex Raynes 383; ex Carlyon-Britton 1674; ex Montagu 611; ex Bateman (not in catalogue).



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1461



1462



ÆTHELSTAN (*cont.*)

LEWES

- 1459 *Wilbeald*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TOT BRI**, additional pellet in field. Rev. **†WILEBALD MO LÆ VRB**, additional pellet in field. 1.49g 180°. Peck-marks: o/i (?). Blunt 1974, 181.

LONDON

- 1460 *Ellaf* (*Æthellaf*?). Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TOT BRIT**. Rev. **†ELLAF MONETA LVND CIVIT**. 1.54g 225°. *SCBI* 1.574; Blunt 1974, 185.

- 1461 *Grimweald*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†GRIMFALD MO LVND CIVITT**. 1.52g 30°. Blunt 1974, 188.

SHREWSBURY

- 1462 *Eofermund*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRIT**. Rev. **†EOFRMVND SCROB**. 1.63g 90°. Blunt 1974, 208.

1459 CM.1.418-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1969; from Baldwin; possibly ex Carlyon-Britton 967.

1460 CM.YG.3182-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex O'Gray 272.

1461 CM.1.419-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendining sale 3, 12.5.1959, lot 289.

1462 CM.1.420-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

ÆTHELSTAN (*cont.*)

Circumscription type (cont.)

CC (*with mint name*) (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend around cross pattée in circle.

SHREWSBURY (*cont.*)

- 1463 *Hubald* (*Hygebeald?*). Obv. as last. Rev. **†HV BALD MO SCROB**. 1.65g 270°. Blunt 1974, 210.

SOUTHAMPTON

- 1464 *Frithubeorht*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TOT BRIT**. Rev. **†FRIÐEBRIHT MO AMTVN VRB**. 1.53g (cracked) 135°. Blunt 1974, 213.

WINCHESTER

- 1465 *Æthelwulf*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRIT**. Rev. **†AÐELVLF MO VVIN CIVITA**. 1.59g 180°. Blunt 1974, 226; Biddle 2012a, 7a.

YORK

- 1466 *Reinald*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRIT**; crescent surrounded by pellets in field. Rev. **†REGNALD MO EFORFIC**. 1.62g 135°. *SCBI* 1.575; Blunt 1974, 237.
1467 *Reinald*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRIT**. Rev. **†REGNALD MO EFORFIC**; four pellets in angles of cross. 1.36g 225°. *CCC Catalogue*, 152; Blunt 1974, 237. Same rev. die as *BMC* 13.
1468 *Reinald*. Obv. **†ÆÐELS[TAN REX TO B]RIT**. Rev. **†REGNAL[D MO EFORFIC]**. 0.95g (two fragments) 225°. Blunt 1974, 234.

CC (*double reverse*) (North 672 var.)

Types as last.

YORK

- 1469 *Reinald*. Obv. **†PEGIALD MO EFORFIC**. Rev. **†REGNALD MON EFORFIC**. 1.47g 80°. Blunt 1974, 247.

CC (*without mint name*) (North 671)

Types as last.

- 1470 *Æ(the)lweard*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN RE+ TO BRI**; four pellets in field. Rev. **†ALVVERD MONETA**. 1.32g 0°. Blunt 1974, 249.
1471 *Eadwulf*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TO**. Rev. **†EADVLF MONETA**. 1.52g 0°. *Mægen(f)e(r)th*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX SA+ORV**. Rev. **†MAGENEÐ MOT**. 1.43g (chipped) 270°. Blunt 1974, 252.
1473 *Rihiard*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TOT BRIT**. Rev. **†RIHIARD MONETA**. 1.40g (cracked) 0°. Blunt 1974, 253.

CC/CR (North 681)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend around rosette in circle.

CHESTER

- 1474 *Abba*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BR LE**. Rev. **†ABBA MO IN LEE CF**. 1.51g 30°. Blunt 1974, 326.

1463 CM.1.421-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1964; ex Wells; ex Montagu 123.

1464 CM.1.422-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1966; ex Wells; ex Carlyon-Britton (not in sale); ex W. Allen 237; ex Cuff 511.

1465 CM.1.423-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961; ex Shand 324.

1466 CM.5.32-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 636; ex Shepherd 87.

1467 CM.LS.5513-R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll. 1891; from Rollin & Feuarent 28.12.1876; ex Wigan; ex Cuff 509.

1468 CM. 239-1997: ex Spink (gift).

1469 CM.1.424-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951; ex Wells.

1470 CM.1.425-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1971; ex Lockett 2740.

1471 CM.1.426-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1975.

1472 CM.1.427-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Woking 1972; ex Grantley 1056; ex Evans.

1473 CM.1.428-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970; ex Matthews; ex Grantley 1056; ex Carlyon-Britton; from Spink 8.6.1910; ex Evans; from the Killyon Manor hoard.

1474 CM.1.432-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961.



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ÆTHELSTAN (*cont.*)

CR (North 680)

Obv. legend around rosette in circle. Rev. legend around rosette in circle.

CHESTER

- 1475 *Bogalet*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRT.** Rev. **†BOIGALET MO LEG CF.** 1.57g 45°. Blunt 1974, 348.

HEREFORD

- 1476 *Hunlaf*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX BRT** (Ð reversed). Rev. **†HVVLƿF MO HERFO.** 1.56g 180°. Blunt 1974, 362.

STAFFORD

- 1477 *Eardwulf*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN RE† TO B.** Rev. **†ÆARDELF MON ST.** 1.57g 270°. SCBI 1.577; Blunt 1974, 368.
1478 *Eardwulf*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTANI REX TO BRT.** Rev. **†EARDVLF MO STEF.** 1.42g 45°. Blunt 1974, 368.

CR/CC (North 682)

Obv. legend around rosette in circle. Rev. legend around cross pattée in circle.

CHESTER

- 1479 *Ælfwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BR.** Rev. **†ÆLEVIENE MO LEG E; S** in field. 1.53g 240°. SCBI 1.576; Blunt 1974, 337.
1480 *Wulfstan*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BRT.** Rev. **VVLƿSTAN MO LEGE CF**; annulet in field. 1.39g (cracked) 30°. Blunt 1974, 342.

THELWALL (?)

- 1481 *Mægenferth* (?). Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX O BRIE.** Rev. **†MEGERE-ÐEL NO ON Ð** (retrograde). 1.45g (broken and repaired) 0°. Blunt 1974, 344.

1475 CM.1.435-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960.

1476 CM.1.436-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1964; ex Bagnall coll.

1477 CM.1.54-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

1478 CM.1.437-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1964; ex Bagnall coll.; ex Carlyon-Britton 970.

1479 CM.TR.1960-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex King (gift) 1876.

1480 CM.1.433-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1984 ('from Ireland'); possibly from the Smarmore hoard.

1481 CM.1.434-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1957; ex Wells; ex Nunn 100; ex Montagu 626; ex Durlacher.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

ÆTHELSTAN (*cont.*)

Bust Diademed type (North 670)

BD/CC (*without mint name*)

Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**, diademed bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†HÆREARD MONETA**, cross pattée in circle.

1482 *Garheard*. 1.52g 315°.

Bust Crowned type

Obv. legend around crowned bust r., breaking circle. Rev. legend around cross pattée in circle.

BC (*with mint name*)

LONDON

1483 *Grimweald*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **†GRIMFALD MO LOND EI**. 1.44g 100°. North 675; Blunt 1974, 273.

NORWICH

1484 *Burdell*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **†BVRDEL MO IORÐFIE**. 1.65g 200°. *SCBI* 1.578; North 675; Blunt 1974, 281.

WINCHESTER

1485 *Oric*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BR**; bust within circle. Rev. **†OTIE MONETA VVINCI**; two additional crosses in field. 1.57g 270°. *SCBI* 1.580; North 673; Blunt 1974, 303; Biddle 2012a, 26a.

1486 *Wulfheard*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **†VVLFHEARD MO VVINCI**. 1.61g 0°. *SCBI* 1.579; North 675; Blunt 1974, 306; Biddle 2012a, 30a.

YORK

1487 *Æthelferth*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX T B**. Rev. **†ÆÐELERD MO EFEREC**. 1.56g 90°. North 675; cf. Blunt 1974, 307.

1488 *Reinald*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX TO BR** (starting at 9 o'clock); bust within circle. Rev. **†REGNALD MO EFRPIC**. 1.34g 270°. North 675; Blunt 1974, 309.

BC (*without mint name*)

UNCERTAIN MINT

1489 *Burhhelm*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **†BVRHELM M**. 1.47g 250°. North 673; Blunt 1974, 313.

1490 *Torhthelm*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **†TORHTELM MO**. North 673; Blunt 1974, 325. 1.21g (chipped) 250°.

1482 CM.1.384-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 557; from the Vatican hoard (O'Donovan 1964, no. 517).

1483 CM.1.428a-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1952.

1484 CM.YG.1140-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 393; ex Lake Price 29; ex Murchison 265.

1485 CM.1.53-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart; ex Smith 25; ex Lake Price 28; ex Murchison 264.

1486 CM.5.33-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 628; ex Shepherd 86; ex Devonshire 187.

1487 CM.1.428b-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960.

1488 CM.1.429-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1971; ex Chilvers coll.; ex Erskine; ex Ryan 766; ex Carlyon-Britton (not in sales); ex Beaufoy (not in catalogue).

1489 CM.1.430-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970; from Baldwin; ex Lockett 3684; ex Thorburn 57; ex Montagu 638.

1490 CM.1.431-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Good 1970.

1491 CM.1.453-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959; ex Ryan 767.

1492 CM.5.34-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Bateman 299; from the Scotby hoard.

1493 CM.1.444-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 768; ex Carlyon-Britton 958; ex Rashleigh 250; ex Cuff 492.

1494 CM.1.445-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1956; ex Grantley 1044; ex Montagu 642; ex Brice coll.; ex Bergne 189; ex Murchison 261; ex Martin 26; ex Devonshire 181.

1494A CM.1615-2015: ex Spink sale 228, 25.3.2015, lot 451; from the Ryedale hoard.

1494B CM.1614-2015: ex Spink sale 228, 25.3.2015, lot 451; from the Ryedale hoard.

1494C CM.1616-2015: ex Spink sale 228, 25.3.2015, lot 451; from the Ryedale hoard.

1494D CM.1613-2015: ex Spink sale 228, 25.3.2015, lot 443; from the Ryedale hoard.

1495 CM.1.454-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959; ex Ryan 758; ex Bliss 93; ex Crowther 24.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS (NE III)
(NORTH 686/2)

1491 *Si(ge)weard*. Obv. **†ÆÐELATVN REX** (reading outwards); bust l. Rev. **†RIVERD MONETVN O C**. 1.25g (slightly chipped) 180°. Blunt 1974, 436.

Helmeted Bust/Cross-Crosslet type (North 686)

Obv. legend around helmeted bust r., breaking circle. Rev. legend around cross-crosslet in circle.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS (III)

1492 *Smala*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **†SMALA MONETA**. 1.34g 270°. *SCBI* 1.581; Blunt 1974, 415.

1493 *Smala*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**. Rev. **†MALA MONETA**. 1.42g 180°. Blunt 1974, 416.

1494 *Weard*. Obv. **†ÆÐELSTAN REX**; bust within circle. Rev. **†VIARD+MONETA**. 1.64g 180°. North 686/1; Blunt 1974, 420 (bust in circle).

'Church' type (North 683)

With mint signature

YORK

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. mint name either side of church, w. moneyer's name in two lines below beneath line.

1494A *Reinald*. Obv. **†[AEDLSTA]N R[EX]**. Rev. **[EB / OR /] ÆC / ÆC / [R]EGNALD / MON**. 0.83g (fragment) 270°. Blunt 1974, 438.

1494B *Reinald*. Obv. **†[AEDLS]TAN R[EX]**. Rev. **[EB / [OR /] ÆC / [ÆC] / [REGNALD / MON]**. 0.42g (fragment) 180°. Blunt 1974, 438.

1494C *Reinald*. Obv. **†[AEDLSTA]N RX**. Rev. **[EB / OR / ÆC / ÆC / REG]NALD / MON**. 0.36g (fragment) 270°. Blunt 1974, 438.

Without mint signature (probably York?)

Obv. **†AEDLSTAN REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend below line, w. church with trefoils of pellets above.

1494D *Etram* (*or Martin retrograde?*). Obv. **†AEDELS[TAN] REX**. Rev. **D / IS / ETRAM / MO**; legend begins either side of church. 1.05g (fragment) 180°. Blunt 1974, 440.

1495 *Wyltsige*. Obv. **†AEDLSTAN REX**. Rev. **†VYLTISIG**. 1.39g 315°. Blunt 1974, 443.



1482



1483



1484



1485



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1490



1491



1492



1493



1494



1494A



1494B



1494C



1494D



1495



1496



1497



1498



1499



ÆTHELSTAN (*cont.*)

Irregular types with blundered inscriptions

CC (North 672 var.)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend around cross pattée in circle.

1496 Obv. **ÆDELSTAN RE SΛXORVM**. Rev. **ÆFE MONTA LVND CIVITT**. 1.39g (cracked) 180°. Blunt 1974, 461.

1497 Obv. **Æ-ÐISTAN RE+ TOT BRIT**. Rev. **Æ-ÐELSTAN RE+ TO BRIT**. 1.16g 90°. Blunt 1974, 475.

1498 Obv. **HERNATSNE+TIINDTOT**. Rev. **ÆIΛITITOTLDERVBVI**. 1.25g (slightly chipped) 0°. Blunt 1974, 484.

1499 Obv. **ÆEBIATCIEIÆ**. Rev. **ÆICIVITIERABI**. 1.55g (slightly chipped) 0°. Blunt 1974, 481–90.

1496 CM.1.458–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1960; ex Lockett 3688b; ex Miller 79.

1497 CM.1.459–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 762.

1498 CM.1.460–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Argyll coll.

1499 CM.1.461–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970; ex Lindsay 58; from the Tipperary hoard.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

ÆTHELSTAN (*cont.*)

Irregular types with blundered inscriptions (cont.)

CC (*cont.*)

- 1500 Obv. **†TOREDELASTAA** REX. Rev. **†EACSTAN MO VINC.** 1.13g (chipped) 180°. Blunt 1974, 500.
 1501 Obv. **†ITÆDELSTAN RE.** Rev. **IAICAI VVONELIV.** 1.49g 0°. Blunt 1974, 509.
 1502 Obv. **†EDELSTAN REX TO.** Rev. **†REMECIMONIO.** 1.30g 270°. Blunt 1974, 510.

CC/CR (North 681 var.)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend around rosette in circle.

- 1503 Obv. [**ENDE**] **HTMOI** []. Rev. **†HTMON** [] **ROB.** 0.88g (fragment) 270°. Blunt 1974, 496.

HT 1 (North 668 var.)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoils of pellets above and below.

- 1504 Obv. **†EDEESTAN RE.** Rev. **GNN / NER.** 1.45g 90°. Blunt 1974, 449.
 1505 Obv. **†LIAVI NO LOND EI.** Rev. **EIEDO / EDMO** (retrograde). 1.20g (chipped) 270°. Blunt 1974, 450.

EDMUND, 939–46

Abbreviated variant designations in all types follow *SCBI* 34 and *CTCE*. All coins are silver pennies unless stated otherwise. For commentary, see Chapter 9, section (k), pp. 204–5.

Horizontal/Two-Line type

HB1 (North 690)

- 1506 *Æthelwine*. Obv. **†EADMVND REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **ÆDEL / FINE M** in two lines, w. three crosses between. 1.38g (chipped) 0°. *CTCE* 107.

HC1 (North 692)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and crosses above and below.

- 1507 *Æthelsige*. Obv. **†EADMVND REX**. Rev. **EDELS / IGE MO.** 1.30g (slightly chipped) 0°. *CTCE* 130.
 1508 *Leofing*. Obv. **†EADMVND REX**. Rev. **LIAFI / NE MO.** 1.40g (cracked) 90°. *CTCE* 132.

HQ1 (HM var.) (North 692/3)

NORTH-EAST MERCIA/EAST MIDLANDS (II)

- 1509 *Gis*. Obv. **†EADMVND REX T**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **GIS / MONE** in two lines, w. three crosses between and quatrefoil of pellets above and below. 1.37g 180°. *CTCE* 237.

HR1 (*with mint signature*) (North 692 var.)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and rosette above and below.

DERBY

- 1510 *Afra*. Obv. **†EADMVND REX** (retrograde). Rev. **AFRA / II DER.** 1.46g 180°. *CTCE* 243.

HR1 (*without mint signature*) (North 691)

- 1511 *Ælfferth*. Obv. **EADMVND REX**. Rev. **ELFERÞ / MONET.** 1.29g (slightly chipped) 0°. *CTCE* 193. Same obv. die as *SCBI* 34.446 (moneyer Sigar) and Glendining 19.6.1990, lot 448 (moneyer Beornheard).
 1512 *Ælfweald*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ÆLFV / ALD M.** 1.56g 90°. *SCBI* 1.582; *CTCE* 170.
 1513 *Amundr*. Obv. **†EADMVND RE†**. Rev. **AMVN / DES MOT.** 1.34g 330°. *CTCE* 177.
 1514 *Eadmund*. Obv. **†EADMVND RE.** Rev. **EADM / VND.** 1.45g 255°. *SCBI* 1.583 *CTCE* 190.
 1515 *Eadstan*. Obv. **EADMVND REX**. Rev. **EADS / TANO.** 1.32g (pierced) 180°. *CTCE* 191.

1500 CM.1.463–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bennett 618.

1501 CM.1.464–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Oman 30; ex Carlyon–Britton 978.

1502 CM.1.465–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1957.

1503 CM.1.462–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970; from Baldwin.

1504 CM.1.455–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1967; ex Grantley 1057; ex Briggs 1893.

1505 CM.1.456–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1973; ex Bennett 619; ex Carlyon–Britton 1684.

1506 CM.1.477–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1985; ex Davidson coll.

1507 CM.1.478–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951; ex Wells.

1508 CM.1.479–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1962.

1509 CM.1.498–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1962; possibly ex Carlyon–Britton 1689b; ex Evans; from the Killyon Manor hoard.

1510 CM.1.486–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex *NCirc* 58 (1950), no. 2882; ex Manton; ex Carlyon–Britton 992; ex Ailesbury 1.

1511 CM.1.488–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Passmore 113.

1512 CM.5.40–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

1513 CM.1.487–1990: ex Blunt coll.

1514 CM.YG.3183–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex O'Gray 272.

1515 CM.334–1958: ex Lockett 2742; ex Grantley 1063.



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EDMUND, 939–46 (*cont.*)

HR1 (*without mint signature*) (North 691) (*cont.*)

1516 *Mældomen*. Obv. [E]ADMVND REX. Rev. M/Æ[L]D / OMEN. 1.34g (badly chipped and cracked) o°. CTCE 206.

1517 *Mældomen*. Obv. [EADMVN]D REX. Rev. M/Æ[LD] / [OMEN]. 0.36g (fragment). CTCE 206. Same dies as Carlyon–Britton 991.

1518 *Man*. Obv. ~~HEADMAND RE~~ (retrograde). Rev. MΛMΛ / MOMET. 1.24g (chipped) 90°. CTCE 209.

1519 *Mægræd*. Obv. ~~HEADMVND REX~~. Rev. MEGR / ED MO. 1.49g 270°. CTCE 210.

1520 *Oswine*. Obv. ~~HEADMVND RE~~. Rev. OSVIN / E MON. 1.59g (slightly chipped) 120°. CTCE 214.

1516 CM.1.489–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1973.

1517 CM.540–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Mitchell (gift) 1980.

1518 CM.1.490–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Seaby 1952; ex Argyll coll.

1519 CM.1.491–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1955.

1520 CM.1.492–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1984.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDMUND (*cont.*)

HR1 (*without mint signature*) (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and rosette above and below.

- 1521 *Othelric*. Obv. **†EADMVND REI†**. Rev. **ODELRI / CES MOT**. 1.33g (chipped) 330°. *CTCE* 215.
 1522 *Sige(gar)*. Obv. **†EADMVND RE†**. Rev. **SIHAREI / MONETA**. 1.19g (chipped; broken and repaired) 270°. *CTCE* 219.
 1523 *Sigeweald*. Obv. **†EADMVND RE†**. Rev. **ΣIG[FOL] / DES [MO]**. 0.68g (cut halfpenny) 270°. *CTCE* 220.
 1524 *Wilsige*. Obv. **EADMVND REX**. Rev. **VVILS / IG MO**. 1.38g 90°. *CTCE* 228. Same rev. die as *CTCE* pl. 14, 181.
 1525 *Wulfstan*. Obv. **†EADMVND REX**. Rev. **VVLFS TAN M (NM ligatured)**. 1.51g (cracked) 45°. *CTCE* 231.

HT1 (*with 'mint signature'*) (North 688 var.)

YORK

- 1526 *Ingelgar*. Obv. **†EADMVND REX EB**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **INCEL / GAR MO** in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoil of pellets above and below. 1.42g 0°. *CTCE* 166 var.

HT1 (*without mint signature*) (North 688)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoil of pellets above and below.

MERCIA/WESSEX

- 1527 *Ælfweald*. Obv. **†EADMVND RE**. Rev. **ALVVLED / MONETA**. 1.31g 120°. *CTCE* 6.

- 1528 *Æthelwine*. Obv. **†EADMVND RE**. Rev. **ΛÐEL / VVINE**. 1.38g 270°. *CTCE* 11.
 1529 *Ceolbeorht*. Obv. **†[EA]DMVND REX**. Rev. **CIALBE / RHT MO**. 1.03g (fragment) 180°. *CTCE* 28.
 1530 *Cristin*. Obv. **†EADMVND RE**. Rev. **CRIZT / IN MEO**. 1.23g 90°. *CTCE* 30.
 1531 *Eadric*. Obv. **†EADMVND REX**. Rev. **EADR / IC MO†**. 1.61g 90°. *CTCE* 37.
 1532 *‘Efeireos’*. Obv. **†EADMVND RE**. Rev. **EFEI / REOS**. 1.41g 270°. *CTCE* 40.
 1533 *Engelberd*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ENGLB / ERD MO**. 1.15g 270°. *CTCE* 43.
 1534 *Eroth*. Obv. **†EADMVND R**. Rev. **EROD / MON**. 1.01g 270°. *CTCE* 46.
 1535 *Fulrad*. Obv. **†EADMVND RE†**. Rev. **FVLR / ʌD MO**. 1.45g 90°. *SCBI* 1.584; *CTCE* 48.
 1536 *Goding*. Obv. **†EADMVND R†**. Rev. **GODIN / MOTI**. 1.32g 180°. *CTCE* 50.
 1537 *Grimweald*. Obv. **†EADMVND REX**. Rev. **GRIMV / VALD M**. 1.59g 90°. *SCBI* 1.585; 1867 *Catalogue*, 20; *CTCE* 52.
 1538 *Man*. Obv. **†EADMVND RE**. Rev. **MAN / NA MO**. 1.38g 0°. *CTCE* 65.
 1539 *Regenweald*. Obv. **†EADMVND REX**. Rev. **R/EE / NOLD M**. 1.53g 180°. *CTCE* 77. Same dies as *SCBI* 34.331.
 1540 *Wigheard*. Obv. **†EADMVND RET**. Rev. **FIGE / ARD I**. 1.46g 180°. *SCBI* 1.587; *CTCE* 92.
 1541 *Wigheard*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ΠΙΓΕΛ / RD MO**. 1.18g (slightly chipped) 0°. *CTCE* 92 var.

- 1521 CM.1.493-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendining sale 1, 21.2.1957, lot 103.
 1522 CM.1.539-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1963.
 1523 CM.1.495-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1975; from Baldwin.
 1524 CM.1.494-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Noble sale 12.12.1975, lot 394; ex Wills.
 1525 CM.333-1958: ex Lockett 2742; ex Bascom 65.
 1526 CM.1.485-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 3695; ex Bruun 104; ex Montagu 656.
 1527 CM.1.466-1990: ex Blunt coll.
 1528 CM.1.467-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1962.

- 1529 CM.1.468-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.
 1530 CM.1.469-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1955; ex Ryan 769b.
 1531 CM.1.470-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1958.
 1532 CM.1.471-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970; ex Matthews; ex Carlyon-Britton (not in sale); ex Evans; from the Killyon Manor hoard.
 1533 CM.331-1958: ex Lockett 2742; ex Grantley 1063.
 1534 CM.1.472-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1964.

- 1535 CM.ME.482-R: no provenance.
 1536 CM.1.473-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Spink sale 27, 16.3.1983, lot 194.
 1537 CM.ME.483-R: ex Vansittart (gift) c. 1865.
 1538 CM.332-1958: ex Lockett 2742; ex *NCirc* 14 (1906), no. 25097.
 1539 CM.1.474-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961.
 1540 CM.1.55-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.
 1541 CM.1.475-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Vecchi sale 10.10.1983, lot 563.



1521



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1541

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDMUND (*cont.*)

HT1 (*without mint signature*) (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoil of pellets above and below.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS (I)

- 1542 'Amelinc'. Obv. **†EADMVND RE**. Rev. **AME** / **LINL**. 1.45g 270°. *CTCE* 139.
 1543 *Are*. Obv. **†EADMVND RE**. Rev. **ARE M** / **ONETA** (retrograde). 1.53g 180°. *CTCE* 140.
 1544 *Baciager*. Obv. as last. Rev. **BACI** / **ΛΓER**. 1.36g 0°. *CTCE* 143.
 1545 *Domensc*. Obv. **†EADMVND REX**. Rev. **DOMEN** / **CES MO**. 1.57g 0°. *CTCE* 148.
 1546 *Farman*. Obv. **†EADMVND RE**. Rev. **FARA** / **MAN**. 1.49g 90°. *CTCE* 154.

YORK

- 1547 *Ingelgar*. Obv. **†EADMVND REX B**. Rev. **INGEL** / **GAR MO**. 1.42g 90°. *SCBI* 1.586; *CTCE* 167.

HTP1 (North 688)

- 1548 *Hunsige*. Obv. **†EADMVND REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **HVNΣI** / **GE MO** in two lines, w. three crosses between, trefoil of pellets above and pellet below. 1.45g (cracked) 90°. *CTCE* 106/1.

R/HR4 (North 701)

Obv. legend around rosette in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three rosettes between, and rosette above and below.

- 1549 *Amundr*. Obv. **†EADMVND REX**. Rev. **AMVN** / **DEZ MO**. 1.48g (slightly chipped) 30°. *CTCE* 232.
 1550 *Wærlaf*. Obv. **†EADMVND RE†**. Rev. **ƿERL** / **ΛF MOT**. 1.38g 0°. *CTCE* 234.

Bust Crowned type

Obv. legend around bust r., breaking circle. Rev. legend around cross pattée in circle.

BC (*with mint-signature*) (North 698)

BEDFORD (?)

- 1551 *Boe*. Obv. **†EADMVND REX**. Rev. **†BOE MONETA BI**. 1.42g 135°. *CTCE* 257.

BC (*without mint-signature*) (North 697)

EAST ANGLIA/EAST MIDLANDS

- 1552 *Bosa*. Obv. **†EADMVND RE**. Rev. **†BOΣV MONETV**. 1.52g (slightly chipped) 270°. *CTCE* 261.
 1553 *Clac*. Obv. **†EADMVND RE†**. Rev. **†ELAC MONE MONEX**. 1.54g 90°. *CTCE* 263. Same obv. die as **1555** and *SCBI* 34.489.
 1554 *Fredard*. Obv. **†EADMVN REX**. Rev. **†FREDARD MONEIT**. 1.52g 180°. *SCBI* 1.588; *CTCE* 266.
 1555 *Fugel*. Obv. **†EADMVND RE†**. Rev. **†FVEEL MONEII**. 1.56g 270°. *CTCE* 267. Same obv. die as **1553** and *SCBI* 34.489.

BC var. (*helmeted*) (North 704)

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS?

- 1556 *Ælfæd*. Obv. **†EADMVND RX** around helmeted bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **†ALFRED MONET**, cross-crosslet in circle. 1.11g 90°. *CTCE* 271.

Irregular types with blundered inscriptions

HT1

Obv. **[†EΛ]DM[VND REX]** (retrograde), cross pattée in circle. Rev. **[]** / **[]ED** in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoil of pellets above and below.

- 1557 *Uncertain moneyer*. 0.32g (fragment of a cut half).

- 1542 CM.1.480-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1951; ex Wells.
 1543 CM.1.481-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1957.
 1544 CM.1.482-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1956; ex Lockett 579.
 1545 CM.1.483-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1955; ex Lockett 579; ex Watters 60; ex Rashleigh 258; Rashleigh catalogue states that it was 'found at St Austell[, Cornwall]'.
 1546 CM.1.484-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 3695; ex Bruun 103; ex Carlyon-Britton 402.
 1547 CM.ME.484-R: no provenance.

- 1548 CM.1.476-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Ibsted 1984; found near Lewes, East Sussex.
 1549 CM.1.496-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Ryan 770; possibly ex Carlyon-Britton 406; ex Evans.
 1550 CM.1.497-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Ryan 770.
 1551 CM.1.499-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1971; found near King's Lynn, Norfolk, c. 1939.
 1552 CM.1.500-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1967; ex Grantley 1059; ex Lawrence.
 1553 CM.1.501-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1963; ex Simpson; ex Carlyon-Britton 1685; ex Rashleigh 255.

- 1554 CM.5.39-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 658; ex Shepherd 87; found near Ixworth, Suffolk.
 1555 CM.1.502-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959; ex Ryan 772.
 1556 CM.1.503-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1956; ex Erskine; ex Ryan 773; ex Thorburn 60; ex Montagu 657; ex Marsham 174.
 1557 CM.2819-1987: loan from Huntingdonshire Local History Society, 21.7.1987; found in excavations of Huntingdon Castle ramparts, Cambridgeshire, 1974 (Blackburn and Bonser 1984, no. 13; EMC 1984.0013).



1542



1543



1544



1545



1546



1547



1548



1549



1550



1551



1552



1553



1554



1555



1556



1557



1558



1559



1560



1561



1562



EADRED, 946–55

Abbreviated variant designations in all types follow *SCBI* 34 and *CTCE*. For commentary, see Chapter 9, section (I), pp. 205–6.

Horizontal/Two-Line type

HP1 (North 705)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and pellet above and below.

1558 *Regenweald*. Obv. **OEADRED REX**; pellet in circle. Rev. **REG / NOLD**. 1.42g (cracked) 180°. *CTCE* 83.

1559 *Wighelm*. Obv. **HEADRED REX**. Rev. **FIGE / LM MO**. 1.61g 180°. *CTCE* 84.

HR1 (North 707)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and rosette above and below.

1560 *Æthelferth*. Obv. **EADRED REX**. Rev. **EPÆL / FERT**. 1.35g 270°. *CTCE* 136/1.

1561 *Æthelnoth*. Obv. as last. Rev. **EPÆL / NA-Ð**. 1.06g 90°. *CTCE* 104.

1562 *Æthelnoth*. Obv. as last, but w. **M** in field. Rev. as last. 1.03g 180°. *CTCE* 103.

1558 CM.1.519–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1955.

1559 CM.1.520–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1971; from Baldwin.

1560 CM.1.533–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 19.7.1984, lot 117.

1561 CM.1.528–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1957.

1562 CM.1.527–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Baldwin 1975.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EADRED (*cont.*)

Horizontal/Two-Line type (cont.)

HR1 (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and rosette above and below.

- 1563 *Baldric*. Obv. **†EADRED REX**; **S** in field. Rev. **BALDR** / **IC MOE**. CTCE 115. 1.16g 90°.
- 1564 *Boga*. Obv. **†EADRED RE†**. Rev. **BOIGAI** / **MYNET**. 1.39g 90°. CTCE 121.
- 1565 *Domenc*. Obv. **†EADRED REX ZAXORV**. Rev. **DEMEN** / **EC MOT**. 1.53g 270°. CTCE 124.
- 1566 *Dudeman*. Obv. **EADRED REX**. Rev. **DVDEMA** / **NES MOT**. 1.21g (chipped) 180°. CTCE 126.
- 1567 *Dudig* (?). Obv. **†EADRED RE**. Rev. **CVDI** / **D MO**. 1.32g 0°. SCBI 1.590; CTCE 123.
- 1568 *Hildulfr*. Obv. **†EADRED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **HILDV** / **LF MON**. 1.66g 0°. CTCE 143.
- 1569 *Ingelgar*. Obv. **†EADRED RE**. Rev. **INGEL** / **GR MO**. 1.20g 270°. CTCE 145.
- 1570 *Ondres*. Obv. **†EADRED REX S**. Rev. **ONDRE** / **SE MOT**. 1.15g (chipped) 180°. SCBI 1.592; CTCE 153.
- 1571 *Riculf*. Obv. **†EADRED RE**. Rev. **RIEVL** / **F MON**. 1.21g 45°. CTCE 169/1.
- 1572 *Skurfa*. Obv. **†EADRED RE†**. Rev. **SEYR** / **VΛ MO**. 1.49g 0°. CTCE 171.
- 1573 *Si(ge)gar*. Obv. **†EADRED RE†**. Rev. **SIGAR** / **ES MOT**. 1.21g 270°. CTCE 172.
- 1574 *Theodmar*. Obv. **†EADRED [REX]**. Rev. **DEODM** / **AER M**. 0.81g (fragment) 0°.

HR2 (North 708)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. cross and two annulets between and rosette above and below.

- 1575 *Gillaisu*. Obv. **EADRED RE†**. Rev. **GILY** / **Z MO**. 1.63g 90°. CTCE 197.
- 1576 *Teothnæd*. Obv. **EADRED REX**. Rev. **TEOÐ** / **RED M**. 1.46g 90°. CTCE 201.
- 1577 *Thormothr*. Obv. **†EADRED REX**. Rev. **ÐRMO** / **DE MO**. 1.57g 225°. SCBI 1.594; CTCE 203.
- 1578 *Thormothr*. Obv. **†E[Λ]DR[ED] RE**. Rev. **ÐVRMO** / **[D MO]**. 1.17g (corroded and broken) 0°. CTCE 203.
- 1579 *Wulfstan*. Obv. **†EADRED MON**. Rev. **VVLF** / **STAN**. 1.53g (slightly chipped) 180°. CTCE 208.

HR var. (North 708)

Obv. **†EADRED RE†**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **EADM** / **VND W** in two lines, w. cross and two ~-like motifs between and rosette above and below.

- 1580 *Eadmund*. 1.47g (cracked) 0°. CTCE 217.

HT1 (North 706)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoil of pellets above and below.

- 1581 *Ælffferth*. Obv. **†EADRED RE†**. Rev. **ÆLVE** / **RD M**. 1.19g 0°. CTCE 6.
- 1582 *Beorhtwulf*. Obv. **†EADRED REX**. Rev. **BIORH** / **TVLF M**. 1.52g 180°. CTCE 15.
- 1583 *Bese*. Obv. **†EADRED RE**. Rev. **BESE** / **MONT**. 1.35g 180°. SCBI 1.589; CTCE 14.

1563 CM.1.529-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1966; ex Wells; ex Carlyon-Britton 1002; ex Witte 56.

1564 CM.1.530-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960.

1565 CM.1.531-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1955; ex Lockett 593; ex Rashleigh 264; ex Carlyon-Britton 1099.

1566 CM.1.532-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960.

1567 CM.ME.485-R: no provenance.

1568 CM.1.534-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 3689c; ex Evans; from the Killyon Manor hoard.

1569 CM.1.535-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1957.

1570 CM.YG.3184-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex O'Gray 272.

1571 CM.1.536-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Vecchi 10.10.1983.

1572 CM.1.537-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1955.

1573 CM.1.538-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961.

1574 CM.240-1997: from Spink (gift).

1575 CM.1.541-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1956.

1576 CM.1.542-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1957.

1577 CM.ME.486-R: no provenance.

1578 CM.241-1997: from Spink.

1579 CM.1.543-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Spurway 99.

1580 CM.1.544-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960.

1581 CM.1.504-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1967; ex Grantley 1072.

1582 CM.1.505-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961; ex Winstanley.

1583 CM.786-1910: from Spink 1910.



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EADRED (*cont.*)

Horizontal/Two-Line type (*cont.*)

HT1 (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoil of pellets above and below.

- 1584 *Cristin*. Obv. **†EADRED REX O**. Rev. **CRIZT / IN MEO**. 0.85g (chipped) 15°. CTCE 20.
 1585 *Frodgar*. Obv. **†EADRED REX**. Rev. **FROD / GAR M**. 1.22g (chipped and cracked) 0°. CTCE 32.
 1586 *Gundferth*. Obv. **†EADRED RE† O**. Rev. **GVND / FERÐ**. 1.17g (slightly chipped) 180°. CTCE 36.
 1587 *Heremod*. Obv. **†EADRED REX**. Rev. **HERE / MOD MO**. 1.30g 270°. CTCE 38.
 1588 *Herewig*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HERE / FIG MO**. 1.19g (chipped) 0°. CTCE 39.
 1589 *Ingalbert*. Obv. **†EADRED RE**. Rev. **INGELB / ERD MOT**. 1.19g (chipped) 90°. CTCE 42/1.
 1590 *Leofstan*. Obv. **†EADRED REX**. Rev. **LEOFŠ / TAN M**. 1.22g 270°. SCBI 1.591; CTCE 47.
 1591 *Randulf*. Obv. **†EADRED REX**. Rev. **RAN** (inverted) / **DVLF**. 1.38g (slightly chipped) 200°. CTCE 58.
 1592 *Thorfrithr*. Obv. **†EADRED REX**. Rev. **ÐVRF / ERÐ MO**. 1.07g (broken and repaired) 0°. CTCE 64.
 1593 *Unbein*. Obv. **EADRED RE†**. Rev. **UNBE / IN MO**. 1.41g (chipped) 270°. CTCE 66.
 1594 *Waringod*. Obv. **†EADRED RE†**. Rev. **FAREN / GOD MO**. 1.17g (chipped) 180°. CTCE 68/1.
 1595 *Wulfsgie*. Obv. **†EADRED REX**. Rev. **FVLV / ZIGE M**. 1.63g 0°. CTCE 73.
 1596 *Wynhelm*. Obv. as last. Rev. **FYNHE / LM MO** (NH ligatured). 1.37g 0°. CTCE 74.

- 1584 CM.1.506-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951; ex Baldwin; ex Wells; ex Walters 64.
 1585 CM.1.507-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1956.
 1586 CM.1.509-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951; ex Wells; ex H. Clark 16.
 1587 CM.1.508-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1956; ex Erskine.
 1588 CM.1.510-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1964; ex North.
 1589 CM.1.511-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1939; from the Smarmore hoard.
 1590 CM.44-1942: ex Smith (gift) 1942.

- 1591 CM.1.512-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1955.
 1592 CM.1.513-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1966; ex Wells; ex Carlyon-Britton 1697; ex Evans.
 1593 CM.1.514-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1956.
 1594 CM.1.515-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Spurway 95.
 1595 CM.1.516-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1957.
 1596 CM.1.517-1990: ex Blunt coll.
 1597 CM.1.522-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from the Tetney hoard.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS

- 1597 *Hunrad*. Obv. **†EADRED REX**. Rev. **HVNR / ED MO**. 1.39g 90°. CTCE 96.
 1598 *Hunrad*. Obv. **†EADRED REX 2**. Rev. as last. 1.23g 135°. CTCE 96.
 1599 *Theodmar*. Obv. **†EADRED REX H**. Rev. **ÐEODM / AER M**. 45° 1.53g. SCBI 1.593; CTCE 98.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS (I)

- 1600 *Sperling*. Obv. **†EADRED RE**. Rev. **SPER / LIWC**. 1.19g (chipped) 270°. CTCE 92.

YORK

- 1601 *Hereger*. Obv. **†EADRED REX CI**. Rev. **ÆRIC / ER MO**. 1.24g (chipped) 180°. CTCE 99.
 1602 *Ingelgar*. Obv. **†EADRED REX**. Rev. **INGEL / GAR MO**. 1.47g 0°. CTCE 100.

HTQ1 (North 706)

Obv. **†EADRED REX D**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **HVNR / ED MO** in two lines, w. three crosses between, trefoil of pellets above and quatrefoil of pellets below.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS

- 1603 *Hunrad*. 1.56g 135°. CTCE 96.

R/HR1 (North 718)

Obv. **†EADRED RE**, rosette in circle. Rev. **MAN / IN MO** in two lines, w. three crosses between and rosette above and below.

- 1604 *Manin*. 1.35g 270°. CTCE 219.

- 1598 CM.1.523-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from the Tetney hoard.
 1599 CM.1.56-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.
 1600 CM.1.521-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Stewartby (gift) 1966.
 1601 CM.1.525-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendining sale 11, 9.7.1986, lot 209.
 1602 CM.1.526-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1956; ex Erskine; ex Argyll coll.
 1603 CM.1.524-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Spink 1987.
 1604 CM.1.545-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1953; ex Ryan 776.



1584



1585



1586



1587



1588



1589



1590



1591



1592



1593



1594



1595



1596



1597



1598



1599



1600



1601



1602



1603



1604

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EADRED (*cont.*)

Bust Crowned type

BC (*with mint-signature*) (North 715)

Obv. legend around bust r., breaking circle. Rev. legend around cross pattée in circle.

LINCOLN

- 1605 *Are.* Obv. **†EADRED REX.** Rev. **†ARE IINCOIA CIVIT.**
1.04g (slightly chipped) 270°. *CTCE* 227.

BC (*without mint-signature*) (North 713)

EAST ANGLIA/EAST MIDLANDS

- 1606 *Æscman.* Obv. **†EADRED REX.** Rev. **[†]ΛAZMΛN M[]**.
0.99g (chipped) 180°. *CTCE* 233.
1607 *Æthelweard.* Obv. **†EADRED RE.** Rev. **†ADELVER-Ð MONETA.** 1.15g 270°. *CTCE* 235.
1608 *Farman.* Obv. **EADRED REX.** Rev. **†FARAMAN MONE.**
1.14g (pierced and plugged) 0°. *SCBI* 1.595; *CTCE* 242.
1609 *Fredard.* Obv. **†EADRED RE†.** Rev. **†FREDARD MONEIT.**
1.50g 90°. *SCBI* 1.596; *CTCE* 243.
1610 *Man.* Obv. as last. Rev. **†MANNA MONETA.** 1.20g 30°. *SCBI* 1.597; *CTCE* 254.
1611 *Man.* Obv. **†EVDRED EE†.** Rev. **†MANNA MONETA.**
1.29g 0°. *CTCE* 254.

- 1612 *Norbert.* Obv. **†EADRED RE†.** Rev. **†IORBERT MONETA.**
No wt. (permanently encased within glass capsule) 0°. *CTCE* 256.
1613 *Nothel.* Obv. as last. Rev. **†NO-ÐEΓ MONEMVNET.** 1.24g
(chipped and cracked) 90°. *CTCE* 258.
1614 *Sarawearð.* Obv. as last. Rev. **†SΛRVVRD MON.** 1.19g 0°. *CTCE* 263.
1615 *Unbein.* Obv. as last. Rev. **†VNBEIN MONETA.** 1.21g
255°. *SCBI* 1.598; *CTCE* 266.
1616 *Wilfrith.* Obv. **†EADRED REX.** Rev. **†VVILEREÐ MOETATX.** 1.32g (slightly chipped) 60°. *CTCE* 269.

Ornamental types

Floral types

Halfpennies

- 1617 *Eofermund.* Obv. **†[EΛ]DRE[D REX]**, cross pattée in circle.
Rev. **[†E]OFERMV[ND MO]** beneath line w. floral design
above. 0.33g (fragment) 135°. *CTCE* 267.
1618 *Mangod.* Obv. **†EADRED REX.** floral motif in circle. Rev.
MΛN / GOD MO in two lines, w. three crosses between
and trefoil of pellets above and below. 0.59g (chipped)
90°. *CTCE* 77; North 722.

1605 CM.1036-1996: ex Bonser 1996; found near Newmarket, Suffolk, 1996 (*CR* 1997, 127; EMC 1997.0016).

1606 CM.1.546-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970; from Baldwin.

1607 CM.1.550-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1962; possibly ex de Vore (Fountaine 1703-5, pl. vi, 1).

1608 CM.YG.3185-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 408.

1609 CM.5.50-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 678; ex Brice coll.; ex Price

31; ex Murchison 276; ex Dymock 143; ex Devonshire 308.

1610 CM.1.58-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart; ex Montagu 679.

1611 CM.1.551-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 778; ex O'Hagan 339; ex Montagu 671; ex Addington; ex Chaffers 1135; ex Cuff 525.

1612 CM.1.552-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.

1613 CM.1.547-1990: ex Blunt coll.

1614 CM.1.548-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Grantley 1069; ex Montagu 680; ex Wigan; possibly ex Sainthill (not in sale; cf. Sainthill 1844-53, 1, 385); ex Lindsay (not in sale); from the Lough Lene hoard.

1615 CM.ME.487-R: no provenance.

1616 CM.1.549-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1953; ex Grantley 1070.

1617 CM.691-2005: from Crawford.

1618 CM.1.518-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959; ex Sotheby sale 17.3.1955, lot 30.



1605



1606



1607



1608



1609



1610



1611



1612



1613



1614



1615



1616



1617



1618



1619



1620



1621



1622



1623



1624



1625

EADWIG, 955–9

Abbreviated variant designations in all types follow *SCBI* 34 and *CTCE*. All coins are silver pennies unless stated otherwise. For commentary, see Chapter 9, section (m), pp. 206–7.

Horizontal/Two-Line type

HR1 (North 725)

Obv. legend around cross pattée and **M** in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and rosette above and below.

1619 *Agtard*. Obv. **HEADFIG REX**. Rev. **AGTAR / DES MOT**. 1.36g 180°. *SCBI* 1.599; *CTCE* 100. Same obv. die as *CTCE* 113 (moneyer Wulfgar).

1620 *Agtard*. Obv. **HEADFIG RE+**. Rev. as last. 1.33g 270°. *CTCE* 100.

1621 *Domenc*. Obv. **HEADFIG REX**. Rev. **DEMEN / E MON**. 1.27g 180°. *SCBI* 1.600; *CTCE* 104.

1622 *Godserres*. Obv. **HEADVVIG REX**. Rev. **GODSER / RES MOT**. 1.30g (slightly chipped) 180°. *SCBI* 1.601; *CTCE* 108.

1623 *Thorulfjr*. Obv. **HEADVVIG REX**. Rev. **ÐVRVL / F MONT**. 1.24g (cracked) 90°. *CTCE* 118.

HR3 (*with mint signature*) (North 730)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in three lines, w. cross between and rosette above and below.

YORK

1624 *Eadmund*. Obv. **HEADVVIG RE**. Rev. **EADM / VND M / ONHEO**. 1.44g (slightly chipped) 270°. *CTCE* 126.

1625 *Thorulfjr*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ÐORV / LF MO / ONHEO**. 1.51g 90°. *SCBI* 1.604; *CTCE* 125.

1619 CM.YG.3187-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 1014.

1620 CM.1.565–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960.

1621 CM.5.52–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 707; ex Shepherd 95.

1622 CM.ME.488-R: from Feuardent.

1623 CM.1.566–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1971; from Baldwin.

1624 CM.1.567–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961; ex Grantley 1081; ex Lawrence.

1625 CM.YG.3188-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 430.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EADWIG (*cont.*)

HR3 (*with mint signature*) (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in three lines, w. cross between and rosette above and below.

YORK (*cont.*)

- 1626 *Thormothr.* Obv. **†EADVVIG RE**. Rev. **ÐVRM / OD MO / ON+EO**. 1.01g (cracked) 0°. *SCBI* 1.605; *CTCE* 132.

UNCERTAIN MINT

- 1627 *Wærstan.* Obv. as last. Rev. **VVER / ZTAM / ON+HO**. 1.43g 180°. *SCBI* 1.606; *CTCE* 133.

HT1 (*with mint signature*) (North 724)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoil of pellets above and below.

YORK

- 1628 *Hereger.* Obv. **†EADFIG REX E**. Rev. **HERIG / ER MO**. 1.39g 225°. *CTCE* 68.

HT1 (*without mint signature*) (North 724)

- 1629 *Baldric.* Obv. **†EADVVIG [REX]**. Rev. **BALD / RIC MO**. 0.91g (chipped) 0°. *CTCE* 3.
1630 *Leofhelm.* Obv. **†EADVVIG REX**. Rev. **LEOFH / ELMO**. 1.23g (chipped) 90°. *CTCE* 22.
1631 *Mangod.* Obv. as last. Rev. **MANG / OD MO**. 1.05g 180°. *CTCE* 24.

NORTH-EAST MERCIA/EAST MIDLANDS (I)

- 1632 *Sperling.* Obv. **†EADVVIG RE†**. Rev. **SPER / LINC**. 1.28g 0°. *CTCE* 53.
1633 *Wilbeorht.* Obv. **†EADVVI RE† O**. Rev. **VVILE / BERT**. 1.23g (slightly chipped) 90°. *CTCE* 56.

YORK

- 1634 *Hereger.* Obv. **†EADFIG REX**. Rev. **HERIG / ER MO**. 1.37g 270°. *CTCE* 68.

HT3 (North 727)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in three lines, w. one or two crosses in middle line and trefoil of pellets above and below.

BEDFORD

- 1635 *Bealdwine.* Obv. **†EADVVIG REX**. Rev. **†BDA† / BALD / FINE**. 1.11g 270°. *CTCE* 71.
1636 *Herewig.* Obv. **†EADVVIG RE†**. Rev. **BE + ÐA / HERE / VVIG M**. 1.28g (slightly chipped) 270°. *SCBI* 1.602; *CTCE* 76.

HUNTINGDON

- 1637 *Hildulfr.* Obv. **†EADVVIG REX**. Rev. **HVN†** (retrograde) / **HILDV / LF MO**. 1.14g (chipped) 270°. *CTCE* 91.

‘NIWEPORT’

- 1638 *Ælfræd.* Obv. **†EADVVIG RE†**. Rev. **†III+DI / ELFRE / D MON**. North 727; *CTCE* 94. 0.93g (slightly chipped) 90°.

NORTHAMPTON

- 1639 *Baldric.* Obv. **†EADVVIG REX**. Rev. **†H†+M† / BALD / RIC MO**. 1.18g 0°. *SCBI* 1.603; *CTCE* 79.
1640 *Eadwulf.* Obv. **†EADVVIG RE†**. Rev. **†H†+M† / EADV / LF MO**. 1.31g 0°. *CTCE* 82.

WALLINGFORD

- 1641 *Man.* Obv. **†EADVVIG REX**. Rev. **†VV+HE† / MANN / MONE**. 1.17g 90°. *CTCE* 96.

WINCHESTER

- 1642 *Otic.* Obv. **†EADVVIG REX**. Rev. **†H†+N† / OTIC / MONE**. 1.55g 270°. *CTCE* 98; Biddle 2012a, 32a.

Circumscription type

CC (North 740)

- 1643 *Æthelgar.* Obv. **†EADVVIG REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **†Æ-ÐELGAR MO**, cross pattée in circle. 1.62g 180°. *CTCE* 147.

- 1626 CM.1.59–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.
1627 CM.5.51–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 16.5.1890, lot 637.
1628 CM.1.558–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from the Tetney hoard.
1629 CM.1.553–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1968; ex Wells; probably ex Carlyon-Britton 1012.
1630 CM.1.554–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.
1631 CM.1.555–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970; from Baldwin.

- 1632 CM.1.556–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1955.
1633 CM.1.557–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1963.
1634 CM.1.559–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from the Tetney hoard.
1635 CM.131–1974: from Collins & Clark 1974; ex Wyatt; from Lincoln; ex Bergne.
1636 CM.YG.3186-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 1008.
1637 CM.1.561–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1968; ex Wells; ex Carlyon-Britton (but apparently not in auctions).

- 1638 CM.1.562–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1953; ex Grantley 1032; from the Kintbury hoard.
1639 CM.5.53–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 698.
1640 CM.1.560–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1966; ex Wells; ex Drabble 853.
1641 CM.1.563–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1953; from C.A. Halliday 1925.
1642 CM.1.564–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Montagu 700; ex Bliss 97; ex Mann.
1643 CM.1.568–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 2750; ex Carlyon-Britton 427; ex Rashleigh 268; ex Bergne 216; ex Aquilla Smith (Lindsay 1842, pl. v, 115; *BMQ* ii, p. 157).



1626



1627



1628



1629



1630



1631



1632



1633



1634



1635



1636



1637



1638



1639



1640



1641



1642



1643



1644



1645



1646

EDGAR, 959–75

PRE-REFORM COINAGE (957/9–early 970s)

Abbreviated variant designations follow the usage of *SCBI* 34 and *CTCE*. All coins are silver pennies unless otherwise stated. For commentary, see Chapter 9, section (n), pp. 207–10.

Horizontal/Two-Line type

HC1 (North 743)

- 1644 *Sedeman*. Obv. **HEA[D]GAR REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **SEDEM** / **AN MO** in two lines, w. three crosses between and cross above and below. 1.20g (chipped) 0°. *CTCE* 94.

HR1 (North 744)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and rosette above and below.

- 1646 *Ælfstan*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX; M** in circle. Rev. **ELFSTA** / **N MOA**. 1.27g 0°. *CTCE* 103.

HP1 (North 742)

- 1645 *Serclos*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANE**, two crosses pattée in circle. Rev. **SERC** / **LOS M** in two lines, w. three crosses between and pellet above and below. 1.44g 45°. *CTCE* 89.

1644 CM.1.600–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.

1645 CM.1.599–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Baldwin 1961; ex Ryan 784.

1646 CM.1.602–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; ex Carlyon–Britton 1032.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDGAR (cont.)

Horizontal/Two-Line type (cont.)

HR1 (cont.)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and rosette above and below.

- 1647 *Æthelræd*. Obv. **†EADGAR RE; M** in circle. Rev. **ÆÐER / ED MO**. 1.35g 0°. *SCBI* 1.614; *CTCE* 98.
 1648 *Boga*. Obv. **EADGAR REX; M** in circle. Rev. **BOIGA / ES MON**. 1.12g (cracked) 90°. *CTCE* 101.
 1649 *Eofermund*. Obv. **†EADGE[AR R]EX; M** in circle. Rev. **EOFER / MVND[]**. 0.74g (fragment) 0°. *CTCE* 104.
 1650 *Grimr*. Obv. **†EADGAR RE+; M** in circle. Rev. **GRIM / TER MO**. 1.14g (slightly chipped) 0°. *CTCE* 106.
 1651 *Hreitharr*. Obv. as last. Rev. **REG-ÐE / RES MOT**. 1.31g 90°. *CTCE* 125.
 1652 *Ingalric*. Obv. **†EADGAR REX; M** in circle. Rev. **INGELRI / ES MON**. 1.13g 0°. *CTCE* 109.
 1653 *Iol*. Obv. **†EADGE[AR R]EX**. Rev. **IOLES / MON[]**. 0.78g (chipped) 0°. *CTCE* 111.
 1654 *Osweard*. Obv. **†EADGAR RE; M** in circle. Rev. **OSFAR / DEZ MOT**. 1.19g (broken and repaired) 180°. *SCBI* 1.615; *CTCE* 122.
 1655 *Oswulf*. Obv. **†EADGAR REX; M** in circle. Rev. **OSVLF / ES MOT**. 1.38g 160°. *CTCE* 121.
 1656 *Winemær* (?). Obv. as last. Rev. **FINEM / ES MON**. 1.31g 180°. *CTCE* 128. Probably same rev. die as **1657**.
 1657 *Winemær* (?). Obv. **[†]EADGA[R REX]**. Rev. **FINEM / [ES MOT]**. 0.50g (fragment) 270°. *CTCE* 129. Probably same rev. die as **1656**.
 1658 *Winemær* (?). Obv. **†EADGAR RE+** (retrograde). Rev. **FINEM / ES MOT**. 1.17g (slightly chipped) 315°. *CTCE* 129.

- 1659 *Wulfstan*. Obv. **†EADGAR RE; M** in circle. Rev. **FVLST / AM MO**. 1.35g 0°. *CTCE* 132.

HR2 (North 745)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. cross and two annulets between, and rosette above and below.

- 1660 *Ælfried*. Obv. **†EAL[DE]AR REXA**. Rev. **ALF / RED**. 0.73g (chipped) 150°. *CTCE* 133.
 1661 *Leofstan*. Obv. **†EADGARE+**. Rev. **LEOF / ZTAN**. 1.51g 0°. *CTCE* 146.
 1662 *Thormothr*. Obv. **[†]EADGARE[†]**. Rev. **ÐVR / MOD**. 1.15g (chipped) 270°. *CTCE* 152.
 1663 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†EAL[DE]AR REX**. Rev. **[]ND**. 0.43g (fragment) 180°. *CTCE* 152.
 1664 *Uncertain moneyer* (imitation?). Obv. **REMAOENAE+**. Rev. **OERG / ÐV3V**. 1.10g (chipped) 90°.

HT1 (North 741)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoil of pellets above and below.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS (I)

- 1665 *Landferth*. Obv. **†EADGAR RE**. Rev. **LOAMID / FER-Ð**. 1.08g 0°. *CTCE* 83.
 1666 *Sedeman*. Obv. **†EADGAR REX**. Rev. **ZEDE / MΛI**. 1.08g 315°. *CTCE* 84/1.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS (V)

- 1667 *Aulf*. Obv. **†EADGAR REXX**. Rev. **ACVL / F NON-Ð**. 1.30g 135°. *CTCE* 17. Same dies as *SCBI* 6.367 and *SCBI* 34.859–60.

- 1647 CM.ME.491-R: no provenance.
 1648 CM.1.601–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961.
 1649 CM.1.603–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1973.
 1650 CM.1.604–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1955.
 1651 CM.1.608–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959; ex Gantz 1057; ex Wheeler 31.
 1652 CM.1.605–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Baldwin 1952; ex Argyll coll.; ex Bruun 116.
 1653 CM.1.606–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.
 1654 CM.5.55–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

- 1655 CM.1.607–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Baldwin 1952; ex Argyll coll.
 1656 CM.1.609–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1976; from Baldwin; possibly ex Murchison 285.
 1657 CM.1.611–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.64, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.
 1658 CM.1.610–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959; ex Ryan 785.
 1659 CM.1.612–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959; ex Ryan 785.
 1660 CM.1.613–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.

- 1661 CM.1.614–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1958; ex Wells; ex Carlyon-Britton 451.
 1662 CM.1.617–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.
 1663 CM.1.615–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Stewartby (gift) 1971; from Seaby 1955.
 1664 CM.1.616–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Armitage coll.
 1665 CM.1.597–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1955; ex Argyll coll.; from Spink.
 1666 CM.1.598–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961.
 1667 CM.1.569–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970; from an unknown source 9.10.1949.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDGAR (*cont.*)

HT1 (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoil of pellets above and below.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS (V) (*cont.*)

- 1668 *Adalaver*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX**. Rev. **ADELA / VER MO**. 1.41g 180°. *CTCE* 29.
 1669 *Adalaver*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX**. Rev. as last. 1.29g 180°. *SCBI* 1.607; *CTCE* 29.
 1670 *Æsman*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ASMA / N MO**. 1.15g 90°. *CTCE* 28.
 1671 *Æthelwine*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX**. Rev. **ADLV / ÆE MO**. 1.18g 180°. *CTCE* 23.
 1672 *Andreas*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE+**. Rev. **AND / REAS**. 1.32g 270°. *SCBI* 1.608; *CTCE* 26.
 1673 *Benethiht*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX**. Rev. **BENE / ÐIHT**. 1.35g 45°. *SCBI* 1.609; *CTCE* 32. Same obv. die as **1674**.
 1674 *Benethiht*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.29g 225°. *CTCE* 32. Same obv. die as **1673**.
 1675 *Beorhtferth*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE+**. Rev. **BRIT / FERD**. 1.28g 315°. *SCBI* 1.610; *CTCE* 36.
 1676 *Capelin/Cawelin*. Obv. **HEADGA[R RE]+**. Rev. **[C]APE / LIWO**. 0.66g (fragment) 180°. *CTCE* 39.
 1677 *'Carthen'*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE+**. Rev. **CARÐ / EN MO**. 1.15g 270°. *CTCE* 38.

- 1678 *Eanwulf*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE**. Rev. **EANV / LF MO**. 1.23g 180°. *CTCE* 42. Same dies as **1679**.
 1679 *Eanwulf*. Obv. **[H]HEADGAR RE**. Rev. **EAN[V] / LF MO**. 1.00g (chipped) 315°. *CTCE* 42. Same dies as **1678**.
 1680 *Farman*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE**. Rev. **FAR / MAIO**. 1.26g 180°. *CTCE* 45.
 1681 *Grith*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE+**. Rev. **GRID / MOMI**. 1.16g (chipped; broken and repaired) 0°. *SCBI* 1.611; *CTCE* 47.
 1682 *Hacuf*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HAEV / F MIO**. 1.10g (slightly chipped) 180°. *SCBI* 1.612; *CTCE* 50.
 1683 *Harc*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX**. Rev. **HARC / ER MO**. 1.24g (chipped) 315°. *CTCE* 51.
 1684 *Hereman*. Obv. **HEADGAR R+**. Rev. **HERE / MANO**. 1.00g 180°. *CTCE* 53.
 1685 *Ingolf*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE+ M**. Rev. **INGO / LF MO**. 1.13g (slightly chipped) 180°. *CTCE* 56.
 1686 *Ingolf*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.04g (chipped) 330°. *CTCE* 56.
 1687 *Isenbert*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE+**. Rev. **IZEH / BELT**. 1.21g (slightly chipped) 90°. *CTCE* 57.
 1688 *Ive*. Obv. as last. Rev. **IVE M / NET**. North 741; cf. *CTCE* 59. 1.26g 30°.

- 1668 CM.1.572-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from the Tetney hoard.
 1669 CM.ME.489-R: no provenance.
 1670 CM.1.571-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendining sale 9, 3.9.1980, lot 92.
 1671 CM.1.570-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Baldwin.
 1672 CM.YG.3189-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 1023a.
 1673 CM.YG.3190-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 1023b.
 1674 CM.1.573-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from the Tetney hoard.
 1675 CM.YG.3191-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 1023c.

- 1676 CM.1.575-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.
 1677 CM.1.574-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from the Tetney hoard.
 1678 CM.1.576-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from the Tetney hoard.
 1679 CM.1.577-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.
 1680 CM.1.578-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Spurway 105.
 1681 CM.5.57-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

- 1682 CM.ME.532-R: no provenance.
 1683 CM.1.579-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1980; ex Grantley 1085.
 1684 CM.1.580-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from the Tetney hoard.
 1685 CM.1.581-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from the Tetney hoard.
 1686 CM.1.582-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.
 1687 CM.1.583-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from the Tetney hoard.
 1688 CM.1.584-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from the Tetney hoard.



1668



1669



1670



1671



1672



1673



1674



1675



1676



1677



1678



1679



1680



1681



1682



1683



1684



1685



1686



1687



1688

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDGAR (cont.)

HT1 (cont.)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three crosses between and trefoil of pellets above and below.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS (V) (cont.)

- 1689 *Lenna*. Obv. **†EADGAR ME**. Rev. **LEN** / **NA H**. 1.20g 90°. CTCE 60.
- 1690 *Manan*. Obv. **†EADGAR RE**. Rev. **MAII** / **AN MO**. 0.73g (chipped) 225°. CTCE 65. Same dies as 1691.
- 1691 *Manan*. Obv. **†EAD[AR] RE**. Rev. **MAII** / **[AN] MO**. 0.62g (fragment) 135°. CTCE 65. Same dies as 1690.
- 1692 *Manan* (?). Obv. **†EADGAR RE†**. Rev. **W7N** / **7I MO**. 1.25g (slightly chipped) 90°. CTCE 66.
- 1693 *Reinald*. Obv. **†EADGAR RE†**. Rev. **REII** / **7D MO**. 1.07g 240°. CTCE 71.
- 1694 *Wigferth*. Obv. **†EADGAR REXI**; pellets in angles of central cross. Rev. **V7IFE** / **R-Ð MO**. 1.41g 0°. CTCE 75.
- 1695 *Wigferth*. Obv. **†EADGAR REXI**. Rev. **V7IFE** / **R-Ð MO**. 1.18g 315°. CTCE 75.
- 1696 *Winemær* (?). Obv. **†E[ADGAR RE]X**. Rev. **7IN** / **[EMR]**. 0.20g (fragment). CTCE 76.

YORK

- 1697 *Æscwulf*. Obv. **†EADGAR REX**. Rev. **ÆSCV** / **LF MO**. 1.24g 0°. CTCE 77.
- 1698 *Hereger*. Obv. **†EADGAR RE**. Rev. **HERIG** / **ER MO** (retrograde). 1.33g 180°. CTCE 79. Same dies as 1699 and same obv. die as Lockett 3706d (moneyer Asmaned).
- 1699 *Hereger*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.07g 250°. CTCE 79. Same dies as 1698 and same obv. die as Lockett 3706d (moneyer Asmaned).
- 1700 *Hereger*. Obv. **†EADGAR RE†**. Rev. **HERIG** / **ER MO**. 1.00g 90°. CTCE 79.
- 1701 *Hereger*. Obv. **†EAD[AR R]EX**. Rev. **HERIG** / **[ER MO]**. 0.62g (fragment) 0°. CTCE 79.

- 1702 *Hereger*. Obv. **†EADGAR REXI**. Rev. **HERIG** / **ER MO**. 1.32g 75°. SCBI 1.613; CTCE 79. Part of die-chain with several other York and NEV moneyers: see CTCE, p. 158.

Uncertain style

- 1703 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **[]EΛ[]R[]**. Rev. uncertain. Uncertain weight (several small fragments, possibly from several coins).

R/HC4 (North 756)

- 1704 *Uglubarth*. Obv. **†EADGAR RE**, rosette in circle. Rev. **VEEL** / **BEED** in two lines, w. three rosettes between and cross above and below. 1.28g (slightly chipped) 270°. CTCE 160.

R/HR1 (North 756/1)

- 1705 *Leofing*. Obv. **†EADGAR REX**, rosette in circle. Rev. **LEFINE** / **ES MOT** in two lines, w. three crosses between and rosette above and below. 1.32g (slightly chipped) 90°. CTCE 162.

R/HR4 (North 755)

Obv. legend around rosette in circle. Rev. legend in two lines, w. three rosettes between and rosette above and below.

- 1706 *Landferth*. Obv. **†EADGAR RE**. Rev. **LOAND** / **FER-Ð**. 1.11g (chipped) 0°. CTCE 165.
- 1707 *Winemær*. Obv. as last. Rev. **FINEM** / **ES MON**. 1.28g (slightly chipped) 270°. CTCE 166.

HR3 (with mint-signature) (North 757)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in three lines, w. cross in middle line, and rosette above and below.

CHESTER

- 1708 *Gillaisu*. Obv. as last. Rev. **GILL** / **YS MO** / **OL+EO**. 1.51g 180°. CTCE 182.
- 1709 *Thormothr*. Obv. **†EADGAR RE†**. Rev. **ÐVR** / **MOD** / **OL+EO**. 1.44g (cracked) 180°. CTCE 191.

1689 CM.1.585-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1965.

1690 CM.1.586-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.

1691 CM.1.587-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.

1692 CM.1.588-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from the Tetney hoard.

1693 CM.1.589-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1967; ex Grantley 1087; ex Cox 6.

1694 CM.1.590-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1953.

1695 CM.1.591-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1980; ex Wells.

1696 CM.189-1994: ex Jubb (gift); found near Owersby, Lincolnshire, 1.10.1989, near find-spot of four other coins (CR 1994, 198; EMC 1994.0198).

1697 CM.1.592-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from the Tetney hoard.

1698 CM.1.595-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1980; ex Lockett 3708a.

1699 CM.1.593-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from the Tetney hoard.

1700 CM.6001-2007: ex J. C. Mossop coll.

1701 CM.1.594-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.

1702 CM.1.60-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

1703 CM.1.596-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from the Douglas hoard.

1704 CM.1.618-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970; ex Grantley 1101; ex W. Allen 241.

1705 CM.1.619-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970; ex Grantley 1101; from Spink 1900.

1706 CM.1.620-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Armitage coll.; possibly ex Glendinning sale 17.6.1947, lot 166.

1707 CM.1.621-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1971; from Baldwin.

1708 CM.1.622-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1971; from Baldwin.

1709 CM.1.623-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Armitage coll.



1689



1690



1691



1692



1693



1694



1695



1696



1697



1698



1699



1700



1701



1702



1703



1704



1705



1706



1707



1708



1709

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDGAR (cont.)

HR3 (*with mint-signature*) (cont.)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in three lines, w. cross in middle line, and rosette above and below.

DERBY

- 1710 *Boga*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE**. Rev. **BOIA / MNO / ODHEO**. 1.33g 45°. CTCE 195.

TAMWORTH

- 1711 *Eoferwulf* (?). Obv. **HEADGAR RE**. Rev. **EOFR / LF MO / OTHEO**. 1.13g 90°. CTCE 199.
1712 *Man*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE**. Rev. **MON / NA M / OTHEO**. 1.14g (slightly chipped) 180°. CTCE 201.

Uncertain horizontal type

- 1713 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **HEA[]RE**. Rev. illegible. Uncertain weight (fragments).

Circumscription type

CC (*with mint-signature*) (North 749)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend around cross pattée in circle.

BATH

- 1714 *Aethelferth*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGLORVM**. Rev. **HEDELFERÐ MO BAÐA CI**. 1.33g 180°. CTCE 202.

EXETER

- 1715 *R[ein]ald* (?). Obv. **[EADGE]AR REX ANGLORVM**. Rev. **HR[]OLD MO EXA**. 1.11g (chipped) 180°. CTCE 252.

LONDON

- 1716 *Aethelred*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANG**. Rev. **HEDELRED MO LVN**. 1.41g 180°. CTCE 214.
1717 *Aethelweald*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGLORV**. Rev. **HADELFOld MO LVND C**; small cross in field. 1.39g (broken and repaired) 0°. CTCE 216.

MALMESBURY

- 1718 *Wulfic*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGLORVM**. Rev. **HYVLFRIE MONETA MEALD**. 1.42g 15°. CTCE 217.

1710 CM.1.624-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1954; ex Ryan 787; ex Carlyon-Britton 450.

1711 CM.1.625-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1964; from Baldwin.

1712 CM.1.626-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1954; ex Argyll coll.

1713 CM.1.596-1990bis: ex Blunt coll.; from the Douglas hoard.

1714 CM.1.627-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1969; ex Lister.

1715 CM.1.641-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.

1716 CM.1.628-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 3710; ex Carlyon-Britton 1038.

1717 CM.1.629-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.

1718 CM.1.630-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Elmore Jones 568; ex Drabble 854; ex Carlyon-Britton 453; ex Rashleigh 274; ex Stretton 416; from the Kilkenny hoard.

1719 CM.1.642-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1966; ex Wells; ex Carlyon-Britton; ex Murdoch 126; ex Montagu 722; ex Shepherd 99.

1720 CM.1.643-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Spink 1985; found near Stevenage, Hertfordshire, 1984.

1721 CM.1.644-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1966; ex Wells; ex Drabble 431; ex Carlyon-Britton 454; found in Ireland.

1722 CM.1.631-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 10; possibly from the Douglas hoard.

1723 CM.1.632-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1954; stray from the Smarmore hoard.

(NORT)HAMPTON

- 1719 *Baldric*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HALDRIC MONETA HAM**. 1.34g (chipped) 270°. CTCE 258.
1720 *Eadwulf*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGLO**. Rev. **HEADVLF MO TO HAMT**. 0.99g (chipped) 0°. CTCE 258/1.
1721 *Mantat*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **HMANTAT MONETA HAN**. 1.38g 270°. CTCE 260.

OXFORD

- 1722 *Aethelwine*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGLORVN**. Rev. **HEDELFIN MONETA OXNA**. 1.22g (cracked) 0°. CTCE 222.

WALLINGFORD

- 1723 *Beorhtic*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE TO BRT DZZ**; small cross in field. Rev. **BEORHTRIC M FEALI**; small cross in field. 1.11g (chipped) 0°. CTCE 231a.
1724 *Eadwine*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE+X ANGLORVI**. Rev. **HEADFINE MONETA FELIG**. 1.26g 0°. SCBI 1.617; CTCE 232.
1725 *Heremod*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGLORVM**. Rev. **HEREMOD MONETA FELEN**. 1.57g 0°. CTCE 233.

WILTON

- 1726 *Boia*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE[X] ANGLORVM**. Rev. **HOIA MONE[T]A FILTVNE**. 1.41g (pierced) 0°. CTCE 235.
1727 *Leofweald*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGLORVM**. Rev. **LEOFFOLD MONETA FILTVN**. 1.30g (chipped) 90°. CTCE 238.

WINCHESTER

- 1728 *Aelfsige*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX TO BRI**. Rev. **HELFSIGE MO VVIN**. 1.41g (cracked) 90°. CTCE 240; Biddle 2012a, 33a.
1729 *Rodbeorht*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGLO**. Rev. **RODBRIHT MO FIN**. 1.24g (broken and repaired; chipped and pierced) 90°. CTCE 245; Biddle 2012a, 39a.
1730 *Wynsige*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE FIN NEM**. Rev. **HYNSIGE RE+ INTON**. 1.44g (turned in dies) 270°. CTCE 248; Biddle 2012a, 42a.

1724 CM.YG.3192-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 1041.

1725 CM.1.633-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Armitage coll.; ex Lockett 624; ex Carlyon-Britton (not in sale).

1726 CM.1.634-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970; from Baldwin.

1727 CM.1.635-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960.

1728 CM.1.636-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Spink 1979; from USA; ex West (1744).

1729 CM.1.637-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lawrence (gift).

1730 CM.1.638-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1980.



1710



1711



1712



1713



1714



1715



1716



1717



1718



1719



1720



1721



1722



1723



1724



1725



1726



1727



1728



1729



1730

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDGAR (*cont.*)

CC (*with mint-signature*) (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend around cross pattée in circle.

YORK

- 1731 *Thorstein*. Obv. **HEADGAR REIX ANGLOR**. Rev. **HDVJRSTAN MONETA EFO**. 1.01g (chipped) 90°. North 749 var.

UNCERTAIN MINT

- 1732 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **HEADGAR REIX ANGLOR**. Rev. **SVVINE M**. 0.63g (fragment).

CC (*without mint-signature*) (North 748)

Types as last.

CHESTER

- 1733 *Ælfsige*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX**. Rev. **ELFZIG MONETA**. 1.57g 200°. CTCE 291a.

MIDLANDS/NORTHAMPTON

- 1734 *Bealdric*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE+ MT**. Rev. **BALDRIC MONETA**. 1.26g (chipped) 315°. CTCE 264b.
1735 *Hrothulf*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE+ M**. Rev. **RAÐVLF MONE**. 1.00g (corroded) 90°. CTCE 271a.
1736 *Thorfrithr*. Obv. **HEADGAR RE+ TM**. Rev. **ÐVRFERÐ MOETA**. 1.29g (chipped and cracked) 0°. North 748 var.; CTCE 272b. Same obv. die as 1737.
1737 *Thorfrithr*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ÐVRFERÐ MONETA**. 1.12g (chipped) 270°. SCBI 1.616; CTCE 272b. Same obv. die as 1736.

NORTH-EAST MERCA/EAST MIDLANDS

- 1738 *Leofing*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX**. Rev. **HEOFINCE**. 0.65g (cut halfpenny) 135°. CTCE 306b. Same dies as SCBI 34.1108.

SOUTH-WEST

- 1739 *Æthelstan(?)*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **HEAD/ELFZTAN MOE**. 1.60g 180°. CTCE 250b.

YORK

- 1740 *Durand*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGL**. Rev. **DVRANDIE MOJNETA**. 1.18g (badly chipped) 180°. CTCE 294.

- 1741 *Fastulfr and Boga*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX E**. Rev. **FASTOLF BOIGA**. 1.35g 180°. CTCE 296.

- 1742 *Fastulfr and Oda*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX**. Rev. **FASTOLF ODA**. 1.37g 270°. CTCE 297.

- 1743 *Fastulfr and Hrafn*. Obv. as last. Rev. **FASTOLF RAFN**. 1.23g 0°. CTCE 298.

- 1744 *Herolf*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGL**. Rev. **HEROLFES MOTERM**; annulet in field. 1.26g (cracked; broken and repaired) 200°. CTCE 302.

CC/CR (North 748 var.)

- 1745 *Frithuric*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX TO B**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **FREÐERIC MON**, rosette in circle. 1.41g 90°. CTCE 308e. Same dies as three other specimens: see CTCE, p. 186.

CR/CC (North 748 var.)

- 1746 *‘Eoroth’*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX TO**, rosette in circle. Rev. **EOROÐ MONETA X**, cross pattée in circle. 1.22g (slightly chipped) 0°. CTCE 310b. Same dies as SCBI 34.1069.

CR (*with mint signature*) (North 759)

Obv. legend around rosette in circle. Rev. legend around rosette in circle.

DERBY

- 1747 *Frithuric*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX TO**. Rev. **FREÐIC IN DEORB**. 1.10g (slightly chipped) 210°. CTCE 314c.
1748 *Man*. Obv. **HEADGAR REIX TO BR**. Rev. **MAN IN DJEORABV**. 0.96g (cut halfpenny) 90°. CTCE 316c.

STAFFORD

- 1749 *Amundr*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX TO BX**. Rev. **AMVND IN STEFFOR**. 1.30g 30°. CTCE 319.

CR (*without mint signature*) (North 758)

Types as last.

- 1750 *Eoferheard*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX T**. Rev. **EOFERARD MOT**. 1.45g (cracked) 330°. CTCE 332.

- 1751 *Wilsige*. Obv. **HEADGAR REX**. Rev. **VVILZIG MOT**. 1.52g 90°. CTCE 343. Same dies as SCBI 34.1068.

1731 CM.531–2005: from Stocks (Holmes 2002); found at Middleton-on-the-Wolds, East Yorkshire, February 2002 (CR 2002, 177; EMC 2004.0246).

1732 CM.1.639–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Baldwin (gift) 1958.

1733 CM.1.648–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1967.

1734 CM.1.645–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970; ex Baldwin.

1735 CM.1.646–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1956; ex Wells; ex Erskine.

1736 CM.1.647–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1968; ex Wells.

1737 CM.5.54–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 748; ex Shepherd 100.

1738 CM.1.656–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1964; from Baldwin.

1739 CM.1.640–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Brettell 2; ex Murdoch 125.

1740 CM.1.651–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.

1741 CM.1.652–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1965; ex Lockett 617.

1742 CM.1.653–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1971; from Baldwin.

1743 CM.1.654–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1954; ex Argyll coll.; from Spink.

1744 CM.1.655–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.

1745 CM.1.657–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Ryan 791; ex Carlyon-Britton 1046.

1746 CM.1.658–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1952; ex Ryan 791; ex Carlyon-Britton 1045.

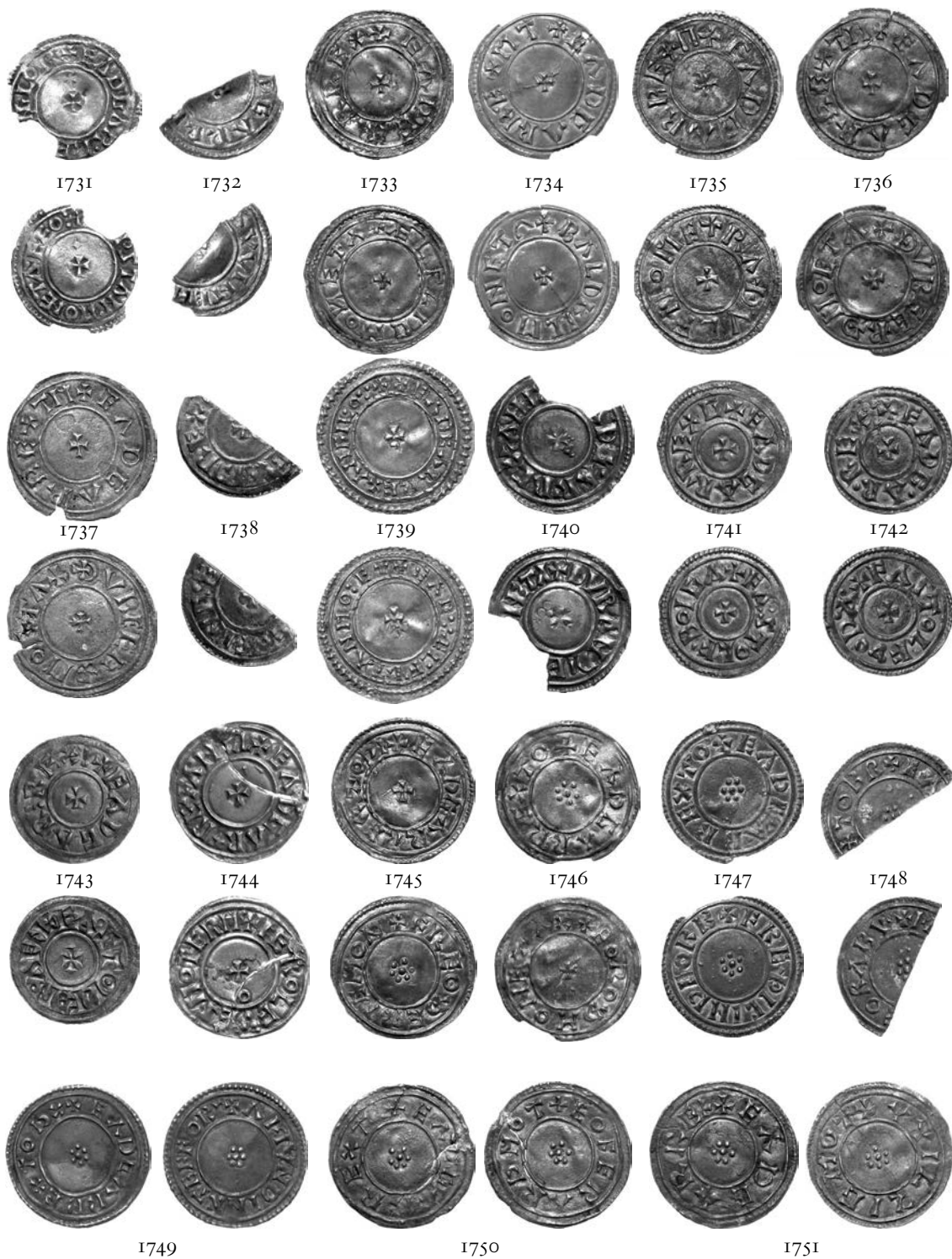
1747 CM.1.659–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Lincoln 1960; ex Armitage coll.; ex Ryan 792; ex Wheeler 39; ex Carlyon-Britton 460.

1748 CM.1.660–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970; from Baldwin.

1749 CM.1.661–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Massachusetts Historical Society 854.

1750 CM.1.662–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1948; ex Grantley 1101; ex Grantham 23.

1751 CM.1.663–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1955; ex Barrett; ex BM duplicates.



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDGAR (*cont.*)

Bust Crowned type

BC (*with mint signature*) (North 751).

Obv. legend around crowned bust r., breaking circle. Rev. legend around cross pattée in circle.

BEDFORD

- 1752 *Grimr.* Obv. **HEADGAR REX.** Rev. **HERIM MONETA BEDA**; small cross and three pellets in circle. 1.24g (slightly chipped) 90°. *SCBI* 1.618; *CTCE* 347.

HERTFORD

- 1753 *Wulfmær.* Obv. **HEADGAR REX A|NGLORV**; bust contained within circle. Rev. **HFVLFM/ER [MONETA HEO]R** (?). 0.89g (fragment) 0°. North 751 var.; *CTCE* 387.

HUNTINGDON (?)

- 1754 *Duding.* Obv. **HEADGAR REX.** Rev. **HDVDINC MONETA VN.** 1.30g 90°. *CTCE* 351.

LONDON

- 1755 *Ælfnoth.* Obv. **HEADGAR REX.** Rev. **HELFNOÐ MO LOND CIFI.** 1.68g 270°. *SCBI* 1.619; *CTCE* 353.
1756 *Æth(el)wulf.* Obv. **HEADGAR REX.** Rev. **HAÐVLF MONETA LVND.** 1.51g (cracked) 0°. *CTCE* 356.

'NE...' (?)

- 1757 *Uncertain moneyer.* Obv. **HEADGAR[R]EX.** Rev. **[H]M|ONET NE[]**. 0.48g (chipped; cut halfpenny) 270°. *CTCE* 375–85.

BC (*without mint signature*) (North 750).

Types as last.

EAST ANGLIA

- 1758 *Folcard.* Obv. **HEADGAR REX.** Rev. **FOLCHARD MONETA.** 1.50g 0°. *CTCE* 377c.
1759 *Spror.* Obv. **HEADGAR R[EX].** Rev. **SPROR+M|O|ENT.** 1.09g (chipped) 0°. *CTCE* 384.
1760 *Thorketill.* Obv. **HEADGAR RE+**. Rev. **ÞVRKETEL MONETA.** 1.46g (chipped) 0°. *SCBI* 1.620; *Perne Catalogue*, Saxon and English 8; *CTCE* 385.

1752 CM.YG.3193-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 1016.

1753 CM.1.667–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970.

1754 CM.1.664–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1955; ex Lockett 629; ex Grantley 1094; ex Lawrence; ex W. Allen 237; ex Sainthill 181.

1755 CM.5.56–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 718; ex Shepherd 97; ex Murchison 292; ex Dymock 148; ex Devonshire 320.

1756 CM.1.665–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970; from Baldwin.

1757 CM.765–2010: ex Ayres; found Narborough, Norfolk, 2009 (*CR* 2011, 108; EMC 2010.0059).

1758 Loan from Cambridgeshire County Council 1998 (Blackburn and Haigh 1986);

found by Webb in construction trench at Castle Court, Shire Hall site, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire 21.5.1984 (Blackburn and Bonser 1984, 3; EMC 1984.0003).

1759 CM.1.666–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1971; from Baldwin.

1760 CM.ME.492-R: ex Old University collection; ex Perne.

1761 CM.47–2011: ex Wherrett (gift); found at Middle Harling, Norfolk 1983–6 (Blackburn and Bonser 1985, p. 17, no. 10).

1762 CM.1.649–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Baldwin (gift) 1986.

1763 CM.1.650–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1955; ex Carlyon-Britton.

1764 CM.YG.1141-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 1018.

- 1761 *Uncertain moneyer.* Obv. **HEADGAR RE+**. Rev. **[H]MONETA HV** (?). 0.73g (cut halfpenny).

Irregular types with blundered inscriptions

CC

Obv. legend around small cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend around small cross pattée in circle.

- 1762 *Uncertain inscriptions.* 0.59g (fragment).

- 1763 Obv. **HEDEAN|** **MTI.** Rev. **HEAD|** **TAVEA.** 0.68g (badly chipped) 0°.

REFORM COINAGE (early 970s–975) (North 752)

For commentary, see Chapter 10, section (i), pp. 260–1.

Obv. legend around bust l. in circle. Rev. legend around small cross pattée in circle.

LEWES

- 1764 *Goldstan.* Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGLOR.** Rev. **GOLDSTAN MO LEFE.** 1.56g 90°. *SCBI* 1.621.

SOUTHAMPTON

- 1765 *Landbeorht.* Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGLOR.** Rev. **HLANDBRIHT MO HAF.** 1.52g (perforated) 90°.

STAMFORD

- 1766 *Æscman.* Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGLOR.** Rev. **ÆSCMAN MO STANF** (NF ligatured). 1.32g 90°. *SCBI* 1.622; 1867 *Catalogue*, 21.

WINCHESTER

- 1767 *Ælfsige.* Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGLOR.** Rev. **HELFSIGE MO FINTNI.** 1.36g 0°. *SCBI* 1.623; Biddle 2012a, 46a.

YORK

- 1768 *Oda.* Obv. **HEADGAR REX ANGL.** Rev. **ODA MO EFERFICE.** 1.45g 180°.
1769 *Oda.* Obv. **HEADGAR REX[ANGL]OR.** Rev. **ODA MO E[FE]RFIC.** 1.21g (badly chipped) 270°.
1770 *Uncertain moneyer.* Obv. **HEADGAR REX A[NGLOR].** Rev. **[]MOEFERD[IC].** 0.72g (cut halfpenny) 0°.

1765 CM.1.668–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1968; ex Wells; ex Bruun 118.

1766 CM.ME.364-R: ex Vansittart (gift) c. 1865.

1767 CM.1.62–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart; ex Rashleigh 276; said in Rashleigh catalogue to have been found near St Austell, Cornwall.

1768 CM.1.669–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1963; ex Lamb; possibly ex Wheeler 42; ex Dudman 238; ex H. Clark 17.

1769 CM.14–2007: ex Turner (gift); found Quickbury Farm, Sawbridgeworth, Essex, 2006 (*CR* 2007, 294; EMC 2006.6375).

1770 CM.546–2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.



1752



1753



1754



1755



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1763



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1765



1766



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1768



1769



1770



1771



1772

UNCERTAIN RULER (ÆTHELSTAN–EDGAR?)

Horizontal/Two-Line type

Obv. illegible. Rev. one cross pattée visible.

1771 Uncertain mint and moneyer. 0.16g (fragment).

Uncertain (temp. Edgar)

1772 Fused group of fragments of four coins, of which two are identifiable: Edgar, Horizontal/Two-Line type, moneyer Hereger (North 741; *CTCE* 79 (York)); and Eadred, Eadwig or Edgar, Horizontal/Two-Line type, moneyer Hereger. Complete weight: 3.02g.

1771 CM.242–1997: from Spink (gift).

1772 CM.677–1989: found near North Owersby, Lincolnshire, 12.1.1988 (Blackburn and Bonser 1989).

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDWARD THE MARTYR, 975–8

For commentary, see Chapter 10, section (i), pp. 260–1.

Reform/Small Cross type (BEH A; BMC i; North 763)

Obv. legend around bust l. in circle. Rev. legend around small cross pattée in circle.

BEDFORD

- 1773 *Baldric*. Obv. **†EADƿEARD REX ANGLOR.** Rev. **†BALDDIC MO BEDA.** 1.34g 90°.

LEWES

- 1774 *Theodgar*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†ÐEODGAR MO LÆV.** 1.46g 0°. SCBI 1.624.

NORTHAMPTON

- 1775 *Mancrent*. Obv. **†EADƿEARG R+ ANGL.** Rev. **†MANCRENT IAH.** 1.39g 135°. Same obv. die as 1776.
1776 *Mancrent*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†MAIICR MO IAH.** 1.32g 90°. SCBI 1.625. Same obv. die as 1775.

STAMFORD

- 1777 *Wulfgar*. Obv. **†EADƿARD REX ANGLOR.** Rev. **†WVLGAR MO STANF.** 1.33g 180°. SCBI 1.626.

WARWICK (?)

- 1778 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†EADƿ[EARD REX ANGLOR].** Rev. **[]O VFÆ[]**. 0.46g (cut farthing).

WINCHESTER

- 1779 *Reinulf*. Obv. **†EADƿEARD REX ANGLOR.** Rev. **†R/EGENƿVLƿ MO FIN.** 1.52g 270°. SCBI 1.627; Biddle 2012a, 77b.

YORK

- 1780 *Beolan*. Obv. **†EADƿEARD REX ANGL.** Rev. **†BEOLAN MO EFERƿC.** 1.36g 150°.
1781 *‘Gielog’*. Obv. **†EADƿEARD REX AN.** Rev. **†GIELOG MO EFERƿC.** 1.48g 90°.
1782 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **[†]EADƿEA[R]D REX AN[.]** Rev. **†G[]O EFER.** 0.80g (cut halfpenny) 330°.

UNCERTAIN RULER (EDGAR–ÆTHELRED II)

Reform/Small Cross type

Obv. no legend; part of bust l. Rev. no legend; central cross pattée visible.

- 1783 *Uncertain mint and moneyer* (possibly Stamford style?). 0.33g (fragment).

ÆTHELRED II, 978–1016

For commentary, see Chapter 10, section (j), pp. 261–8.

First Small Cross type (BEH A; BMC i; North 764)

Obv. legend around bust l. in circle. Rev. legend around small cross pattée in circle.

THETFORD

- 1784 *Ozferth*. Obv. **[†]ÆÐELRED REX [ANGLOR].** Rev. **†OS[FER]Ð MONETA II.** 1.17g (chipped) 0°.

YORK

- 1785 *Menen*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLOR.** Rev. **†MENEN OI EFERƿIC.** 1.36g 30°.

First Hand type (BEH B1; BMC iia; North 766)

Obv. legend around bust r. in circle. Rev. legend around hand of God flanked by alpha and omega in circle.

BEDFORD

- 1786 *Ælfstan*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLOR.** Rev. **†ÆLFSTAN MO BEDA.** 1.54g (pierced) 180°.
1787 *Oswig*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†OSƿI MONETA BEDA.** 1.44g 180°.

1773 CM.132–1974: from Collins & Clark; ex Wyatt; ex Pownall 49.

1774 CM.1.61–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

1775 CM.1.670–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt Copenhagen 1957; ex Argyll coll.; from Baldwin; ex Grantley 1105; from Schulmann.

1776 CM.ME.493–R: from Feuardent.

1777 CM.5.58–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 759; ex Brice coll.

1778 CM.547–2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.

1779 CM.YG.3194–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon–Britton 1051.

1780 CM.120–1967: ex Chilvers coll.; from SCMB 1956, no. 8318.

1781 CM.1.671–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Shirley–Fox coll.

1782 CM.548–2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.

1783 CM.1769–2008: from G. Taylor; found Torksey productive site, Lincolnshire (Blackburn 2011a, 24).

1784 CM.129–1994: from South 1994.

1785 CM.1.672–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Armitage coll.

1786 CM.134–1974: from Collins & Clark; ex Wyatt; from Lincoln.

1787 CM.133–1974: from Collins & Clark; ex Wyatt.



1773



1774



1775



1776



1777



1778



1779



1780



1781



1782



1783



1784



1785



1786



1787



1788



1789



1790



1791



1792



1793

ÆTHELRED II (*cont.*)

CAISTOR

- 1788 *Leofman*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLOX**. Rev. **†HENAN MO LANT** (NT ligatured). 1.48g (pierced) 0°. Peck-marks: 2/4.

CAMBRIDGE

- 1789 *Hunstan*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED [REX A]NGLOX**. Rev. **[†]HVNSTAN MO GRÆ[]**. 1.28g (chipped) 180°.

CANTERBURY

- 1790 *Boga*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLOX**. Rev. **†BOIA MO C/ENT**. 1.39g 90°. *SCBI* 1.628; 1867 *Catalogue*, 24.

- 1791 *Leofing*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLOX**; bust l. Rev. **†LIFINE MO C/ENTYARA**. 1.62g 0°. BEH B1a; North 767. Peck-marks: 0/1.

- 1792 *Leofstan*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†LEOFSTAN MO C/ENT**. 1.63g 180°. *SCBI* 1.629.

ILCHESTER

- 1793 *Goda*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†EOD MO GIELCES**. 1.40g 270°.

1788 CM.1915–2003; ex Conte 2003; from Spink 1994; ex Doubleday 30; ex Lockett 672a.

1789 CM.638–1960; ex Stewartby (gift); ex Taffs 81.

1790 CM.ME.494–R; ex Babington (gift) c. 1865.

1791 CM.1.673–1990; ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1963; ex Lockett 664; ex Burstal.

1792 CM.YG.3195–R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.

1793 CM.1.674–1990; ex Blunt coll.; bt Newcastle 1965.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

ÆTHELRED II (*cont.*)

First Hand type (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around bust r. in circle. Rev. legend around hand of God flanked by alpha and omega in circle.

IPSWICH

- 1794 *Leofman*. Obv. **†ÆÐILRED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†LEOFMÆN MO GIPEŠ**. 1.58g 0°. SCBI 1.630.
 1795 *Wealdferth*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†WÆLTFERÐ MO GIPE**. 1.71g 0°. SCBI 1.632.
 1796 *Wealdferth*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. as last. 1.63g 270°. SCBI 1.631.

LONDON

- 1797 *Cynesige*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†KYN SIGE MO LVNDONI**. 1.44g (pierced) 270°. Peck-marks: 10/1. Same dies as 1798.
 1798 *Cynesige*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.34g (perforated) 270°. SCBI 1.634. Peck-marks: 0/1. Same dies as 1797.
 1799 *Eadhelm*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†EADELM MO LVNDONI**. 1.53g 270°. SCBI 1.633.
 1800 *Godwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†GODFINE MO LVNDONI**. 1.55g 0°.
 1801 *Leofwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†LEOFFINE MO LVNDO**. 1.53g 90°.
 1802 *Oswulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†OSALF M ON LVNDONIA**. 1.46g (slightly chipped) 90°.
 1803 *Wulfstan*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†WLFSTAN MO LVNDONI**. 1.34g (slightly chipped) 60°. CCC Catalogue, 153.

[L]

- 1804 Uncertain mint beginning with L. Obv. **†[ÆÐELR]ED [REX ANGLØX]**. Rev. **[]MO L[]**. 0.54g (cut halfpenny, chipped) 0°.

MELTON MOWBRAY

- 1805 *Hild*. Obv. **†ÆÐELREDRED REX ANGO** (*sic*). Rev. **†HILDE MO MEÐELTV**. 1.14g (slightly chipped) 0°. Blackburn 2000b. Same dies as a coin in the Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm, Barstuga (Gotland) hoard.

WILTON

- 1806 *Leofweald*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†LEOFFOLD MO FIL**. 1.61g 0°. Peck-marks: 6/11.

YORK

- 1807 *‘Atlee’*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†ATLEE MONLEN[]E** (NL ligatured). 0.96g 45°. This coin belongs to a late anonymous group, probably issued during the time of the *Second Hand* type.

Second Hand type (BEH B2; BMC iid; North 768)

Obv. legend around bust r. w. trefoil-tipped sceptre in circle. Rev. legend around hand of God flanked by alpha and omega, w. additional curls above, in circle.

IPSWICH

- 1808 *Lytelman*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRD REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†LYTELMAN MO GIPEŠ**. 1.37g 180°. SCBI 1.635.

LONDON

- 1809 *Ælfnoth*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†ÆLFNOÐ MO LVNDO**. 1.22g 0°. SCBI 1.636.
 1810 *Ásketill*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†OSCYTEL MO LVNDO**. 1.44g 270°. SCBI 1.637.
 1811 *Beorhtsige*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†BYRHSIGE MO LVN**. 1.09g (chipped) 90°.
 1812 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†ÆÐEL[R/ED R]EX [ANGLØX]**. Rev. **†[]O LVND**. 0.60g (cut halfpenny) 75°.
 1813 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†[ÆÐELR]R/ED REX AN[GLØX]**. Rev. **[] MO LVND**. 0.54g (cut halfpenny) 270°.

LYDFORD

- 1814 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†[ÆÐELR/ED R]EX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†[]MO LYDAN**. 0.79g (cut halfpenny) 180°.

Benediction Hand type (BEH B3; BMC iif; North 769)

Obv. legend around bust r. w. cross-tipped sceptre in circle. Rev. legend around hand of God in blessing gesture, w. curls above, in circle.

ROCHESTER

- 1815 *Siduwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†SIDEFINE MO ROF**. 1.69g 270°. Peck-marks: 3/3.

1794 CM.28.11–1920: ex Hasluck coll.; probably from the Ipswich (1863) hoard.
 1795 CM.1.63–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.
 1796 CM.ME.495–R: no provenance; probably from the Ipswich (1863) hoard.
 1797 CM.1.3664–1990: ex Blunt coll.; found Boston, Lincolnshire, 1962.
 1798 CM.ME.496–R: no provenance.
 1799 CM.TR.1962–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Image 1869.
 1800 CM.1.675–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Owston Smith 1949; ex Grantley.
 1801 CM.135–1974: from Collins & Clark; ex Wyatt.
 1802 CM.1.676–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1964.

1803 CM.LS.5514–R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll.; from Johnston 25.3.1875; possibly from the Ipswich (1863) hoard?
 1804 CM.311–1991: ex S. Brown (gift); found at Beechamwell, Norfolk.
 1805 CM.428–1999: found near Easton, Hampshire, 1999 (EMC 1999.0097).
 1806 CM.1.677–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendinning sale 11, 9.7.1986, lot 257; ex Rose 96.
 1807 CM.153–1997: found near Malton, Yorks (EMC 1997.0041).
 1808 CM.YG.3196–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.

1809 CM.ME.497–R: no provenance.
 1810 CM.5.62–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
 1811 CM.1.678–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Shirley-Fox coll.
 1812 CM.549–2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.
 1813 CM.550–2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.
 1814 CM.551–2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.
 1815 CM.1.679–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1955; ex Argyll coll.; ex Drabble 864.



1794



1795



1796



1797



1798



1799



1800



1801



1802



1803



1804



1805



1806



1807



1808



1809



1810



1811



1812



1813



1814



1815

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

ÆTHELRED II (*cont.*)

Crux type (BEH C; BMC iiiia; North 770)

Obv. legend around bust l. w. trefoil-tipped sceptre in circle.
Rev. legend around voided short cross in circle w. letters **C R V X** in quarters.

CAMBRIDGE

- 1816 *Ælfric*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†ÆLFRIE MO GRANT**; pellets in angles of cross. 1.41g 270°. *SCBI* 1.639. Peck-marks: 1/3. Same rev. die as **1817**.
1817 *Ælfric*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. as last. 1.26g 0°. Peck-marks: 5/6. Same rev. die as **1816**.
1818 *Ælfric*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†ÆLFRIE MO GRANT**. 1.32g 270°. *SCBI* 1.638. Peck-marks: 11/4.
1819 *Ælfric*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.28g (chipped and cracked) 180°.
1820 *Ælfwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†ÆLFFINE MO GRANT**. 1.25g 90°. *SCBI* 1.640. Peck-marks: 7/3.
1821 *Åsketill*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†OŚCYTEL MO GRANT**. 1.72g 270°. *SCBI* 1.646. Peck-marks: 4/1.
1822 *Åsketill*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†OŚCYTEL MO GRANT**. 1.46g 90°. *SCBI* 1.647. Peck-marks: 0/1.
1823 *Eadmund*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†EADMVND MO GRANT**. 1.28g 270°. *SCBI* 1.641. Peck-marks: 4/0.
1824 *Eadric*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†EDRIC MO GRANT**. 1.51g 0°. *SCBI* 1.642. Peck-marks: 3/1. Same rev. die as **1825**.
1825 *Eadric*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.28g 270°. *SCBI* 1.643. Peck-marks: 11/7. Same rev. die as **1824**.

- 1816 CM.ME.499-R: no provenance.
1817 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 1927.554: no provenance.
1818 CM.ME.498-R: no provenance.
1819 CM.QC.5207-R: Queens' College loan 2002.
1820 CM.24-1926: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 3.12.1926; from Seaby.
1821 CM.39-1931: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 20.8.1931; from Seaby; ex Burstal 71; ex Stockholm duplicates 1883.
1822 CM.40-1931: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 20.8.1931; from Seaby.
1823 CM.38-1931: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 20.8.1931; from Seaby.

- 1824 CM.YG.3197-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.
1825 CM.109-1928: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) November 1928; from Seaby.
1826 CM.43-1931: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 20.8.1931; from Seaby.
1827 CM.204-1996: ex Jacob coll.; ex H. R. Mossop coll. (exchange) 1964.
1828 CM.203-1996: ex Jacob coll.; ex H. R. Mossop coll. (exchange).
1829 CM.ME.500-R: no provenance.
1830 CM.24-1935: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 17.5.1935; ex Wells.
1831 CM.25-1935: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 17.5.1935; ex Prankerd 490.

- 1826 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†EDFINE MO GRANT**. 1.10g 0°. *SCBI* 1.644. Peck-marks: 19/14.
1827 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. as last. 1.09g 90°. Peck-marks: 20/4.
1828 *Hunstan*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†HVSTAN MO GRANT**. 1.60g (cracked) 90°.
1829 *Leofioth*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†LEOFNOÐ MO GRANT**. 1.50g 90°. *SCBI* 1.645.
1830 *Siduwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†SIDFINE MO GRANT**. 1.64g 270°. *SCBI* 1.648.
1831 *Wulfgar*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†FVLGAR MO GRANT**. 1.59g (chipped) 270°. *SCBI* 1.649.

CANTERBURY

- 1832 *Duda*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED [REX ANGL]LØX**. Rev. **†DVDA MO C/ENT**. 1.65g 270°. *SCBI* 1.650.
1833 *Eadweald*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†EADWOLD MO C/ENT**. 1.51g 0°. *SCBI* 1.651. Same dies as **1834**.
1834 *Eadweald*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.36g 180°. *SCBI* 1.652. Peck-marks: 3/3. Same dies as **1833**.
1835 *Leofing*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†LIFINE MO C/ENT**. 1.45g 180°. *SCBI* 1.653.

EXETER

- 1836 *Ælfstan*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†ÆLFSTAN MO EAXE**. 1.61g 90°. *SCBI* 1.655. Peck-marks: 4/0.

- 1832 CM.YG.3199-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.
1833 No CM number: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.
1834 CM.YG.3200-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.
1835 CM.YG.3198-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.
1836 CM.5.60-1933: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby 8.4.1880, 305; found in Denmark.



1816



1817



1818



1819



1820



1821



1822



1823



1824



1825



1826



1827



1828



1829



1830



1831



1832



1833



1834



1835



1836



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

ÆTHELRED II (*cont.*)

Crux type (cont.)

Obv. legend around bust l. w. trefoil-tipped sceptre in circle. Rev. legend around voided short cross in circle w. letters **Ċ R V X** in quarters.

EXETER (*cont.*)

- 1837 *Ælfstan*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.43g 270°. *SCBI* 1.654.
1838 *Eadric*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ÆDRIC MO EAXEC**. 1.60g 270°. *SCBI* 1.657.

HUNTINGDON

- 1839 *Ælfric*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ÆLFRIC MO HVNT**. 1.49g (chipped) 270°. *SCBI* 1.658.

IPSWICH

- 1840 *Wulfhelm*. Obv. as last. Rev. **WVLFELM MO GIFEL**. 1.44g 270°. *SCBI* 1.659. Peck-marks: 5/6.

LEWES

- 1841 *Leofwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. **LEOFFINE MO LEFE**. 1.49g 0°. *SCBI* 1.660.

LONDON

- 1842 *Ælfgar*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ÆLFGAR MO LVND**. 1.57g 270°. *SCBI* 1.661.
1843 *Ælfgeat*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ÆLFGEAT MO LVN**. 1.33g 0°. Peck-marks: 4/2.
1844 *Ælfnoth*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ÆLFNOÐ MO LVN**. 1.54g (chipped) 90°. *SCBI* 1.662.
1845 *Æthelræd*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ÆÐERED MO LVNDO**. 1.62g 90°. *SCBI* 1.663.
1846 *Ceolnoth*. Obv. **ÆÐ[ELR/ED] REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **ÆEOLNOÐ [MO LV]ND**. 1.33g (chipped) 0°. *SCBI* 1.664.

- 1847 *Godric*. Obv. **ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **ÆODRIC MO LVND**. 1.49g 270°. Peck-marks: 8/0.
1848 *Godwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. **ÆODFINE MO LVN**. 1.20g (chipped and pierced) 0°. *SCBI* 1.665. Peck-marks: 6/0.
1849 *Heahwulf*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HEAPVLF MOO LVN**. 1.46g 180°. *SCBI* 1.666. Peck-marks: 8/0.
1850 *Leofnoth*. Obv. **ÆÐELR/ED REX ANG[LOX]**. Rev. **HL[EOF]NOÐ MO LVND**. 1.11g (badly chipped) 0°.
1851 *Sweting*. Obv. **ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **ÆSPETING MO LVND**. 1.52g (slightly chipped) 90°. *SCBI* 1.667.
1852 *Sweting*. Obv. **ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLX**. Rev. **ÆSPETING MO LVN**. 1.18g 180°. Peck-marks: 1/2.
1853 *Wulfgar*. Obv. **ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **WVLFGAR MO LVND**. 1.60g 270°. *CCC Catalogue*, 154.

LYMPNE

- 1854 *Leofric*. Obv. **ÆÐER/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **ÆLEOFRIC MO LIMNP** (NP ligatured). 1.47g 270°. *SCBI* 1.668. Peck-marks: 3/1.

MALDON

- 1855 *Ælfwine*. Obv. **ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLX**. Rev. **ÆLFFINE MO M/ELD**. 1.40g 270°. *SCBI* 1.669. Peck-marks: 3/5.
1856 *Ælfwine*. Obv. **ÆÐELR[ED RE]X A[NG]LOX**. Rev. **[Æ]EL[FFI]NE MO M/ELDV**. 1.21g (badly chipped) 90°.

MALMESBURY

- 1857 *Ealdred*. Obv. **ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **ÆEALDRED MO MALD**. 1.59g (cracked) 90°. *SCBI* 1.670. Peck-marks: 10?/8.

1837 CM.YG.3202-R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.

1838 CM.YG.3201-R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.

1839 CM.ME.369-R; no provenance.

1840 CM.ME.501-R; no provenance.

1841 CM.YG.3203-R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 16.6.1885, lot 30.

1842 CM.788-1910; from Spink 1910.

1843 CM.1.680-1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex

Owston Smith 1949; ex Grantley.

1844 CM.ME.502-R; ex Cambridge

Antiquarian Society; ex Babington (gift); found Free School Lane, Cambridge (EMC 1001.0662).

1845 CM.YG.3204-R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.

1846 CM.ME.503-R; no provenance.

1847 CM.1.681-1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Owston Smith 1949; ex Grantley.

1848 CM.YG.3205-R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.

1849 CM.YG.3206-R; no provenance.

1850 CM.236-1964; ex Vidler (gift); found at Worcester, Worcestershire, 1922?

1851 CM.ME.504-R; no provenance.

1852 CM.1.682-1990; ex Blunt coll.

1853 CM.LS.5515-R; Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll.; from Keeble 10.12.1873; found near Bury St Edmund's, Suffolk.

1854 CM.YG.3207-R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 505.

1855 CM.YG.3208-R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 506.

1856 CM.48-2011; ex Wherrett (gift).

1857 CM.YG.3209-R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 506.



1837



1838



1839



1840



1841



1842



1843



1844



1845



1846



1847



1848



1849



1850



1851



1852



1853



1854



1855



1856



1857



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

ÆTHELRED II (*cont.*)

Crux type (cont.)

Obv. legend around bust l. w. trefoil-tipped sceptre in circle. Rev. legend around voided short cross in circle w. letters **Ċ R V X** in quarters.

NORWICH

- 1858 *Manning*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†MANINE MO NORÐFI**. 1.66g 180°. *SCBI* 1.671. Peck-marks: 7/o.

SOUTHWARK

- 1859 *Ælfric*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†ÆLFRIĊ MO SVDBY**. 1.36g 0°. *SCBI* 1.672.

TOTNES

- 1860 *Ælfstan*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†ÆLFSTAN MO TOTAL**. 1.45g 0°. *SCBI* 1.673.

WILTON

- 1861 *Godwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†GODFINE MO FILTV**. 1.72g 180°. Peck-marks: 3/o.

WINCHESTER

- 1862 *Beornsig*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†BYRNΣIGE MO FINT**. 1.64g 0°. *CCC Catalogue*, 155.
1863 *Beornsig*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†BYRNΣIGE MO FINT**. 1.60g 90°. Biddle 2012a, 419a.
1864 *Godwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†GODFINE MO FINT**. 1.63g 180°. *SCBI* 1.674; Biddle 2012a, 440a.
1865 *Leofiveald*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†LEOFFOLD MO FINT**. 1.68g 0°.

YORK

- 1866 *Hundulfr*. Obv. **†EÐELRED REX AILØX**. Rev. **†HVNDVLF MO EOF**. 1.36g 240°. *SCBI* 1.675.

Small Crux type (BEH Ca; *BMC* iiiia var.; North 770 var.)

Types as last, but struck on smaller flans of lower weight and with minor alterations to the bust and lettering.

CANTERBURY

- 1867 *Leofstan*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†LEOFΣAN MO ĊÆNT**. 1.30g 180°. Peck-marks: 5/o.

EXETER

- 1868 *Ketill*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†CYTEL MO EAXE**. 1.19g 90°. *SCBI* 1.656. Peck-marks: 6/o. This coin shares some (but not all) of the stylistic features of *Small Crux*.

ROCHESTER

- 1869 *Beorhtmær*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†BERHT M/ER MO ROFE**. 1.34g 180°.

Transitional Crux type (BEH C var.; *BMC* iiiia var.; North 770 var.)

Types as *Crux* (1816–66), but style of bust closer to *Long Cross*.

UNCERTAIN MINT

- 1870 [*lfwine*. Obv. **[ÆÐEL]R/ED R[EX ANGLØX]**. Rev. [**FFINE M**]. 0.59g (fragment) 90°.

- 1858 CM.ME.505-R: no provenance.
1859 CM.564-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
1860 CM.ME.506-R: no provenance.
1861 CM.1.684-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970.
1862 CM.LS.5516-R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll.; from Keeble

- 10.12.1873; found near Bury St Edmund's, Suffolk.
1863 CM.1.685-1990: ex Blunt coll.
1864 CM.YG.3210-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.
1865 CM.PG.183-2006: Grierson bequest; from Seaby 22.2.1945.
1866 CM.ME.507-R: ex Thomas 17.

- 1867 CM.1.687-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Armitage coll.; bt London 1960.
1868 CM.YG.3211-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.
1869 CM.1.683-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1955; ex Argyll coll.
1870 CM.646-2006: from Rev. R. Palmer.



1858



1859



1860



1861



1862



1863



1864



1865



1866



1867



1868



1869



1870



1871



1872



1873



1874



1875



1876



1877



1878



ÆTHELRED II (cont.)

Intermediate Small Cross type (BEH A; BMC i; North 773)

Obv. legend around bust l. in circle. Rev. legend around small cross pattée in circle.

WILTON

- 1871 *Sæwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLØV**. Rev. **†S/EPINE MO FILTVN**. 1.65g 6°. Peck-marks: 1/1.

Intermediate Small Cross/Cruz mule (BEH Cb; BMC iii; North 773)

See above for obv. and rev. types.

LONDON

- 1872 *Godwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†EODFINE MO O LVN**. 1.18g (cracked) 270°. Peck-marks: 3/4.

WINCHESTER

- 1873 *Beorhtmar*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **†BYRHTM/ER MO FIN**. 1.48g (pierced and plugged) 180°. Biddle 2012a, 535a.

Long Cross type (BEH D; BMC iva; North 774)

Obv. legend around bust l. Rev. legend around and broken by double long cross w. omega terminals.

BATH

- 1874 *Eadstan*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØI**. Rev. **†ED STAN MΩO BΛÐ**. 1.70g 180°. SCBI 1.676. Peck-marks: 1/5.

CAMBRIDGE

- 1875 *Ælfric*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†ÆL FRIC MΘ G RΛNT**. 1.70g 180°. SCBI 1.678. Peck-marks: 4/24. Same dies as **1876–7**.
 1876 *Ælfric*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.57g 90°. SCBI 1.677. Peck-marks: 8/19. Same dies as **1875** and **1877**.
 1877 *Ælfric*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.69g 270°. Peck-marks: 1/12. Same dies as **1875–6**.
 1878 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX AL**. Rev. **†ED FNE MΘ G RΛT**. 1.39g 180°. SCBI 1.680. Peck-marks: 0/8.

1871 CM.1920–2003; ex Conte 2003; ex Ahlström sale 62, 11.11.2000, lot 115.

1872 CM.2246–1997; ex Baldwin sale 13, 28.5.1997, lot 1610; from a 'Danish hoard'.

1873 CM.1.688–1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Taffs 77.

1874 CM.5.59–1933; ex Henderson coll. (gift); bt 1890.

1875 CM.44–1931; from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 20.8.1931; from Seaby.

1876 CM.41–1931; from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 20.8.1931; from Seaby.

1877 CM.203–1964; no provenance.

1878 CM.27–1935; from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 17.5.1935; ex Wells.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

ÆTHELRED II (cont.)

Long Cross type (cont.)

Obv. legend around bust I. Rev. legend around and broken by double long cross w. omega terminals.

CAMBRIDGE (cont.)

- 1879 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRDE REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†EDF INE MΩO G RAN**. 1.38g 180°. Peck-marks: 0/8. Same obv. die as **1880**.
- 1880 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRDE REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†ED FIN E MO G RANT**. 1.32g 270°. Same obv. die as **1879** and same rev. die as **1881**.
- 1881 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†ED FNE MO G RANT**. 1.36g 270°. *SCBI* 1.679. Peck-marks: 0/1. Same rev. die as **1880**.
- 1882 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRDE REX ANG**. Rev. **†ED FIN E MO GRA**. 1.32g 270°. *SCBI* 1.682. Possibly turned in striking?
- 1883 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX AN**. Rev. **†ED FIN E MO GRA**. 1.30g 280°. *SCBI* 1.681. Peck-marks: 5/8. Same dies as **1884**.
- 1884 *Eadwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†ED FIN E MO GRA**. 1.18g 180°. Peck-marks: 0/10. Same dies as **1883**.
- 1885 *Godric*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†EO DRIC MO G RANT**. 1.74g 180°. *SCBI* 1.683. Same obv. die as **1886**.
- 1886 *Godric*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.68g 180°. *SCBI* 1.684. Peck-marks: 0/1. Double-struck on obverse. Same obv. die as **1885**.
- 1887 *Wulfsgie*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX AN**. Rev. **†FVL FSI E MO GRA**. 1.36g 270°. *SCBI* 1.685. Peck-marks: 2/12.

CANTERBURY

- 1888 *Eadweald*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGOX**. Rev. **†EAD FOLD MΩO CÆNT**. 1.64g 180°. *SCBI* 1.686. Peck-marks: 2/0.

CHESTER

- 1889 *Leofwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELJR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†LEO FFIN E MO LEGE**. 1.66g 90°. *SCBI* 1.687. Peck-marks: 4/7.

DORCHESTER

- 1890 *Wulfnoth*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†FVL F NOÐ MΩO DOR**. 1.70g 0°. *SCBI* 1.688.

EXETER

- 1891 *Dunstan*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†DV NSTA N MO EAXE**. 1.64g 90°. *SCBI* 1.690. Peck-marks: 9/3.
- 1892 *Dunstan*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGL**. Rev. **†DV NSTA N MO EAXE**. 1.57g 270°. *SCBI* 1.689. Peck-marks: 5/0.
- 1893 *Dunstan*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.35g 90°. *SCBI* 1.691. Peck-marks: 0/6.

GLOUCESTER

- 1894 *Godwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†EOD FINE MΩO GLEA**. 1.68g 90°. *SCBI* 1.692. Peck-marks: 1/2.

HEREFORD

- 1895 *Beorhtstan*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGL**. Rev. **†BYR HSTA N MO HERE**. 1.23g (cracked) 180°. *SCBI* 1.693. Peck-marks: 0/15.
- 1896 *Dilion*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†DIL ION MΩO HERE**. 1.42g 0°. Peck-marks: 3/18. This unusual moneyer's name may be connected to that of a village north-west of Hereford, Dilwyn (spelt in early sources as *Dilven*, *Dilge*, *Dilun* or *Dilum*). This place name represents a Cambricised form of OE *diglum* (dative plural of *digle*, 'secret/remote place'). The moneyer may have been named for his place of origin in this village (Paul Russell, pers. comm.).

HERTFORD

- 1897 *Godric*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†EO DRIC MO HRT**. 1.41g 270°. *SCBI* 1.694. Peck-marks: 0/5.

LINCOLN

- 1898 *Æthelnoth*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGL**; unusually crude style. Rev. **†ÆÐE LNOÐ MΩO LINEO**. 1.45g 90°. *SCBI* 1.695. Peck-marks: 0/2.
- 1899 *Grimr*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†GR IM M ΩO LI NCOL**. 1.78g 180°. *SCBI* 1.697. Peck-marks: 5/1.

- 1879 CM.206-1996: ex Jacob coll.; from Spink, December 1963 (Jacob 1984a, 39 (pl. 1, 15)).
- 1880 CM.205-1996: ex Jacob coll. (Jacob 1984a, 39 (pl. 1, 16)).
- 1881 CM.18-1926: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 24.11.1926; from Seaby.
- 1882 CM.28-1935: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 17.5.1935; ex Wells.
- 1883 CM.42-1931: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 20.8.1931; from Seaby.
- 1884 CM.1.695-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Dolley (gift) 16.7.1964; ex Bagnall coll.; ex Parsons (1929) 134.
- 1885 CM.ME.508-R: no provenance.

- 1886 CM.255-1939: ex Shrubbs (gift) 13.6.1939.
- 1887 CM.24-1935: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 29.5.1935; ex Wells.
- 1888 CM.ME.509-R: no provenance.
- 1889 CM.YG.3212-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.
- 1890 CM.YG.3213-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.
- 1891 CM.YG.3215-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.
- 1892 CM.YG.3214-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.

- 1893 CM.YG.3216-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.
- 1894 CM.YG.3217-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 513; ex Evans; bt in Sweden.
- 1895 CM.YG.3218-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 513.
- 1896 CM.1.689-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1963; ex Allcard.
- 1897 CM.YG.3219-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 513.
- 1898 CM.787-1910: from Lincoln 1910.
- 1899 CM.YG.3220-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.



1879



1880



1881



1882



1883



1884



1885



1886



1887



1888



1889



1890



1891



1892



1893



1894



1895



1896



1897



1898



1899



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

ÆTHELRED II (*cont.*)

Long Cross type (cont.)

Obv. legend around bust I. Rev. legend around and broken by double long cross w. omega terminals.

LINCOLN (*cont.*)

- 1900 *Kolgrimr*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRE[D] REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†EOL GRIM MΩO LIN**. 1.54g (pierced) 180°. *SCBI* 1.696.

LONDON

- 1901 *Ælfric*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX [AN]**. Rev. **†EL FRI C MO LVN**. 0.94g 90°. *SCBI* 1.698. Peck-marks: 6/16.
 1902 *Beorhtlaf*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†BRI HTLA F MO LVND**. 1.69g 90°. *SCBI* 1.699. Peck-marks: 2/4. Same dies as 1903.
 1903 *Beorhtlaf*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.62g 90°. Peck-marks: 0/4. Same dies as 1902.
 1904 *Eadweald*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGL**. Rev. **†EAD FOLD MO L VND**. 1.40g 180°. *SCBI* 1.700.
 1905 *Leofnoth*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†LEO FNO Ð MO LVND**. 1.51g 270°. *SCBI* 1.701. Peck-marks: 3/10.
 1906 *Leofstan*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†LEO FSTA N MO LVND**. 1.67g 0°. Peck-marks: 5/11.
 1907 *Leofwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†LEO FFINE MO L VND**. 1.65g 90°. Peck-marks: 1/3.
 1908 *Lyfing*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGL**. Rev. **†LYF INC MO L VND**. 1.63g 0°. Peck-marks: 0/11.
 1909 *Sweeting*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†SFE TINE MO L VND**. 1.64g 270°.

LYDFORD

- 1910 *Goda*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX AN**. Rev. **†GO ÐA M ΩO L YÐA**. 1.33g 90°. *SCBI* 1.702. Peck-marks: 0/5.

LYMPNE

- 1911 *Godric*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†GOD RIC M ΩO LI MNV**. 1.52g (cracked) 0°. *SCBI* 1.703. Peck-marks: 3/4.

NORWICH

- 1912 *Ælfric*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†ELF RIC M O NO R-ÐFI**. 1.66g 0°. *SCBI* 1.704. Peck-marks: 2/1.

OXFORD

- 1913 *Ælfmær*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†ELF M/ER MΩO OXNA**. 1.65g 0°. *SCBI* 1.705. Peck-marks: 1/0.

SOUTHAMPTON

- 1914 *Spileman*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†SPI LEMA N MO HAN**. 1.49g (cracked) 90°. Peck-marks: 0/7.

SOUTHWARK

- 1915 *Godric*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGL**. Rev. **†GO DRI C MO SVÐ**. 1.09g 90°. *SCBI* 1.706.

TOTNES

- 1916 *Ælfstan*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†ELF STAN MΩO TOTAN**. 1.68g 90°. *SCBI* 1.707.
 1917 *Wulfmær*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†WVL FM/E R MO TOTA**. 1.50g (slightly chipped) 180°. *SCBI* 1.708. Peck-marks: 0/4.

WILTON

- 1918 *Goldus*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†EOL DVΣ MΩO FILT**. 1.69g 180°.
 1919 *Sewine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†S/E FINE MΩO FILT**. 1.74g 90°. Peck-marks: 4/2. Same obv. die as two London pennies (Æthelweard and Godwine), one each from the List and Kännungs hoards.

WINCHESTER

- 1920 *Ælfsige*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†ELF SIGE MΩO FINT**. 1.72g 90°. Peck-marks: 0/2.

- 1900 CM.ME.510-R: no provenance.
 1901 CM.YG.3221-R: ex Young coll. (gift); Sotheby 8.4.1880, 305; found in Denmark.
 1902 CM.YG.3222-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.
 1903 CM.1.3665-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Owston Smith 1949; ex Grantley.
 1904 CM.ME.511-R: no provenance.
 1905 CM.ME.512-R: no provenance.
 1906 CM.139-1978: ex B. K. Burn (gift).

- 1907 CM.1.690-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt on the Quai Voltaire, Paris, 1925.
 1908 CM.140-1978: ex B. K. Burn (gift).
 1909 CM.29-1963: no provenance.
 1910 CM.YG.3223-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 515.
 1911 CM.YG.3224-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 515.
 1912 CM.YG.3225-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 515; ex Moon 19.
 1913 CM.YG.3226-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 515.

- 1914 CM.1.691-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1955; ex Argyll coll.
 1915 CM.ME.513-R: no provenance.
 1916 CM.5.65-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 793.
 1917 CM.ME.514-R: no provenance.
 1918 CM.1.692-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendinning sale 1, 1.2.1984, lot 57.
 1919 CM.1.693-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex W.J. W. Blunt (gift) 16.7.1964.
 1920 CM.1.3369-1990: ex Blunt coll.



1900



1901



1902



1903



1904



1905



1906



1907



1908



1909



1910



1911



1912



1913



1914



1915



1916



1917



1918



1919



1920



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

ÆTHELRED II (*cont.*)

Long Cross type (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around bust I. Rev. legend around and broken by double long cross w. omega terminals.

WINCHESTER (*cont.*)

- 1921 *Æthelgar*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†ÆÐ ELGA R MØ PINT**. 1.70g 180°. *SCBI* 1.709; Biddle 2012a, 573a.
1922 *‘Æthelf’*. Obv. **†ÆDEFRED RE+ AEO**. Rev. **†ÆC DTÆ MØØ FIN**. 1.40g 180°. Contemporary imitation?

UNCERTAIN MINT

- 1923 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†ÆDE[LR/ED REX ANGLØ]**. Rev. **[]D MØ L[]**. 0.76g (fragment) 270°.

Helmet type (BEH E; *BMC* viii; North 775)

Obv. legend around armoured and helmeted bust I. Rev. legend around and broken by double long cross w. omega terminals and lozenge w. trefoil terminals in centre.

CAMBRIDGE

- 1924 *Cniht*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†EN IT M O GR ANT**. 1.12g 180°. *SCBI* 1.710. Peck-marks: 2/5.
1925 *Leofsig*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†LEOFSIGE MØ G RANT**. 1.48g 270°. *SCBI* 1.712. Peck-marks: 1/0. Same dies as **1926**.
1926 *Leofsig*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.43g 0°. *SCBI* 1.711. Peck-marks: 9/4. Same dies as **1925**.
1927 *Leofsig*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†LEO FSIG E MØØ GRANT**. 1.09g (cracked) 270°. Peck-marks: 3/4. Obv. die also used at Huntingdon.
1928 *Wulfsig*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†FVL FSIG MØ G RANT** (NT ligatured). 1.36g 180°. *SCBI* 1.715. Same obv. die as **1929–30**.
1929 *Wulfsig*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†FV LFSG MØ G RAN**. 1.36g 0°. *SCBI* 1.713. Peck-marks: 6/7. Same dies as **1930** and same obv. die as **1928**.

- 1930 *Wulfsig*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.29g 180°. *SCBI* 1.714. Same dies as **1928**.

- 1931 *Wulfsig*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†FVL FSIGE MØØ GRANT**. 1.30g 270°. *SCBI* 1.716. Peck-marks: 0/18.

CANTERBURY

- 1932 *Godwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†EOD FINE MØØ CENT**. 1.22g 180°. *SCBI* 1.717.

CHESTER

- 1933 *Ælfstan*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†ÆLF STAN MØØ LEIG**. 1.39g 270°. *SCBI* 1.718. Peck-marks: 0/1.

EXETER

- 1934 *Dudel*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX AEG**. Rev. **†DV DEL MØ E AXE**. 1.21g 270°. *SCBI* 1.719.
1935 *Wulfstan*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†FVL FSTAN MØ EAXE**. 0.93g (chipped) 90°. *SCBI* 1.720.

LINCOLN

- 1936 *Authgrmr*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†OD GRM MØ LIN**. 1.48g 90°. *SCBI* 1.721. Peck-marks: 5/9.

LONDON

- 1937 *Ælfwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†ÆLF FINE MØØ LVND**. 1.48g 180°. Peck-marks: 1/10.
1938 *Æthelweard*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED R[EX ANGLØ]**. Rev. **[†ÆÐEL F]ER D MØ LVNDE**. 0.99g (badly chipped) 180°. *SCBI* 1.722.
1939 *Brunstan*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†BRV NSTA N MØ LVND**. 1.48g 270°. *SCBI* 1.723. Peck-marks: 1/4.
1940 *Eadwald*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†EAD WOLF D MØ LVND**. 1.42g 0°. Peck-marks: 1/2.
1941 *Ealdgar*. Obv. **†ÆLR/ED REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **†EAL DEA R MØ LVND**. 1.32g 90°. *SCBI* 1.724.

- 1921 CM.1.64–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.
1922 CM.1.694–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1964; from the Shaftesbury hoard (Dolley 1956c, no. 92).
1923 CM.353–2010: found Bottisham, Cambridgeshire, c. 1993 (EMC 2003.0091).
1924 CM.33–1935: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 29.5.1931; ex Wells.
1925 CM.18–1944: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 24.3.1944; ex Grantley 1135.
1926 CM.45–1931: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 20.8.1931; from Seaby.
1927 CM.207–1996: ex Jacob coll.
1928 CM.26–1935: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 17.5.1935; ex Wells.

- 1929 CM.35–1935: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 29.5.1935; ex Wells; ex Evans; bt in Sweden, 1893.
1930 CM.19–1944: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 24.3.1944; ex Grantley 1135.
1931 CM.34–1935: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 17.5.1935; ex Wells.
1932 CM.20–1944: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 24.3.1944; ex Grantley 1135.
1933 CM.ME.515–R: no provenance.
1934 CM.21–1944: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 24.3.1944; ex Grantley 1135.
1935 CM.YG.3227: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.

- 1936 CM.22–1944: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 22.3.1944; ex Grantley 1135.
1937 CM.1.696–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Shirley-Fox coll.
1938 CM.23–1944: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 22.3.1944; ex Grantley 1135.
1939 CM.YG.3228–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.
1940 CM.1.697–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Owston Smith 1949; ex Grantley.
1941 CM.5–1957: ex Childerley (gift); found at Grantchester, Cambridgeshire (EMC 1001.0724).



1921



1922



1923



1924



1925



1926



1927



1928



1929



1930



1931



1932



1933



1934



1935



1936



1937



1938



1939



1940



1941



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

ÆTHELRED II (*cont.*)

Helmet type (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around armoured and helmeted bust l. Rev. legend around and broken by double long cross w. omega terminals and lozenge w. trefoil terminals in centre.

LONDON (*cont.*)

- 1942 *Wulfstan*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†FVL FSTΛ N MΘ LVND**. 1.39g (pierced and cracked) 180°. SCBI 1.725.

NORWICH

- 1943 *Svertingr*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGL**. Rev. **†SVE RTE MO N ORÐ**. 1.17g 180°. SCBI 1.726. Peck-marks: 0/2.

SALISBURY

- 1944 *Goldus*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†GO LDVS MO S EREB**. 1.47g 90°. Peck-marks: 7/0.

THETFORD

- 1945 *Deonvine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGL**. Rev. **†DYR EFNE MΩO ÐEOT**. 1.22g (pierced) 270°. SCBI 1.727. Peck-marks: 2/0.

Agnus Dei type (BEH G; BMC xi; North 776)

SALISBURY

- 1946 *Sæwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**, lamb of God r. w. cross and tablet inscribed w. alpha and omega. Rev. **†SÆFINE ON SER EBYRI**, bird soaring upwards. 1.52g (bent) 270°. Keynes and Naismith 2011, 6.

Last Small Cross type (BEH A; BMC i; North 777)

Obv. legend around bust l. in circle. Rev. legend around small cross pattée in circle.

CAMBRIDGE

- 1947 *Ade*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†ADE MO GRANTBRY**. 1.10g 200°.

- 1948 *Ælfwig*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLX**; bust r. Rev. **†ÆLFPI MO GRANT**. 1.82g 90°. BEH A var. a; BMC i var. a; North 780.

- 1949 *Ælfwig*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR[ED R]EX [Λ]NGLOR**. Rev. **†ÆLFPI OM GRANT**. 1.53g 0°. SCBI 1.728. Peck-marks: 6/13.

- 1950 *Wulfsige*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGL**. Rev. **†FVLFSIGE ON GRΛ**. 1.67g 0°. SCBI 1.731. Peck-marks: 1/5.

- 1951 *Wulfsige*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†FVLFSIGE MON GRANT**; four pellets breaking circle. 1.36g 180°. SCBI 1.735. Peck-marks: 2/5. Same obv. die as **1952–4**.

- 1952 *Wulfsige*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†FVLFSIGE MON GRAN**; four pellets breaking circle. 1.31g 90°. SCBI 1.734; 1867 *Catalogue*, 23. Peck-marks: 2/13. Same obv. die as **1951** and **1953–4**.

- 1953 *Wulfsige*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†FVLFSIGE MON GRAN**. 1.33g 90°. SCBI 1.732. Peck-marks: 0/7. Same obv. die as **1951–2** and **1954**.

- 1954 *Wulfsige*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†FVLFSIGE MON GRANT**. 1.18g 180°. SCBI 1.729. Peck-marks: 2/1. Same obv. die as **1951–3**.

- 1955 *Wulfsige*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†FVLFSIGE MON GRAN**. 1.21g 0°. SCBI 1.733. Peck-marks: 4/8. Same obv. die as BEH 689 (a coin of DERW, moneyer Eadric).

CHESTER

- 1956 *Ælfstan*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED [REX] ANG**. Rev. **†ÆLFSTAN ON LEIG**. 1.02g (cracked) 90°. SCBI 1.736. Peck-marks: 7/23.

- 1957 *Leofwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANG**. Rev. **†LEOFFINE ON LEIG**. 1.29g 90°. SCBI 1.737. Peck-marks: 3/9.

1942 CM.24–1944: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 22.3.1944; ex Grantley 1135.

1943 CM.5.63–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

1944 CM.1.698–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt Spink 1968; ex Burstal 16; ex Argyll coll.

1945 CM.386–1923: ex Jenkinson.

1946 CM.1–2009: from Spink 2008; found Thornwood Common, Essex, October 2008 (EMC 2014.0068).

1947 CM.148–2001: ex Talbot (gift) 2001; from Granta Stamp and Coin Shop c. 1998; probably from the 'Cnut' hoard.

1948 CM.49–1994: ex Dolphin Coins (gift); 'a recent stray find [from] near Cambridge', Cambridgeshire.

1949 CM.39–1935: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 29.5.1935.

1950 CM.38–1935: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 29.5.1935; ex Wells; ex Evans; bt in Sweden 1893.

1951 CM.2085–1939: ex Clarke (gift) 1939; ex Drabble 444.

1952 CM.ME.533–R: ex Babington (gift) 1867; ex Murchison 299.

1953 CM.46–1931: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 20.8.1931; from Seaby; possibly ex Cassal 43.

1954 CM.36–1935: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 29.5.1935; ex Wells; ex Evans; bt in Sweden 1893.

1955 CM.37–1935: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 29.5.1935.

1956 CM.YG.3242–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.

1957 CM.YG.3243–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 305; found in Denmark.



1942



1943



1944



1945



1946



1947



1948



1949



1950



1951



1952



1953



1954



1955



1956



1957



1958



1959



1960



1961



1962



ÆTHELRED II (*cont.*)

Last Small Cross type (cont.)

CISSBURY

- 1958 *Ceolnoth*. Obv. **†E-ÐELR/ED REX ANGL**. Rev. **†CIOL NO-Ð ON SIDESETEB**. 1.76g o°. Peck-marks: o/12. The dies of this coin were also used in Scandinavia (Malmer 1997, die nos. 606/1708; cf. Blackburn 1985a, 109), raising the question of whether the coin was made before or after the abstraction of the dies from England. No certainty is possible; however, the regular die-axis points towards an English origin, and the weight is high but not impossibly so for an early English-made *Last Small Cross* penny.

EXETER

- 1959 *Sæwine*. Obv. **†E-ÐELR/ED REX ANGL**. Rev. **†S/EFINE ON EAXCESTR**. 1.30g o°. *SCBI* 1.738. Peck-marks: o/1.
1960 *Wulfsgige*. Obv. **†E-ÐELR/ED REX ANGL**. Rev. **†WLFSGIGE ON EAXECΣ**. 1.66g o°. *SCBI* 1.739.

IPSWICH

- 1961 *Leofing*. Obv. **†E-ÐELR/ED REX ANGL**. Rev. **†LYFINE ON GYSPIC**. 1.74g 180°.

LINCOLN

- 1962 *Æthelnoth*. Obv. **†E-ÐELRED REX ANGL**. Rev. **†E-ÐELNO-Ð MO LIN**. 1.16g o°. *SCBI* 1.740. Peck-marks: o/10.

1958 CM.800-2012: ex Lockdale sale 95, 14.7.2012, lot 865; ex Elmore Jones 204; ex Norweb 1222 (*SCBI* 30, 471).

1959 CM.YG.3244-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 16.6.1885, lot 30.
1960 CM.ME.534-R: no provenance.

1961 CM.641-1960: ex Lockett 3720.
1962 CM.ME.535-R: no provenance.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

ÆTHELRED II (*cont.*)

Last Small Cross type (cont.)

Obv. legend around bust l. in circle. Rev. legend around small cross pattée in circle.

LINCOLN (*cont.*)

- 1963 *Bruntat* (?). Obv. **†ÆÐ[ELRED REX] ÆNG.** Rev. **†BRN[TAT MO LINE]OLN.** o.55g (cut halfpenny) 45°.
1964 *Leofwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANG.** Rev. **†LEOFFINE MO LIN.** 1.06g o°. *SCBI* 1.741. Peck-marks: 1/5.

LONDON

- 1965 *Ælfwig*. Obv. **†ÆDELRED REX ANGLO.** Rev. **†ELFFI MO LVNDEN.** 1.33g 270°. Peck-marks: 5/7.
1966 *Ælfwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLO RV.** Rev. **†ELFFI MØN LVNDN.** 1.08g 180°. *SCBI* 1.742.
1967 *Eadwig*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLO.** Rev. **†EDFI MØN LVNDEN.** 1.54g 270°.
1968 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOX.** Rev. **†EDFINE MTR ON LVNDEN;** two annulets in field. 1.26g o°. *SCBI* 1.743; 1867 *Catalogue*, 22; *Perne Catalogue*, Saxon and English 1.
1969 *Leofstan*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOX.** Rev. **†LEOFSTAN ON LVND.** 1.32g 270°. *SCBI* 1.744. Peck-marks: 1/6.
1970 *Leofwig*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANG.** Rev. **†LIOFFI MO LVNDEN.** 0.94g (pierced and chipped) 270°. *SCBI* 1.745. Peck-marks: 1/11.

LYDFORD

- 1971 *Godric*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLI.** Rev. **†GODRIC ON LYDANFO.** 1.06g 180°.

NORWICH

- 1972 *Osweald*. Obv. **†EDEL R/ED REX ANG.** Rev. **†OZFO LD MONONR-Ð.** 1.23g 180°. Peck-marks: 3/20.

SALISBURY

- 1973 *Godwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLO.** Rev. **†GODFINE ON SEARB.** 1.41g 270°. Peck-marks: 2/4.

WARMINSTER

- 1974 *Godwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGL.** Rev. **†GODIFNE ON FORIME.** 1.43g 270°. Peck-marks: 1/4.

WINCHESTER

- 1975 *Beorhtic*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGL.** Rev. **†BRHTRIC ON FINEST.** 1.06g 180°. *SCBI* 1.746; Biddle 2012a, 741a. Peck-marks: 1/7.
1976 *Brunstan*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLO.** Rev. **†BRVNSTAN ON FINTC.** 1.74g 90°. Biddle 2012a, 749a. Peck-marks: 0/11.
1977 *Leofwine*. Obv. **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGL.** Rev. **†LEOFFINE ON FINEST.** 1.17g 180°. *SCBI* 1.747; Biddle 2012a, 834a.
1978 *Oda*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLO.** Rev. **†ODAN ON FINESTRE.** 1.27g 180°. Biddle 2012a, 844a. Peck-marks: 2/13.
1979 *Sigeboda*. Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGL.** Rev. **†SIBODAN ON FINESE.** 1.41g o°. Biddle 2012a, 870a. Peck-marks: 0/3.

YORK

- 1980 *Asgautr*. Obv. **†EDELRED REX ANGLO.** Rev. **†OSGOT MO EOFRIFC.** 1.39g o°. *SCBI* 1.748. Peck-marks: 0/1.

UNCERTAIN MINT

- 1981 Inscriptions illegible. 0.37g (cut into teardrop shape, pierced and bent to form hooked tag). Enlargement on plate.

1963 CM.552-2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers; found at Sion Reach (north bend), Isleworth.

1964 CM.5.61-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

1965 CM.1.699-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Owston Smith 1949; ex Grantley.

1966 CM.CA.266-R: Gonville and Caius College loan 1938.

1967 CM.642-1960: ex Lockett 3720.

1968 CM.ME.536-R: ex Old University collection; ex Perne.

1969 CM.YG.3245-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 16.6.1885, lot 30.

1970 CM.4.10-1922: ex Perceval coll.

1971 CM.1.700-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Armitage coll.

1972 CM.813-2012: ex Blackburn coll.; from Spink; ex Elmore Jones 622.

1973 CM.1.701-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Spink; ex Burstal 16; ex Argyll coll.

1974 CM.1.702-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1966; ex Lockett 2765; ex Carlyon-Britton 473; ex Montagu 5.

1975 CM.ME.537-R: no provenance.

1976 CM.1.703-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Armitage coll.

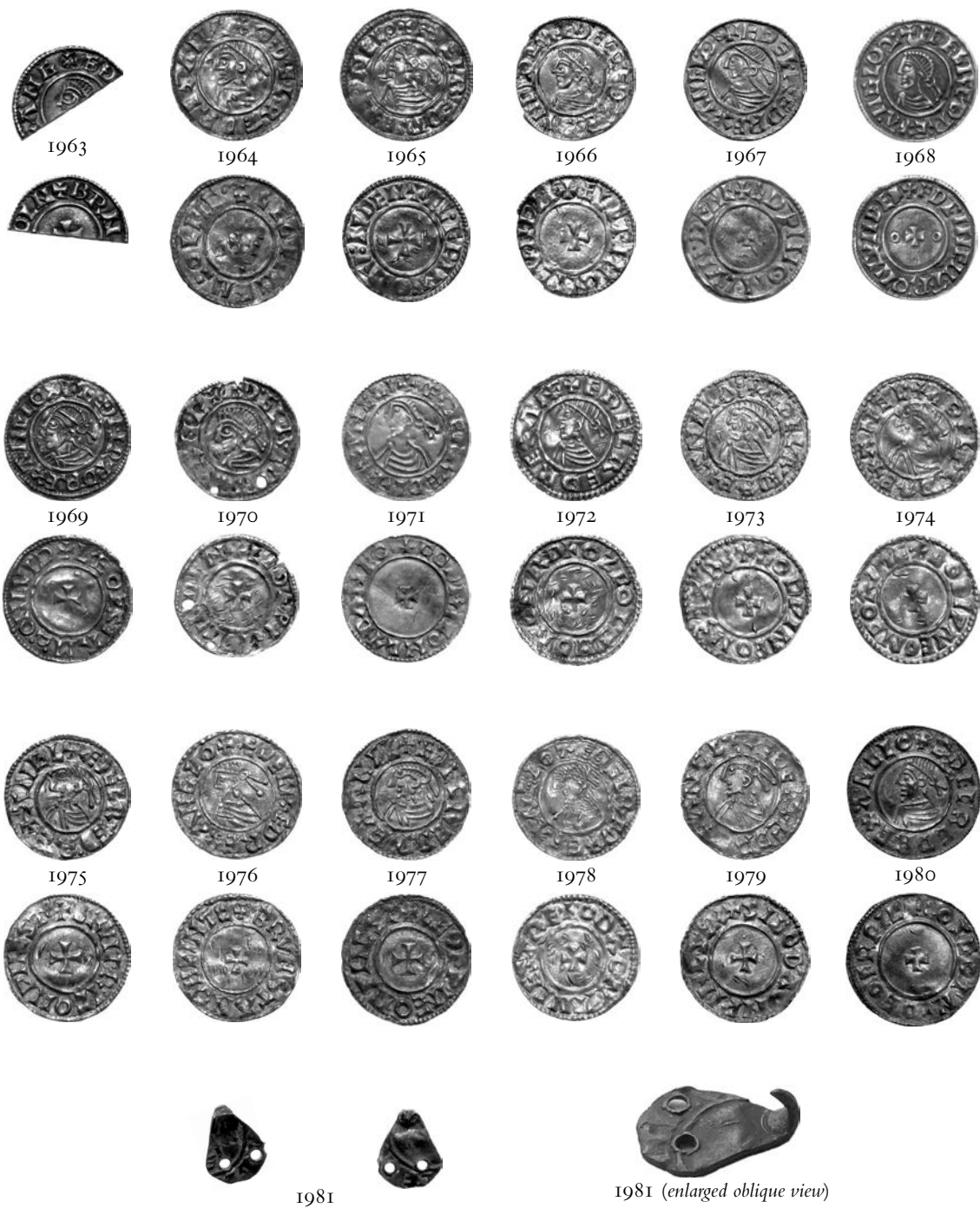
1977 CM.ME.538-R: no provenance.

1978 CM.1.704-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Shirley-Fox coll.

1979 CM.1.705-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1963; ex Allcard.

1980 CM.ME.539-R: no provenance.

1981 CM.90-2011: from Bott; found Torksey, Lincolnshire.



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

CNUT, 1016–35

For commentary, see Chapter 10, section (k), pp. 269–71.

Quatrefoil type (BEH E; BMC viii, x; North 781)

Obv. legend around bust l. in quatrefoil. Rev. legend around and broken by voided long cross w. omega terminals, superimposed on quatrefoil.

BEDFORD

- 1982 *Leofwine*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLORVM**. Rev. **HEO FFI NE ON BDE**. 1.22g 180°. SCBI 1.750. Peck-marks: 5/4.
1983 *Leofwine*. Obv. **HNVT RE ANLOINC**. Rev. **HEO FFIN E ON B EDE** (NB ligatured). 1.03g 0°. SCBI 1.749. Peck-marks: 0/1.

BRISTOL

- 1984 *Ælfwine*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGL**. Rev. **HELF FINE ON B RIE**. 1.06g 180°. SCBI 1.751.
1985 *Æthelwine*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **HEGL FIN E ON [BRIC]**. 0.84g 0°. Peck-marks: 0/7.

CAMBRIDGE

- 1986 *Ade*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLOI**. Rev. **ADI A ON GRA NTB**. 0.91g 90°. SCBI 1.752. Peck-marks: 0/1.
1987 *Adma* (*Ade?*). Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **AD MA ON G RAT**. 0.95g 270°. Peck-marks: 0/1.
1988 *Ælfwig*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **HELF FIG O N GR ANT**. 1.37g 90°. SCBI 1.753. Peck-marks: 0/3.
1989 *Cniht*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLØX**. Rev. **HN IHT ON G RAN**. 1.08g 0°. Peck-marks: 0/3.
1990 *Cniht*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLORVM**. Rev. **HN IHT MO G RAN**. 1.06g 90°. SCBI 1.754. Peck-marks: 0/3.
1991 *Leofsig*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLORVM**. Rev. **HE OFS IGE GRÆ**. 1.43g 270°. SCBI 1.755. Peck-marks: 1/4.
1992 *Leofsig*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **HEO FSIG ON G RAN**. 0.89g 0°. SCBI 1.758.

- 1993 *Leofsig*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLORVM**. Rev. **HEO FSIG ON GRAN**. 0.87g 90°. SCBI 1.756.
1994 *Leofsig*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLØR**. Rev. **HEO FSI O N GR ANT**. 0.87g 180°. SCBI 1.757.
1995 *Wulfsig*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **HEVL FSI O NGR ANT**. 0.91g 270°. SCBI 1.759. Peck-marks: 5/12.

CHESTER

- 1996 *Ælfsige* or *Æthelnoth*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGL[O]**. Rev. **HE[]LEG**. 0.50g (cut halfpenny; chipped) 90°. Peck-marks: 0/1.
1997 *Thormoht*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLORVM**. Rev. **HEV[]D ON LEG**. 1.27g (double-struck) 0°. SCBI 1.760.

EXETER

- 1998 *Isengod*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **HE EGO D ON EAX**. 1.06g 90°. SCBI 1.761.

GLOUCESTER

- 1999 *Godwine*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGL**. Rev. **HEO DFI NE O GLE**. 1.34g 270°. SCBI 1.762.

HEREFORD

- 2000 *Ordric*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLORV**. Rev. **HEORD RIE O HER EFO**. 0.91g 345°. Peck-marks: 5/6.

HUNTINGDON

- 2001 *Eadnoth*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLØ**. Rev. **HEAD NOÐ ON H VNT**. 0.78g 270°. Same dies as Eadlen 1999, no. 162.

LEICESTER

- 2002 *Wlancthegn*. Obv. **HNVT REX ANGLORV**. Rev. **HEFLÆ CREG M ON LEH**. 1.00g 270°. SCBI 1.763. Peck-marks: 1/3.

- 1982 CM.41–1955: ex Lockett Executors; ex Lockett 720.
1983 CM.40–1955: ex Lockett Executors; ex Lockett 720.
1984 CM.42–1955: ex Lockett Executors; ex Lockett 720.
1985 CM.1.706–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt Copenhagen 1966; ex Ernst (apparently not in catalogues).
1986 CM.43–1955: ex Lockett Executors; ex Lockett 720.
1987 CM.208–1996: ex Jacob coll.
1988 CM.30–1935: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 17.5.1935; ex Wells.

- 1989 CM.209–1996: ex Jacob coll.
1990 CM.110–1928: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) November 1928; from Seaby.
1991 CM.44–1955: ex Lockett Executors; ex Lockett 720.
1992 CM.47–1931: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 20.8.1931; from Seaby.
1993 CM.32–1936: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 4.7.1936; ex Wells.
1994 CM.8–1956: ex Clarke (gift) 26.4.1956; from Spink.
1995 CM.29–1935: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 17.5.1935; ex Wells.

- 1996 CM.553–2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.
1997 CM.ME.540–R: no provenance.
1998 CM.5.66–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
1999 CM.5.68–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
2000 CM.1.707–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1955; ex Argyll coll.
2001 CM.149–2001: ex Talbot (gift); from Granta Stamp and Coin Shop c. 1998; probably from the ‘Cnut hoard’.
2002 CM.YG.3246–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 325; found in Denmark.



1982



1983



1984



1985



1986



1987



1988



1989



1990



1991



1992



1993



1994



1995



1996



1997



1998



1999



2000



2001



2002



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

CNUT (*cont.*)

Quatrefoil type (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around bust l. in quatrefoil. Rev. legend around and broken by voided long cross w. omega terminals, superimposed on quatrefoil.

LINCOLN

- 2003 *Æthelmar*. Obv. **†CNVT REX ANGLORV**. Rev. **†ÆÐ ELM/E R MO LIN**. 1.33g o°. SCBI 1.764. Peck-marks: 1/2.

LONDON

- 2004 *Eadweald*. Obv. **†CNVT REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†EAD FOL D ON L VND**. 1.06g (cracked) 270°. SCBI 1.765.
 2005 *Godric*. Obv. **†CNVT REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†EOD RIC O N LV NDE**. 0.99g 180°. Peck-marks: 4/7.
 2006 *Wulfstan*. Obv. **†CNVT REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†FV EFST AN L VNE**. 1.10g 180°. SCBI 1.766. Peck-marks: 1/1.
 2007 *Wulfvive*. Obv. **†CNVT REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†FVL FFIN E ON L VNE**. 1.00g 90°. SCBI 1.767. Peck-marks: 5/8.

MALMESBURY

- 2008 *Bricstan* (*Beorhtstan?*). Obv. **†CNVT REX ANGLORV**. Rev. **†BRI CSTA N ON MEA**. 1.08g 90°. Peck-marks: 1/4.

NOTTINGHAM

- 2009 *Bruning*. Obv. **†CNVT REX ANGLORV**. Rev. **†BR VNI NG MO SNO**. 1.02g o°.

OXFORD

- 2010 *Æthelric*. Obv. **†CNVT REX ANGLORVM**. Rev. **†ÆÐE LRIC ON O XSΛ**. 1.10g o°. SCBI 1.768; 1867 *Catalogue*, 25.

SALISBURY

- 2011 *Goldus*. Obv. **†CNVT REX ANGLORVM**. Rev. **†EOL DVS ON S ERB**. 0.94g 180°.
 2012 *Mani*. Obv. **†CNVT REX ANGLORV**. Rev. **†M ANI ON S ERE**. 1.12g 90°. Peck-marks: 1/0. Same obv. die as O'Hagan 2384 and as SCBI 14.2384 (London, Ealdred).

STAMFORD

- 2013 *Godleof*. Obv. **†CNVT REX ANGLORV**. Rev. **†EO DELE OF M O ST**. 0.84g (cracked) 90°. Peck-marks: 0/2.

- 2014 *Thorstein*. Obv. **†CNVT REX ANGLORV**. Rev. **†ÐV RST AN M O ST**. 0.85g o°. SCBI 1.770. Peck-marks: 0/1.

WINCHESTER

- 2015 *Oda*. Obv. **†CNVT REX ANGLORVM**. Rev. **†OD A ON FIN CSTR**. 1.01g (cracked) o°. SCBI 1.771; Biddle 2012a, 1060a. Peck-marks: 1/0.

YORK

- 2016 *Authgrmr*. Obv. **†CNVT REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†O DER IM M O EO**. 0.93g 315°.

Pointed Helmet type (BEH G; BMC xiv; North 787)

Obv. legend around helmeted bust w. sceptre, breaking circle. Rev. legend around short voided cross and five pelleted annulets in circle.

CAMBRIDGE

- 2017 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†CNVT EEX AN**. Rev. **†EDFINE ON GRANT**. 1.02g 270°. SCBI 1.772. Peck-marks: 1/6.
 2018 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†CNVT REX AN**. Rev. **†EDFINE ON GRANT**. 0.99g (cracked) 90°.

CANTERBURY

- 2019 *Leofwine*. Obv. **†CNVT REEX AN**. Rev. **†LEOFFINE ON CENT**. 1.05g 180°. SCBI 1.773.

CHESTER

- 2020 *Leofsige*. Obv. **†CNVT REX A**. Rev. **†LEOFSIGE ON LEICE**. 1.11g 90°. SCBI 1.774. Peck-marks: 1/0.

EXETER

- 2021 *Eadsige*. Obv. **†CNVT REEX A**. Rev. **†EDSIE ON EEXCEST**. 0.97g 270°. SCBI 1.775.

LINCOLN

- 2022 *Svarbrandr*. Obv. **†CNVT REX AN**. Rev. **†SPEARTABRAND O LI**. 1.09g (cracked) 90°. SCBI 1.776.

LONDON

- 2023 *Eadric*. Obv. **†CNVT REX**. Rev. **†EDRIC ON LVNDE**. 0.98g 270°. SCBI 1.777. Peck-marks: 0/5.

2003 CM.5.69-1933; ex Henderson coll. (gift); acq. March 1890.

2004 CM.ME.541-R: no provenance.

2005 CM.1.708-1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Shirley-Fox coll.

2006 CM.5.71-1933; ex Henderson coll. (gift); from Spink 1894.

2007 CM.1.65-1930; ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

2008 CM.1.709-1990; ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1973.

2009 CM.1.710-1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Owston Smith 1949; ex Grantley.

2010 CM.ME.541-Rbis: ex Babington (gift) c. 1865.

2011 CM.1.711-1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Burstal 25; from Spink; ex Argyll coll.

2012 CM.1.712-1990; ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1978; ex Wells.

2013 CM.QC.5208-R: Queens' College loan 2002.

2014 CM.ME.542-R: no provenance.

2015 CM.183-1937; ex Piggott (gift) 8.6.1937; possibly an archaeological find.

2016 CM.1.713-1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Shirley-Fox coll.

2017 CM.31-1936; from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 4.7.1936; ex Wells.

2018 CM.210-1996; ex Jacob coll.

2019 CM.ME.543-R: no provenance.

2020 CM.YG.3247-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 325; found in Denmark.

2021 CM.YG.3248-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 325; found in Denmark.

2022 CM.TR.1987-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Bell coll.

2023 CM.5.70-1933; ex Henderson coll. (gift).



2003



2004



2005



2006



2007



2008



2009



2010



2011



2012



2013



2014



2015



2016



2017



2018



2019



2020



2021



2022



2023



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

CNUT (cont.)

Pointed Helmet type (cont.)

Obv. legend around helmeted bust w. sceptre, breaking circle. Rev. legend around short voided cross and five pelleted annulets in circle.

LONDON (cont.)

- 2024 *Eadweald*. Obv. **†ENV T REX AN**. Rev. **†EADFOLD ON LVND**. 1.03g 0°. Peck-marks: 0/1.
2025 *Godwine*. Obv. **†ENVT REX A**. Rev. **†GODFINE ON LVND**. 1.05g 0°. Peck-marks: 2/7.

MALMESBURY

- 2026 *Huna*. Obv. **†ENVT REEX A**. Rev. **†HVNN A O MEALM**. 1.16g 0°.

SALISBURY

- 2027 *Godwine*. Obv. **†ENVT REX AN**. Rev. **†GODFINE ON SERE**. 1.20g 270°.
2028 *Wyntan*. Obv. **[†ENVT] RE[X A] (?)**. Rev. **[†FINSTAN] ON SERE**. 0.52g (cut halfpenny) 270°.

SHAFTESBURY

- 2029 *Goda*. Obv. **†ENVT REX A**. Rev. **†GOD A ON SFTESB**. 1.01g (pierced) 180°. *SCBI* 1.778.

THETFORD

- 2030 *Leofing*. Obv. **†ENVT EX ANGL**. Rev. **†LIFI[] ON DEODFO**. 0.80g (fragment) 270°. Peck-marks: uncertain. Not illustrated.

YORK

- 2031 *Fargrimr*. Obv. **†ENVT R EX ANI**. Rev. **†FARGRIM O EOFR**. 1.04g 30°. *SCBI* 1.780. Same obv. die as 2032.
2032 *Fargrimr*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†FARGRIM O EOFR**. 1.03g 200°. *SCBI* 1.779. Peck-marks: 0/2. Same obv. die as 2031.
2033 *Grimulfr*. Obv. **†ENV T REX A**. Rev. **†GRIMOLF MO EOFR**. 0.99g 10°. Same dies as 2034.
2034 *Grimulfr*. Obv. **†ENV T REX A**. Rev. **†GRIMOLF MO EOFR**. 0.97g 30°. *SCBI* 1.781. Same dies as 2033.
2035 *Sunnulfr*. Obv. **†ENVT R EX ANGL**. Rev. **†SVNOLF MO EOFR**. 0.99g 350°.

2024 CM.1.714-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Shirley-Fox coll.

2025 CM.QC.5209-R: Queens' College loan 2002.

2026 CM.1.715-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Peus sale 24.4.1968, lot 566; from a Polish hoard ('Kulon hoard' on ticket, but this does not correspond to a known hoard, and may represent either a Polish personal name or a misreading of Kulm/Chelmo which has produced numerous single-finds) (Borys Paszkiewicz, pers. comm.).

2027 CM.1.716-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendinning sale 18, 25.11.1970, lot 655; from a find in Poland.

2028 CM.1.717-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt Copenhagen 1966; ex Ernst (apparently not in auctions).

2029 CM.ME.544-R: no provenance.

2030 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology: no provenance.

2031 CM.789-1910: from Spink 1910.

2032 CM.YG.3249-R: ex Young coll. (gift).

2033 CM.ME.365-R: no provenance.

2034 CM.5.72-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

2035 CM.1.718-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Taffs 88.

2036 CM.1.66-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

2037 CM.5.73-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); from Spink 1890.

2038 CM.ME.545-R: no provenance.

2039 CM.645-2004: from Greenhalgh.

2036 *Witherwine*. Obv. **†ENVT REX AN**. Rev. **†FIÐRIN MO EOFR**. 1.02g 90°. *SCBI* 1.783. Same rev. die as 2037.

2037 *Witherwine*. Obv. **†ENVT REX ANG**. Rev. as last. 0.95g 270°. *SCBI* 1.782. Same rev. die as 2036.

2038 *Wulfnoth*. Obv. **†ENVT REX ANGO**. Rev. **†FVLNOÐ MO EOFR**. 0.95g 200°. *SCBI* 1.784.

Short Cross type (BEH H; BMC xvi; North 790)

Obv. legend around bust l. w. sceptre. Rev. legend around voided short cross w. annulet at centre in circle.

CAMBRIDGE

- 2039 *Asgautr/Osgeat*. Obv. **†ENV T REX**. Rev. **†OSGET ON GRAN**. 0.83g 90°.

DOVER

- 2040 *Eadsige*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†ETSIGE ONN DOFR**. 1.09g 80°. *SCBI* 1.786.
2041 *Eadwig*. Obv. **†ENV T REX**. Rev. **†EDFII ONN DOFR**. 0.86g 75°.
2042 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†ENV T REC**. Rev. **†EDFINE ON DOFR A**. 1.06g 90°. *SCBI* 1.785.

LINCOLN

- 2043 *Asleikr*. Obv. **†ENV T REEX**. Rev. **†OSLAEC ON LINCOL**. 1.19g 180°. *SCBI* 1.788.
2044 *Matathan Balluc*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†MAÐAN BALVE ON LI**. 1.12g 270°. *SCBI* 1.787.
2045 *Wulfwine*. Obv. **†ENV T REEX**. Rev. **†VLFINE ON LIN**. 1.13g 0°. *SCBI* 1.789.

LONDON

- 2046 *Beorhtmær*. Obv. **†ENVT REEX**. Rev. **†BRIHTMÆR ON LVN**. 270°. *SCBI* 1.790.
2047 *Beorhtred*. Obv. **ENVT R EECX**; banner instead of sceptre before bust. Rev. **†BRIHTRED ON LVN**. 0.94g 90°. BEH Hc; BMC xvi var. a; North 791. Peck-marks: 0/5.
2048 *Eadred*. Obv. **†ENV T REEX**. Rev. **†EDRED ON LVND**. 1.02g 90°. *SCBI* 1.791.

2040 CM.YG.3250-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 325; found in Denmark.

2041 CM.1.719-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt Copenhagen 1957.

2042 CM.5.67-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); from Spink 1890.

2043 CM.ME.547-R: Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society 1886; acq. after 1847.

2044 CM.ME.546-R: from Eastwood 1863.

2045 CM.28.12-1920: ex Hasluck coll.

2046 CM.YG.3251-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 325; found in Denmark.

2047 CM.5-1987: from Studio Coins; from Seaby 1986; ex Ryan 833.

2048 CM.47-1942: ex A. Smith (gift) 1942.



2024



2025



2026



2027



2028



2029



2031



2032



2033



2034



2035



2036



2037



2038



2039



2040



2041



2042



2043



2044



2045



2046



2047



2048



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

CNUT (*cont.*)

Short Cross type (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around bust l. w. sceptre. Rev. legend around voided short cross w. annulet at centre in circle.

LONDON (*cont.*)

2049 *Eadric*. Obv. **†ENV T REX**. Rev. **†EDRIC ON LVNDEN**. 1.09g 0°. Peck-marks: 0/1.

2050 *Godman*. Obv. **†ENV T RECX**. Rev. **†GODM[Λ]N ON LVN**. 1.02g 90°.

NORWICH

2051 *Aethelferth*. Obv. **†ENV T REC**. Rev. **†ÆELFERÐ O NOR**. 1.11g 90°.

2052 *Man*. Obv. **†ENV T RECX**. Rev. **†MΛNNΛ ON NORÐ**. 1.12g 270°.

SALISBURY

2053 *Godwine*. Obv. **†ENV T RECX**. Rev. **†EODFINE ON SERE**. 1.11g 270°.

WINCHESTER

2054 *Æthelstan Loc*. Obv. **†ENV T REX**. Rev. **†/ESTAN LOE ON FINE (NL ligatured)**. 1.10g 180°. Biddle 2012a, 1291a. Peck-marks: 3/4.

2055 *Wulfnoth*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†FVLNOÐ ON FINE**. 0.97g 270°. *SCBI* 1.792; Biddle 2012a, 1341a. Peck-marks: 0/3.

YORK

2056 *Crucan*. Obv. **†ENV T RECX**. Rev. **†CRVLΛN ON EOE**. 1.12g 345°.

2057 *Thorgrimr*. Obv. **†ENV T RE+**. Rev. **†ÐVRGRIM ONEOE**. 0.98g 180°. *SCBI* 1.793.

2058 *Ucede*. Obv. **†ENV T REX**. Rev. **†VLEDE ONN EOFE**. 1.04g 100°. *SCBI* 1.794. Peck-marks: 5/2.

HAROLD I, 1035–40

For commentary, see Chapter 10, section (k), pp. 269–71.

Short Cross type (BEH –; *BMC* iiiia; North 801)

Obv. legend around bust l. w. sceptre. Rev. legend around voided short cross w. annulet at centre in circle.

LONDON

2059 *Leofstan*. Obv. **†HAR OLD REX**. Rev. **†LEFSTAN ON LVN**. 1.01g 270°. Peck-marks: 0/4.

Jewel Cross type (BEH A; *BMC* i; North 802)

Obv. legend around bust l. Rev. legend around cross of annulet and four lobes.

CAMBRIDGE

2060 *Ælfwig*. Obv. **†HARO LD RE+**. Rev. **†/ELFIE ON GRANT**. 1.01g 0°. *SCBI* 1.795.

2061 *Wulfwine*. Obv. **†HAR OLD REX**. Rev. **†FVLFFINE ON GRΛN**. 1.15g 0°. *SCBI* 1.796. Peck-marks: 1/3.

CANTERBURY

2062 *Eadweald*. Obv. **†[H]HAR OLD[]**; bust r. Rev. **†EΛ[DF]OLD ON CENT**. 0.61g (chipped) 270°. This is an otherwise unrecorded variant: other pennies of this type with right-facing busts are accompanied by reversed legends.

CHESTER

2063 *Ælfsige*. Obv. **†HAR OLD RE+**. Rev. **†/ELFSIIGE ON LEICE**. 1.04g 270°. *SCBI* 1.797.

CHICHESTER

2064 *Ælfrie*. Obv. **†HAR OLD R**. Rev. **†/ELFRIE ON CICES**. 1.11g 90°. *SCBI* 1.798. Peck-marks: 0/1.

DERBY

2065 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†[HΛ]R [OLD REX]**. Rev. **†[]EORBI**. 0.41g (cut halfpenny; chipped) 270°.

IPSWICH

2066 *Leofing*. Obv. **†HARO LD RECX**. Rev. **†LIFINE ON GIPESF**. 1.10g 270°. *SCBI* 1.800; 1867 *Catalogue*, 26; *Perne Catalogue*, Saxon and English 10.

LINCOLN

2067 *Harthacnut*. Obv. **†[HAR]O LD[REX]**. Rev. **[]R-ÐEN[]**. 0.20g (fragment). Peck marks: 0/0.

2049 CM.1.720–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Shirley-Fox coll.

2050 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Z.15043: no provenance.

2051 CM.150–2001: ex Talbot (gift); from Granta Stamp and Coin Shop c. 1998; probably from the 'Cnut' hoard.

2052 CM.151–2001: ex Talbot (gift); from Granta Stamp and Coin Shop c. 1998; probably from the 'Cnut' hoard.

2053 CM.1.721–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Burstall 25; from Spink; ex Argyll coll.

2054 CM.1.722–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Taffs 89.

2055 CM.28.13–1920: ex Hasluck coll.

2056 CM.1.723–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Shirley-Fox coll.

2057 CM.YG.3252-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 325; found in Denmark.

2058 CM.ME.548-R: no provenance.

2059 CM.42–2007: ex Conte (gift); ex Baldwin sale 23, 3.5.2000, lot 835.

2060 CM.YG.3253-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 1086.

2061 CM.19–1926: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 24.11.1926; from Seaby.

2062 CM.226–2013: from Abramson 2013; from Finn; ex Owen; ex Hardaker.

2063 CM.5.75–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Kesteven 2; ex Montagu 53; ex Brice coll.; ex Bergne 251.

2064 CM.YG.3254-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 561; ex O'Hagan 376; ex Montagu 49.

2065 CM.554–2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.

2066 CM.ME.549-R: ex Old University collection; ex Perne.

2067 CM.89–2011: from Bott; found Torksey, Lincolnshire.



2049



2050



2051



2052



2053



2054



2055



2056



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2071



HAROLD I, 1035-40 (*cont.*)

LONDON

2068 *Farman*. Obv. **⚊HARO LD RECX.** Rev. **⚊F/EREMAN ON LVND.** 1.09g 90°. Peck-marks: 2/9.

NORWICH

2069 *Ælfweald*. Obv. **⚊HARO LD RECX.** Rev. **⚊/ELFFOLD ONOR-ÐFI.** 1.01g 90°. *SCBI* 1.802.

SALISBURY

2070 *Wynstan*. Obv. **⚊HAROL D REX A.** Rev. **⚊FINSTAN ON SERE.** 1.14g 0°. Peck-marks: 0/2.

YORK

2071 *Crucan*. Obv. **⚊HARO LD REE.** Rev. **⚊ERVCANN ON EOFE.** 1.08g 0°. *SCBI* 1.803. Peck-marks: 3/10.

2068 CM.1.725-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt Copenhagen 1957.

2069 CM.5.77-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Boyne 1153; ex Shepherd 105; ex Dymock 164; ex Durrant 69.

2070 CM.1.726-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1955; ex Argyll coll.; ex Drabble 503.
2071 CM.ME.550-R: from Feuarent.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

HAROLD I (*cont.*)

Fleur-de-Lis type (BEH B; BMC v; North 810)

Obv. legend around bust l. w. fleur-de-lis-headed sceptre. Rev. legend around and broken by voided long cross, w. annulet at centre and fleurs-de-lis in angles.

BRISTOL

- 2072 *Leofwine*. Obv. **†HARO LD RECX**. Rev. **†LEO FFIN E ON BRIC**. 1.17g (cracked) 270°. SCBI 1.804. Peck-marks: 1/o.

CAMBRIDGE

- 2073 *Elfwig*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†ELF FIG O N G RAN**. 1.10g 180°. SCBI 1.805.
2074 *Elfwig*. Obv. **†HAROL D REX**. Rev. **†ELF FIO N GR ANT**. 0.96g 0°. Peck-marks: 8/6.
2075 *Wulfwine*. Obv. **†HADD LD RE[]X**; helmeted bust. Rev. **†WV LFII E ON GRA**. 0.80g (chipped) 90°. SCBI 1.813. BEH B var. c; BMC vi; North 807. Probably a Scandinavian imitation.

DOVER

- 2076 *Cynewstan*. Obv. **†HAR OLD REC**. Rev. **†CY NST AN O N D**. 0.85g 180°. SCBI 1.806.

GLOUCESTER

- 2077 *Æthelric*. Obv. **†HARO LD RECC†**. Rev. **†EL RIE ON G LEF**. 1.14g 250°. SCBI 1.807. Peck-marks: 2/o.

LINCOLN (?)

- 2078 *Leofwine*. Obv. **†IHARODD N REX†**. Rev. **†LE FFI NE O LINE**. 0.95g 180°. SCBI 1.814. Probably a Scandinavian imitation.

LONDON

- 2079 *Godric*. Obv. **†HAR OLD REC**. Rev. **†EO DRI C ON LVN**. 1.08g 345°. SCBI 1.808.

MALMESBURY

- 2080 *Huna*. Obv. **†HARO LD REC†**. Rev. **†HV WIA ONN EAT** (HV and WIA ligatured). 0.87g (chipped and cracked) 90°. Same obv. die as SCBI 40.1315 and 1317 (Salisbury, Godwine).

SALISBURY

- 2081 *Godwine*. Obv. **†HARO LD REC**. Rev. **†EO DFI NE O N SE**. 0.92g 180°.

THETFORD

- 2082 *Brunstan*. Obv. **†HAR OLD REC**. Rev. **†BR VNS AN O N ðE**. 0.96g 0°. CCC Catalogue, 156.
2083 *Brunstan*. Obv. **†HARO LD REX**. Rev. **BRV NST AN O N ðE**. 0.83g 270°.

YORK

- 2084 *Arngrimr*. Obv. **†HAR OLD REC**. Rev. **†ER NERI M ON EOF**. 1.15g (broken and repaired) 270°. SCBI 1.809. Peck-marks: 6/6.

UNCERTAIN MINT

- 2085 *Leofing*. Obv. **†HAROLD R[EX]**. Rev. **†LIF INC[]**. 0.54g (cut halfpenny) 45°. SCBI 1.810.

HARTHACNUT, 1040–2

For commentary, see Chapter 10, section (k), pp. 269–71.

Jewel Cross type (struck c. 1036–8) (BEH A; BMC i; North 808)

Obv. legend around bust r. Rev. legend around cross of annulet and four lobes.

CAMBRIDGE

- 2086 *Asgautr/Osgeat*. Obv. **†ENVT REEX A**. Rev. **†OSGET ON GRANTEB**. 1.10g 180°. BEH Cnut K; BMC xx; North 797.

HASTINGS

- 2087 *Brid*. Obv. **†HAR-ÐA ENVT RE**. Rev. **†BRIDD ON H/ES**. 1.12g 270°. SCBI 1.799.

LONDON

- 2088 *Goda*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†EOD ONN LVNDEN**. 1.06g (chipped) 0°. SCBI 1.801.

- 2072 CM.5.74–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 15.12.1887, lot 509.
2073 CM.25–1944: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 24.3.1944; ex Grantley 1167; ex L. A. Lawrence.
2074 CM.211–1996: ex Jacob coll.; from Baldwin October 1974; ex Glendining sale 13, 4.9.1974, lot 121.
2075 CM.261–1939: ex Clarke (gift) 1939; ex Drabble 513; ex Carlyon-Britton 1100; ex Montagu 95; ex J. K. Ford.
2076 CM.YG.3255–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 568.

- 2077 CM.YG.3256–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 568.
2078 CM.YG.3257–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 572.
2079 CM.5.76–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Evans.
2080 CM.1.727–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1965.
2081 CM.1.728–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendining sale 8, 28.9.1966, lot 78.
2082 CM.LS.5517–R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll.; ex Lake Price 38; ex Murchison.

- 2083 CM.122–1967: ex Grierson (gift); ex Chilvers coll.
2084 CM.1.67–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.
2085 CM.5.78–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
2086 CM.134–1978: from Spink 11.10.1978, 116.
2087 CM.YG.3258–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 575; ex Montagu 102; ex Marsham 201.
2088 CM.ME.551–R: no provenance.



2072



2073



2074



2075



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2089



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2093



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2096



HARTHACNUT, 1040–2 (*cont.*)

SALISBURY

- 2089 *Godwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†EODFINE ON SERE**. 1.10g 90°. Peck-marks: 1/2.

WINCHESTER

- 2090 *Godwine Ceoc*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†EODFINE CE ON FI**. 1.14g 0°. Biddle 2012a, Peck-marks: 1/0.

Arm and Sceptre type (BEH B; BMC ii; North 811)

Obv. legend around half-length figure holding sceptre. Rev. legend around voided cross w. lozenge and pellet superimposed in circle.

EXETER

- 2091 *Eadmaer*. Obv. **†HAR-ÐA CNVT REX**. Rev. **†EDM/ER ON EXCESR**. 1.11g 90°. SCBI 1.811.

- 2092 *Eadwine*. Obv. **†CNVT REX DN**. Rev. **†EDFINE ON ECXEE**. 0.99g 0°. SCBI 1.812.

LONDON

- 2093 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **[†C]NVT RE[X]**. Rev. **[]DEN[]**. 0.28g (cut farthing).

OXFORD

- 2094 *Æthelric*. Obv. **†HAR-ÐA CNVT RE**. Rev. **†ÆLRIC ONN OEXENA**. 1.09g 0°.

- 2095 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†HAR-Ð[]AEN [VT REX]**. Rev. **[]ON OXANA**. 0.46g (cut halfpenny) 225°.

UNCERTAIN MINT

- 2096 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. illegible. Rev. **[]RNE/ÆI ON[]**. 0.50g (cut halfpenny) 90°.

2089 CM.1.724–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Armitage coll.; ex Ryan 842; ex Wheeler (not in sale); ex Walters 1007; ex Montagu 404; ex Shepherd 106; ex Murchison 322; ex Martin 49.

2090 CM.43–2007: ex Conte (gift); ex Baldwin sale 23, 3.5.2000, lot 848.

2091 CM.YG.3259-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 576.

2092 CM.ME.552-R: from Cureton.

2093 CM.557–2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.

2094 CM.1.729–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt Copenhagen 1957; ex Lockett 787; ex Bliss 115.

2095 CM.555–2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.; found 1986–7.

2096 CM.556–2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, 1042–66

For commentary, see Chapter 10, section (I), pp. 271–7.

Arm and Sceptre type (BEH Cd; BMC iiii; North 812)

Obv. legend around half-length figure holding sceptre. Rev. legend around voided cross w. lozenge and pellet superimposed in circle.

BRISTOL

- 2097 *Æthelwine*. Obv. **†EEDI RECTE†**. Rev. **†ÆGELFINE ONN BRICE** (NN ligatured). 1.01g 90°. Same dies as SCBI 19.33–4.

Arm and Sceptre/Pacx mule

Types as above (2091–7) and below (2100).

LINCOLN

- 2098 *Wulf*. Obv. **†ENVY REX AN**. Rev. **†VL F ON L INC ONLNC** (first NL ligatured). 0.98g 0°. Peck-marks: 2/0.

Pacx/Arm and Sceptre mule

Types as next (2100) and last (2091–7).

WINCHESTER

- 2099 *Sæwine*. Obv. **†EDFER D REX A**. Rev. **†S/EFINE ON FINEE**. 0.95g 270°. Biddle 2012a, 1464a. This is an unusual example of a mule which combines a newer obverse paired with an older reverse.

Pacx type (BEH D; BMC iv; North 813)

Obv. legend around bust l. w. sceptre. Rev. legend broken by voided cross w. crescent terminals, w. **P A C X** in angles.

NORWICH

- 2100 *Osmund*. Obv. **†EEDI IDD+IH†**. Rev. **†OS MVN D ON NOR**. 0.98g 45°. SCBI 1.815. Probably a Scandinavian imitation.
- 2101 *Riculf*. Obv. **†EDFAR D REX**. Rev. **†RIC VLF ON NO R-Ð†** (NN ligatured). 0.94g 180°. SCBI 1.816.

SOUTHWARK

- 2102 *Brunman*. Obv. **†EDFHRD REC†**. Rev. **†BRV NMA N ON SV-Ð**. 0.75g 180°.

STAMFORD

- 2103 *Ælfheah* (?). Obv. **†EDFA[R D REX]**. Rev. **†ÆL [FHE H ON] STA**. 0.44g (cut halfpenny) 270°. SCBI 1.817.
- 2104 *Godwine*. Obv. **†EFDΛ IDD+AN**. Rev. **†EO DFI NE ON STA**. 0.72g 180°. SCBI 1.818. Crude; possibly a contemporary imitation.

WARWICK

- 2105 *Leofwine*. Obv. **†EDFER D REX**. Rev. **†LEO FFIN E ON F/ER**. 1.17g 90°. SCBI 1.819.

WATCHET

- 2106 *Godcild*. Obv. **†EDFERD REEX**. Rev. **†EO TEIL D ON FEE**. 1.11g 0°. SCBI 1.820.

WILTON

- 2107 *Leofing*. Obv. **†EDFAR D REX**. Rev. **†LIF INC ON F ILTV**. 1.12g 180°. SCBI 1.821.

UNCERTAIN MINT

- 2108 *Leofstan*. Obv. **†[EDFAR D]REEX**. Rev. **†LE FSA[]**. 0.54g (cut halfpenny) 0°. SCBI 1.822.

Pacx/Radiate Small Cross mule

Types as last (obv.) and next (rev.; 2010–17).

LINCOLN

- 2109 *Thorgrimr*. Obv. **†EDFE[R] D REX**. Rev. **†Ð[VRE]RIM ON LIN**. 0.65g (chipped) 135°.

Radiate Small Cross type (BEH A; BMC i; North 816)

Obv. legend around radiate bust l. Rev. legend around small cross pattée in circle.

CRICKLADE

- 2110 *Ælfwine*. Obv. **†EDFER[D REX]A**. Rev. **†Æ[LFFINE ON] CROC**. 0.58g (cut halfpenny) 0°.

NOTTINGHAM

- 2110A *Leofsige*. Obv. **†ED[]R[] REX**. Rev. **†[]FS[]E ON SNO**. 0.60g (fragment) 90°.

2097 CM.1913–2003; ex Conte; from Linzalone 1991.

2098 CM.44–2007; ex Conte (gift); ex Baldwin sale 13, 28.5.1997, lot 1599.

2099 CM.1916–2003; ex Conte; ex Stack sale 4.5.1995, lot 2219; ex Dresser (SCBI 30, 555); ex Ryan 851a; ex Wheeler (not in sale); ex Carlyon-Britton 1771; ex Evans; from the City/Walbrook hoard.

2100 CM.YG.3260–R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 593.

2101 CM.YG.3261–R; ex Young coll. (gift); Shepherd 108.

2102 CM.1.731–1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendining sale 6, 20.7.1960, lot 133; ex Lockett 807; ex Drabble 538.

2103 CM.ME.553–R; no provenance.

2104 CM.ME.554–R; no provenance.

2105 CM.YG.3262–R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 593.

2106 CM.YG.3263–R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 593.

2107 CM.5.95–1933; ex Henderson coll. (gift).

2108 CM.ME.555–R; no provenance.

2109 CM.162–2009; ex Mitchell (gift), March 2009; from Vosper 27.3.2009.

2110 CM.559–2013; from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.

2110A CM.1535–2015; ex Harvey (gift); found at East Grimstead, Wiltshire, February 2015 (EMC 2015.0043).



2097



2098



2099



2100



2101



2102



2103



2104



2105



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2110



2110A



2111



2112



2113



2114



2115



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2117



2118



EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, 1042–66

STAMFORD

- 2111 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†EDƿER[D REX]**. Rev. [] **ON STANF**[], 0.50g (cut halfpenny) 90°. *SCBI* 1.827.

YORK

- 2112 *Hrafn*. Obv. **†DƿER D RE† A**. Rev. **†R/EFN ONN EONEFRVC**; annulet in field. 1.05g 45°. *SCBI* 1.827.
- 2113 *Sæfugol*. Obv. **†DƿER D REX A**. Rev. **†S/EFVHEL ON EOF**. 0.90g (cracked) 30°. *SCBI* 1.827.

UNCERTAIN MINT (POSSIBLY LONDON)

- 2114 *Leofric* (?). Obv. **†[E]DƿER [D REX A]**. Rev. **†LEOFR[]DE**. 0.47g (cut halfpenny) 180°. *SCBI* 1.823.

UNCERTAIN MINT (YORK?)

- 2115 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†[E]DƿER [D REX]**. Rev. **†S[]EO**. 0.25g (cut farthing) 270°. *SCBI* 1.826.

UNCERTAIN MINT

- 2116 *Leofstan*. Obv. **†E[DƿER] D REX**. Rev. **†[L]EOFSTAN []**. 0.49g (cut halfpenny) 315°. *SCBI* 1.824.
- 2117 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. []. Rev. [] **E ON []**. 0.16g (cut farthing). *SCBI* 1.825.

Radiate Small Cross/Trefoil Quadrilateral mule

Types as last (obv.) and next (rev).

WINCHESTER

- 2118 *Leofwine*. Obv. **†EDƿER D REX**. Rev. **†LEOFFINE ON FINE**. 1.05g 90°. Same obv. die as Biddle 2012a, 1525 and 1530.

2111 CM.558–2013; from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.

2112 CM.1.730–1990; ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961.

2113 CM.TR.1988–R; Trinity College loan 1937; ex Bell coll.

2114 CM.TR.1989–R; Trinity College loan 1937; ex Robertson (gift) 1878.

2115 CM.ME.558–R; no provenance.

2116 CM.ME.556–R; no provenance.

2117 CM.ME.557–R; no provenance.

2118 CM.1917–2003; ex Conte; from Baldwin 1996.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (*cont.*)

Trefoil Quadrilateral type (BEH C; BMC iii; North 817)

Obv. legend around bust l. w. sceptre. Rev. legend around voided cross w. lozenge w. trefoil terminals superimposed, in circle.

LONDON

- 2119 *Ælfæd*. Obv. **†EDFH RD E+ A**. Rev. **†ELFRED ON LVNDE**. 1.03g 270°.
 2120 *Beorhtæd*. Obv. **†EDFE[R D REX]**. Rev. **†BRIH|TRED ON LVN[]**. 0.52g (cut halfpenny) 90°. SCBI 1.828.
 2121 *Godric*. Obv. **†[E]DFA RD RE[X]**. Rev. **†GODRIC [ON] LVND**. 0.62g (chipped and cracked) 180°. SCBI 1.829.
 2122 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†[EDFER D] REX**. Rev. **[]NDE**. 0.26g (cut farthing) 90°. SCBI 1.831.

SALISBURY

- 2123 *Godwine*. Obv. **†EDFER D REX**. Rev. **†GODFINE ON SERE**. 0.93g 0°.

WALLINGFORD

- 2124 *Beorhtic or Beorhtwine*. Obv. **†[EDFER] D REX**. Rev. **†BRI|OJN FEL**. 0.51g (cut halfpenny) 90°. SCBI 1.832.

WILTON

- 2125 *Ælfwine*. Obv. **†EDFE RD REX A**. Rev. **†ELFFINE ON FILTV**. 1.13g 180°.

YORK

- 2126 *Ælfstan or Æthelstan*. Obv. **†EDFE RD RE+**. Rev. **†ELTAN ON EOFRI**. 0.99g 180°. SCBI 1.833.

UNCERTAIN MINT (LINCOLN OR LONDON?)

- 2127 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†[EDFE R]D RE+**. Rev. **[]EFINE ON L[]**. 0.45g (cut halfpenny) 270°. SCBI 1.830.

UNCERTAIN MINT (POSSIBLY LONDON)

- 2128 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†[EDFE RD] REX**. Rev. **[]VNE**. 0.27g (cut farthing) 90°. SCBI 1.834.

UNCERTAIN MINT (POSSIBLY WINCHESTER)

- 2129 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†EDF[E RD REX]**. Rev. **[]E FINE**. 0.23g (cut farthing) 0°. SCBI 1.838.

UNCERTAIN MINT

- 2130 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†EDFE RD R]EX**. Rev. **[]ONA[]**. 0.16g (cut farthing). SCBI 1.835.

- 2131 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†EDFE]RD [REX]**. Rev. **[]E[]**. 0.24g (cut farthing). SCBI 1.836.
 2132 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **[]R[]**. Rev. **[]D ON[]**. 0.24g (cut farthing) 270°. SCBI 1.837.
 2133 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†EDFE R]D REX**. Rev. **[]/EL/EST []**. 0.23g (cut farthing).

Small Flan type (BEH B; BMC ii; North 818)

Obv. legend around bust l. Rev. legend around voided cross w. pellet at centre. This type was struck on unusually small and thick flans.

CAMBRIDGE

- 2134 *Wulfwine*. Obv. **†EDFE RD RE**. Rev. **†FVLFFINE ON GRA**. 1.03g 90°.

CANTERBURY

- 2135 *Eadweard*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†EDFARD ON EEN**. 0.94g 90°. SCBI 1.839.

‘DYR’

- 2136 *Wulfgar*. Obv. **†EDFE RD R**. Rev. **†FVLGAR O DYR**; annulet in field. 0.93g 90°.

EXETER

- 2137 *Ælfric*. Obv. **†EDFE RD REX**. Rev. **†ELFRIC ON EEX**. 1.14g 90°. SCBI 1.840.

HUNTINGDON

- 2138 *Ælfwine*. Obv. **†EDFE [RD REX]**. Rev. **†EL[FFINE ON] HV**. Cf. Eaglen 1999, 265. 0.64g (cut halfpenny) 270°.

LONDON

- 2139 *Ælfwig*. Obv. **†EDFE RD RE**. Rev. **†ELFFIG ON LVN**. 0.89g 90°. SCBI 1.843.
 2140 *Ælfwine*. Obv. **†EDFH RD E**. Rev. **†ELFFINE ON LVND**. 0.77g 270°.
 2141 *Burhæd*. Obv. **†[EDF]FA RD [REX]**. Rev. **†[BV]RHREI O[N LVN] (?)**. 0.47g (cut halfpenny) 0°. SCBI 1.841. Same dies as BMC 793.
 2142 *Goldsig*. Obv. **†EDFE RD RE**. Rev. **†GOLDSIE ON LV**. 1.13g 120°. SCBI 1.844.

2119 CM.1.732-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961.

2120 CM.ME.559-R: no provenance.

2121 CM.ME.560-R: no provenance.

2122 CM.ME.561-R: no provenance.

2123 CM.1.733-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Burstal 29; from Spink; ex Argyll coll.; from Baldwin; ex Grantley 1195.

2124 CM.ME.562-R: no provenance.

2125 CM.1.734-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt

London 1978; ex Rose 144.

2126 CM.28.20-1920: ex Hasluck coll.

2127 CM.TR.1990-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Robertson (gift) 1878.

2128 CM.ME.563-R: no provenance.

2129 CM.TR.1991-R: Trinity College loan

1937; ex Robertson (gift) 1878.

2130 CM.ME.564-R: no provenance.

2131 CM.ME.565-R: no provenance.

2132 CM.ME.566-R: no provenance.

2133 CM.560-2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.; found in London (Thames Exchange or Vintry).

2134 CM.933-2011: ex CNG sale 88, 14.9.2011, lot 2043.

2135 CM.ME.567-R: no provenance.

2136 CM.1.735-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960; ex Lockett 798.

2137 CM.YG.3264-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 16.6.1885, lot 37.

2138 CM.561-2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.

2139 CM.791-1910: no provenance.

2140 CM.6002-2007: ex J. C. Mossop coll.; bt Boston c. 1935.

2141 CM.TR.1992-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Robertson (gift) 1878.

2142 CM.ME.569-R: no provenance.



2119



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2142



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (*cont.*)

Small Flan type (cont.)

Obv. legend around bust l. Rev. legend around voided cross w. pellet at centre.

LONDON (*cont.*)

- 2143 *Leofing*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HLIFINC ON LVNDE**. 1.11g (pierced) 90°. *SCBI* 1.846.
 2144 *Leofwine*. Obv. garbled; unusually crude. Rev. **HLIOFFINE ON LV**. 0.70g 0°. *SCBI* 1.845.
 2145 *Wilgrip*. Obv. **HEDF RD RE**. Rev. **FWILGRIP ON LVN**. 1.11g 0°. *SCBI* 1.847.
 2146 *Wulfsige*. Obv. **HEDFΛ RD E**. Rev. **FWULSI ON LVND**. 0.91g 180°. *SCBI* 1.848.
 2147 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. [] Rev. [] **FI ON LV** []. 0.41g (cut halfpenny). *SCBI* 1.842.

OXFORD

- 2148 *Ælfwig*. Obv. **HEDFE RD RE**. Rev. **ÆLFWIG ON ON OXA**. 1.20g 90°. *SCBI* 1.849; 1867 *Catalogue*, 30; *Perne Catalogue*, Saxon and English 5.

SALISBURY

- 2149 *Ælfweald*. Obv. **HEDF RD REX**. Rev. **ÆLFWOLD ON SE**. 1.03g 180°.

SANDWICH

- 2150 *Leofwine*. Obv. **HEDFΛ RD RE**. Rev. **HEOFFINE ON SA**. 0.63g 180°. *SCBI* 1.850.

THETFORD

- 2151 *Ælfsige*. Obv. **HEDFE RD RE**. Rev. **ÆLSIG ON ðET**. 1.11g 0°. *SCBI* 1.851.
 2152 *Leofric*. Obv. **HEDEI RD RE**. Rev. **HLIO ON ðIOED**. 0.69g 90°.

WILTON

- 2153 *Leofwine*. Obv. **HEADF E RE**. Rev. **HEFINE ON FIL**. 1.05g 90°.

WINCHESTER

- 2154 *Godwine*. Obv. **HEDFE RD RE**. Rev. **HEODFINE ON FN**. 1.08g 0°. *SCBI* 1.852; Biddle 2012a, 1569a.
 2155 *Leodmæc*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HLADMÆC ON PIN**. 1.13g 180°. *SCBI* 1.853; Biddle 2012a, 1576a.

WORCESTER

- 2156 *Leofstan*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HEOFSTAN ON PH**. 1.04g 270°. *SCBI* 1.854.

YORK

- 2157 *Arngrimr*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HEARNGRIM ON EO**; annulet in field. 1.21g 135°. *SCBI* 1.855.
 2158 *Ioketill*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HEICBTTEL ON EOF**; annulet in field. 1.12g 135°. *SCBI* 1.856.

UNCERTAIN MINT

- 2159 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **HEDFE RD RE**. Rev. [] **INE ON** []. 0.94g (bent and double-struck) 180°. *SCBI* 1.857.

Trefoil Quadrilateral/Expanding Cross mule

Types as above (2119–33) (obv.) and next (rev.).

WILTON

- 2160 *Ælfwine*. Obv. **HEDFE RD REX**. Rev. **ÆLFWINE ON FILT**; G in field. 1.11g 180°. Peck-marks: o/i. This is an unusual example of a mule of two non-consecutive types.

- 2143 CM.4.11–1922: ex Perceval coll.
 2144 CM.ME.570–R: no provenance.
 2145 CM.TR.1993–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Bell coll.
 2146 CM.ME.571–R: no provenance.
 2147 CM.ME.568–R: from Lincoln 1910.
 2148 CM.ME.572–R: ex Old University collection; ex Perne.
 2149 CM.1.736–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1977; ex Elmore Jones 697; ex Lockett 3796; ex Carlyon-Britton 588.

- 2150 CM.ME.573–R: no provenance.
 2151 CM.YG.3265–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 589.
 2152 CM.QC.5210–R: Queens' College loan 2002.
 2153 CM.1.737–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1987.
 2154 CM.YG.3266–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 589.

- 2155 CM.YG.3267–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 589.
 2156 CM.YG.3268–R: ex Young coll. (gift).
 2157 CM.YG.3269–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 589.
 2158 CM.ME.574–R: no provenance.
 2159 CM.ME.575–R: no provenance.
 2160 CM.45–2007: ex Conte (gift); ex Baldwin sale 14, 13.10.1997, lot 293.



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EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (*cont.*)

Expanding Cross type (BEH E; BMC v; North 820–4)

Obv. legend around bust l. w. sceptre. Rev. legend around large cross pattée w. annulet at centre in circle. This type was struck at two very distinct weight standards, conventionally described as the 'light' and 'heavy' issues. The former is placed first here, though their chronological order remains unclear.

Light issue

CAMBRIDGE

- 2161 *Ælfwig*. Obv. **†EDƿE RD H.** Rev. **†ÆLFƿI ON GRATEB.**
1.08g o°. SCBI 1.858. Slightly double-struck on rev.
Peck-marks: o/1.

HASTINGS

- 2162 *Brid*. Obv. **†EDƿE RD RE†.** Rev. **†BRID ON HESTINPO.**
0.98g (chipped) o°. SCBI 1.859.

2161 CM.20–1926: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 24.11.1926; from Seaby; ex Ransom 234.

2162 CM.5.80–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

2163 CM.TR.1994–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.

2164 CM.ME.578–R: from Baldwin (unknown date).

- 2163 *Brid*. Obv. **†EDƿHER D RE.** Rev. **†BRID ON HESTINPOR.**
1.14g o°. SCBI 1.869.

- 2164 *Leofwine*. Obv. **†EDƿH RD RE.** Rev. **†LEOFFINE ON H/ESTL.** 1.11g 180°. SCBI 1.860.

LONDON

- 2165 *Beorhtwine*. Obv. **†EDƿ ERD R.** Rev. **†BRIHTƿINE ON LVND.** 1.00g o°. SCBI 1.861; *Perne Catalogue*, Saxon and English 4.

- 2166 *Godsumu*. Obv. **†EDƿ RD RE†.** Rev. **†GODESVNE ON LVND;** pellets in two quarters. 0.84g 180°. SCBI 1.862.

2165 CM.ME.579–R: ex Old University Collection (but not in *1867 Catalogue*); ex *Perne*.

2166 CM.ME.580–R: no provenance.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (*cont.*)

Expanding Cross type (light issue) (cont.)

Obv. legend around bust l. w. sceptre. Rev. legend around large cross pattée w. annulet at centre in circle.

YORK

- 2167 *Arngrimr*. Obv. **†EDFA REEX**. Rev. **†ARNGRIM LO ON EOF**; annulet in one quarter. 1.10g 90°. *SCBI* 1.863.
2168 *Arngrimr*. Obv. **†EDFA RD RE**. Rev. **†ARNGRIM ON EOFFER**; annulet in one quarter. 1.07g 90°. *SCBI* 1.864; 1867 *Catalogue*, 28.

Heavy issue

BRISTOL

- 2169 *Ælfstan or Æthelstan*. Obv. **†EDF RD REX**. Rev. **†Æ∞TAN ON BRIC**. 1.76g 0°. Same dies as 2170.
2170 *Ælfstan or Æthelstan*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.63g 0°. *SCBI* 1.865. Same dies as 2169.

CAMBRIDGE

- 2171 *Ælfwig*. Obv. **†EDFE RD REEX**. Rev. **†ÆLFFI ON GRANTE**. 1.72g 0°. *SCBI* 1.866.
2172 *Wulfwine*. Obv. **†EDFA RD REX**. Rev. **†FVLFFINE ON GRAN**. 1.69g 180°. *SCBI* 1.867. Same rev. die as 2173.
2173 *Wulfwine*. Obv. **†EDFE [RD REX]**. Rev. **†FVJLFFINE ON G[RAN]**. 0.69g (cut halfpenny) 90°. Same rev. die as 2172.

CANTERBURY

- 2174 *Wulfstan*. Obv. **†EDFE RD REX**. Rev. **†FVLSTAN ON CENTFÆ**. 1.63g 270°. *SCBI* 1.868.

HUNTINGDON

- 2175 *Godric*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†GOD[RIC] ON HVNT**. 1.33g (broken; chipped) 180°.

LONDON

- 2176 *Ælfwig*. Obv. **†EDFE RD RE+**. Rev. **†EFII ONN LVNDNDHC**. 1.25g (broken and repaired) 90°. *SCBI* 1.870.

STAMFORD

- 2177 *Leofwine*. Obv. **†EDFE RD REX**. Rev. **†LEOFFINE ONN STAN** (NN ligatured). 1.68g 90°. *SCBI* 1.871.

THETFORD

- 2178 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†[ED]FE[RD REX]**. Rev. **[]ÐEO []**. 0.43g (cut farthing).

WILTON

- 2179 *Ælfwine*. Obv. **†EDFER D REEX**. Rev. **†ÆLFFINE ON FILTVN**. 1.66g 270°. *SCBI* 1.872.

YORK

- 2180 *Arngrimr*. Obv. **†EDFERH RD REX**. Rev. **†ARNGRIM ON EOFFERFI**; annulet in field. 1.75g 90°. *SCBI* 1.873.
2181 *Iol*. Obv. **†EDFR RD RE+**. Rev. **†IOLA ON EOFFERFIC**; annulet in field. 1.64g 0°.
2182 *Skuli*. Obv. **†EDFE RD REX**. Rev. **†SEVLA ON EOFFERFIC**; annulet in field. 1.71g 270°.

Lead trial piece (?)

LONDON

- 2183 *Leofing*. Obv. **†EDFE RD REX**. Rev. **†LIFINC ON LVNDI**. Æ/Pb 1.47g 270°.

Expanding Cross/Pointed Helmet mule

Types as last (obv.) and next (rev.).

‘NIWEPORT’

- 2184 *Sigeræd*. Obv. **†EDFEV D RE+**. Rev. **†∞IRED ON NIPE PORT**. 1.42g 270°. Blackburn *et al.* 1993.

Pointed Helmet type (BEH F; BMC vii; North 825)

Obv. legend around helmeted and bearded half-length figure r. holding sceptre. Rev. legend around voided cross w. omega terminals and annulet at centre in circle.

CAMBRIDGE

- 2185 *Ælfwig*. Obv. **†EDFAR D REX**. Rev. **†ÆLFFII ON GRANTEE**. 1.30g 180°. *SCBI* 1.875.
2186 *Ælfwig*. Obv. **†EDFR D REX**. Rev. **†ÆLFFI ON GRANTN**. 1.19g 0°. *SCBI* 1.874.
2187 *Eadred*. Obv. **†EDFER D RE**. Rev. **†EDRERD ON GRANT**. 1.14g (chipped) 90°.

- 2167 CM.5.98–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
2168 CM.ME.583–R: ex Vansittart (gift).
2169 CM.ME.576–R: no provenance.
2170 CM.YG.3270–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 16.6.1885, lot 37.
2171 CM.27–1957: ex Clarke (gift) 1957; from Spink.
2172 CM.48–1931: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 20.8.1931; from Seaby.
2173 CM.562–2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.
2174 CM.ME.577–R: no provenance.
2175 CM.22–2009: ex C. Stewart (gift); found Winwick, Cambridgeshire, 2008 (EMC 2008.0466).

- 2176 CM.28.19–1920: ex Hasluck coll.
2177 CM.ME.581–R: no provenance.
2178 CM.563–2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers; found at Bawsey, Norfolk.
2179 CM.ME.582–R: no provenance.
2180 CM.1.72–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.
2181 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 1923.1339.B: ex Griffith; possibly found in Cambridge area.
2182 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 1923.1339.A: ex Griffith; possibly found in Cambridge area.
2183 CM.1.738–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Spink 1987; found Billingsgate, London, 1986.

- 2184 CM.1918–2003: ex Conte 2003; from Baldwin 1995; ex Norweb 1255; ex Elmore Jones 584; ex Lockett 820; ex Drabble 532; from Baldwin.
2185 CM.27–1926: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 3.12.1926; from Seaby.
2186 CM.26–1926: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 3.12.1926; from Seaby.
2187 CM.212–1996: ex Jacob coll.



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KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (*cont.*)

Pointed Helmet type (cont.)

Obv. legend around helmeted and bearded half-length figure r. holding sceptre. Rev. legend around voided cross w. omega terminals and annulet at centre in circle.

CAMBRIDGE (*cont.*)

- 2188 *Godwine*. Obv. **†EDFAR D REX**. Rev. **†GODFINE ON GRANT**. 1.33g 270°. *SCBI* 1.876. Same dies as **2189**.
2189 *Godwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†GODFINE ON G[RA]NT**. 1.26g 270°. Same dies as **2188**.

HASTINGS

- 2190 *Dunning*. Obv. **†EDFER D RE+**. Rev. **†DVNINE ON H/E+TIE**. 1.28g 270°. *SCBI* 1.878. Same rev. die as **2191**.
2191 *Dunning*. Obv. **†EDFR D REX**. Rev. as last. 1.26g 180°. *SCBI* 1.877. Same rev. die as **2190**.

IPSWICH

- 2191A *Leofweald*. Obv. **†ED[]R D REI**. Rev. **†LEOFFOLD O []IPE**. 1.12g (chipped and gilded on rev; mounted as brooch, with two pins) 0°.

LEWES

- 2192 *Eadweard*. Obv. **†EDFER D REX**. Rev. **†EDFARD ON L/EPE**. 1.28g 270°. *SCBI* 1.879.

LONDON

- 2193 *Ælfwig or Æthelwig*. Obv. **†EDFER D RE+**. Rev. **†ELFIC ON LVNDENE**. 1.30g 180°. *SCBI* 1.880.

- 2194 *Godman*. Obv. **†EDFER D RF**. Rev. **†GODMAN ON LVN**. 1.35g 0°.

OXFORD

- 2195 *Heregod*. Obv. **†EADF ERD REEX**. Rev. **†H/ER GOD O N OX ENE**. 2.21g (including mounts and pin; broken and repaired) 270°. Mounted as brooch, with pin and clasp intact; reverse gilded, with no circle, cross finials extending to the edge of the coin and **Æ** in each quarter (North 826/1); see Fig. 15 for an enlargement. For this and other coins mounted as brooches in the decades around the Norman Conquest, see Williams 2001a (this coin no. 9); 2006c.

STEYNING

- 2196 *Wulfric*. Obv. **†EDFA D RE+**. Rev. **†WULFRIC ON ʁTE**. 1.30g 0°. *SCBI* 1.881.

WALLINGFORD

- 2197 *Brunwine*. Obv. **†EDFHR D RX**. Rev. **†BRVNFINE ON FALI**. 1.33g 270°.

WILTON

- 2198 *Ælfweald*. Obv. **†EDFAR D REI**. Rev. **†ALFFOLD ON FILTVN**. 1.34g 90°.
2199 *Thorketill*. Obv. **†AEDFER D REX**. Rev. **†ÐVRCIL ON FILT**. 1.30g 180°. *SCBI* 1.882.

2188 CM.25–1926: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 3.12.1926; from Seaby.

2189 CM.QC.5211–R: Queens' College loan 2002.

2190 CM.TR.1995–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.

2191 CM.5.82–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); acq. 1890.

2191A CM.1618–2015: from Johnstone (finder); found at Somersham, Cambridgeshire,

February 2010 (EMC 2015.0016; Treasure Case 2012T597).

2192 CM.5.86–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift) 1933.

2193 CM.TR.1996–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.

2194 CM.QC.5212–R: Queens' College loan 2002.

2195 CM.817–1996: ex Bonham sale 12.9.1996, lot 231.

2196 CM.TR.1997–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.

2197 CM.1.739–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1960.

2198 CM.1.740–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1955; ex Argyll coll.

2199 CM.TR.1998–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.



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EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (*cont.*)

WINCHESTER

- 2200 *Godman*. Obv. **†EDFER D REX**. Rev. **†GOD[MA]NN ON
FINCES**. 1.22g 300°. *SCBI* 1.883; *Perne Catalogue*, Saxon
and English 2; Biddle 2012a, 1657a.
2201 *Godwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†GODFINE ON FINCE**. 1.23g
90°. *SCBI* 1.884.
2202 *Godwine*. Obv. **†EDFER D REI**. Rev. **†GODFINE ON DINVNPI**
(?). 1.33g 0°. *SCBI* 1.885; Biddle 2012a, 1671a.
2203 *Leodmar*. Obv. **†EDFAR D REX**. Rev. **†LADM/ER ON
FINE**. 1.23g 180°. *SCBI* 1.886; Biddle 2012a, 1698a.

YORK

- 2204 *Hæfn*. Obv. **†EDFAR D EX**. Rev. **†RAFEN ON EOFERF**;
annulet in third quarter. 1.11g 180°. *SCBI* 1.887.

Pointed Helmet/Sovereign Eagles mule
Types as last (obv.) and next (rev.).

YORK

- 2205 *Ioketill*. Obv. **†EDFE RD R**. Rev. **†HOCITEL ON EOFER**; an-
nulets in two quarters. 1.30g 135°.



Figure 15. *Oblique and enlarged photograph of 2195.*

- 2200 CM.ME.584-R; ex Old University
collection (not in *1867 Catalogue*); ex *Perne*.
2201 CM.TR.1999-R; ex Old University
collection (not in *1867 Catalogue*).

- 2202 CM.TR.2000-R; Trinity College loan
1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton
hoard.
2203 CM.TR.2001-R; Trinity College loan
1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton
hoard.

- 2204 CM.22-1915; ex Humphrey and
Stokes (gift) 1915.
2205 CM.1922-2003; ex Conte 2003; from
Gillis, January 2000.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (*cont.*)

Sovereign/Eagles type (BEH H; BMC ix; North 827)

Obv. legend around enthroned figure holding long cross-staff and *globus cruciger*. Rev. legend around voided cross w. birds in angles, in circle. There is nothing specifically aquiline about the birds on this type, though the name 'eagles' has become traditional.

BARNSTAPLE

- 2206 *Ælfric*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX ANGLOL**. Rev. **†ÆLFRIC ON BEARB**. 1.27g 180°. SCBI 1.888; 1867 *Catalogue*, 29; *Perne Catalogue*, Saxon and English 7.

BEDWYN

- 2207 *Cild*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX ANGLO**. Rev. **†CILDA ON BEDEFIN**. 1.38g 180°.

CAMBRIDGE

- 2208 *Ælfwig*. Obv. **EAD[ƿARD] REX ANGLO**. Rev. **†ÆLFWIG ON GR[]**. 1.30g (pierced and plugged) 270°. SCBI 1.889.
2209 *Eadweard*. Obv. **EADƿERD RHT ANGORM**. Rev. **†EDƿERD ON GRATEBI**. 1.13g 90°.
2210 *Sækkollr*. Obv. **EADƿAREX ANGLO**. Rev. **†SÆCOL ON GRANT**. 1.08g (broken and repaired; gilded) 0°. SCBI 1.890.

CANTERBURY

- 2211 *Leofstan*. Obv. **E[ƿ]ARD REX ANGOR**. Rev. **†LE[OF]TAN ON CENT** (NT ligatured). 1.28g 180°. SCBI 1.891.

CHICHESTER

- 2212 *Wulfic*. Obv. **EADƿEARD REX ANGLO**. Rev. **†WULFIC ON CICES**. 1.30g 90°. SCBI 1.892.

EXETER

- 2213 *Sæwine*. Obv. **EADƿEARD REX ANG**. Rev. **†SÆWINE ON EXEES**. 1.25g 0°. SCBI 1.893.

HASTINGS

- 2214 *Brid*. Obv. **EADƿARD+ANGLO**. Rev. **†BRID ON H/EWTIEN**. 1.21g 270°. SCBI 1.894.

- 2215 *Dunning*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX ANGLOL**. Rev. **†DVNNING ON H/ES**. 1.35g 90°. SCBI 1.895.

- 2216 *Wulfic*. Obv. **EADƿEARD REX ANGL**. Rev. **†WULFIC ON H/ESTING**. 1.30g 180°. SCBI 1.896. Same dies as 2217.

- 2217 *Wulfic*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.26g 180°. SCBI 1.897. Same dies as 2216.

LEICESTER

- 2218 *Æthelric*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX ANGLO**. Rev. **†ÆGELRIC ON LEH**. 1.35g 90°. SCBI 1.898.

LEWES

- 2219 *Osweald*. Obv. **EDDƿRD R+ ANGOR**. Rev. **†Oswold ON L/EPEN**. 1.35g 90°. SCBI 1.899. Same dies as 2220.

- 2220 *Osweald*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.35g 180°. Same dies as 2219.

LINCOLN

- 2221 *Authgrimir*. Obv. **EADƿEARD REX ANGLO**. Rev. **†ODERIM ON LINEO**. 1.32g 180°. SCBI 1.901.

- 2222 *Auti*. Obv. **EDƿARD X ANGLO**. Rev. **†AVTI ON LINEOLNE**. 1.24g 0°. SCBI 1.900.

MALMESBURY

- 2223 *Ealdwine*. Obv. **EADWVEARDVS REX ANGLOX**. Rev. **†EALDWINE ON MEAL**. 1.29g 270°.

SALISBURY

- 2224 *Godric*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX ANGLO**. Rev. **†GODRIC ONN SERB**. 1.24g 0°.

SHREWSBURY

- 2225 *Godsbrand*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX ANGLO**. Rev. **†GODSBRAND ON []**; die defaced (?). 1.23g 0°. SCBI 1.902.

THETFORD

- 2226 *Sumarlithr*. Obv. **[EADƿ]EARD REX AN[GLO]**. Rev. **[†SVM]ERLIDA ON Ð[]**. 0.54g (cut halfpenny) 0°.

2206 CM.ME.585-R; ex Old University collection.

2207 CM.1.741-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1963; ex Lockett 2817; ex Carlyon-Britton 613.

2208 CM.1894-1911: ex J. G. Clark (gift) 1910.

2209 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 1923.1299: ex R. Smart; found in digging the foundations of a house just across the Railway Bridge, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire.

2210 CM.31-1935: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 17.5.1935; ex Wells 1935; ex Carlyon-Britton 1144.

2211 CM.1.70-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

2212 CM.TR.2002-R; Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.

2213 CM.ME.586-R; no provenance.

2214 CM.YG.3271-R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 16.6.1885, lot 35.

2215 CM.TR.2003-R; Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.

2216 CM.YG.3272-R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 16.6.1885, lot 35.

2217 CM.5.81-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

2218 CM.TR.2004-R; Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.

2219 CM.TR.2005-R; Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.

2220 CM.P2-1960: Peterhouse loan 1960.

2221 CM.28.17-1920: ex Hasluck coll.

2222 CM.5.87-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 847; ex Brice coll.; ex Bergne 268.

2223 CM.1.742-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Elmore Jones 579; ex Lockett 3811; ex Carlyon-Britton 616.

2224 CM.1.743-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Burstal 29; ex Argyll coll.; from Spink.

2225 CM.YG.3273-R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Shepherd 108.

2226 CM.564-2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.



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2222



2223



2224



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2226



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (*cont.*)

Sovereign/Eagles type (cont.)

Obv. legend around enthroned figure holding long cross-staff and *globus cruciger*. Rev. legend around voided cross w. birds in angles, in circle.

WALLINGFORD

- 2227 *Brandr*. Obv. **EADƿAR + ANGLO**. Rev. **+BRAND ON ƿALLI**. 1.32g 90°. *CCC Catalogue*, 157.

WILTON

- 2228 *Hereræd*. Obv. **EADƿEARD REX ANGL**. Rev. **+H/ERRED ON ƿILTƿNE**. 1.29g 90°.

WINCHESTER

- 2229 *Leofing*. Obv. **EADƿVEARDVS REX ANGLO**. Rev. **+LFINC ON ƿINCEST**. 1.34g 270°. Biddle 2012a, 1740a. Same obv. die as **2230**.
2230 *Leofing*. Obv. as last. Rev. **+LFINC ONN ƿINCE**. 1.35g 90°. *SCBI* 1.903; Biddle 2012a, 1739a. Same obv. die as **2229**.

YORK

- 2231 *Iol*. Obv. **EDƿARD X AGLORA**. Rev. **+HOLA ONN EOƿERƿIC**; annulet in one quarter. 1.43g 165°. *SCBI* 1.904.
2232 *Ulfketill the Thegn*. Obv. **EDƿARD RE A[NG]LO**. Rev. **+VLƿKETEL ƿAGINGA ON EO**; annulet in two quarters. 1.39g 180°. Same dies as ex Lockett 28202 and ex Sotheby sale 19.7.1984, lot 125. The reverse legend of this coin represents an unusual example of a moneyer's thegnly status being specified – or, conceivably, the fact that he was the son of a thegn or of a man named Thegn (Colman 2014, 17).

UNCERTAIN MINT (DORCHESTER OR GUILDFORD?)

- 2233 *Blaceman*. Obv. **[EDƿ]ARD X ANGL[O]**. Rev. **+BLACEM[]**. 0.56g (cut halfpenny) 90°.

Sovereign Eagles/Hammer Cross mule

Obv. legend around enthroned figure holding long cross-staff and *globus cruciger*. Rev. legend around double cross w. pelleted crescent terminals.

- 2227 CM.LS.5518-R: Corpus Christi College loan 1991; ex Lewis coll.; from Rollin & Feuadent 28.12.1876; ex Wigan; ex Cuff.
2228 CM.1.744-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961; ex De Vore; ex Rushton; from Chapman 27.5.1894.
2229 CM.1.745-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1956; ex Argyll coll.
2230 CM.TR.2006-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.
2231 CM.TR.2007-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex King (gift) 1876.

- 2232 CM.36-1986: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift); ex *NCirc* 94 (1986), no. 3245.
2233 CM.565-2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.; found at Sion Reach (north bank), Isleworth.
2234 CM.1921-2003: ex Conte 2003; ex Baldwin sale 18, 12.10.1998, lot 1745; ex Norweb 1268 (*SCBI* 30, 622); ex Bagshawe coll.; ex Lockett 2821; ex Reynolds 72.
2235 CM.1.746-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1971; ex Bagshawe coll.; ex Ryan 857; ex Carlyon-Britton 612; ex Murdoch 156; ex Montagu 146; ex Durlacher.

- 2236 CM.136-1974: from Collins & Clark; ex Wyatt.
2237 CM.ME.587-R: no provenance.
2238 CM.49-1931: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 20.8.1931; from Seaby.
2239 CM.7-1956: ex Clarke (gift) 26.4.1956; ex *NCirc* 64 (1956), no. RCL 189; ex Lockett 842.
2240 CM.ME.588-R: from Spink.
2241 CM.6-1956: ex Clarke (gift) 26.4.1956; ex *NCirc* 64 (1956), no. RCL 188; ex Lockett 842.
2242 CM.21-1926: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 24.11.1926.

BEDFORD

- 2234 *Godwine*. Obv. **EADƿRD REX ANLORV**. Rev. **+EODƿINE ON BEDEFO**. 1.33g 270°.

Pointed Helmet/Hammer Cross mule

Obv. legend around helmeted and bearded half-length figure r. holding sceptre (cf. **2185-2204**). Rev. legend around double cross w. pelleted crescent terminals.

BEDFORD

- 2235 *Leofihegn*. Obv. **+EDƿER D RE+**. Rev. **+LIOF-DEGEN ON BEDE** (NB ligatured). 1.20g 270°. An unusual example of a mule of two non-consecutive types.

Hammer Cross type (BEH G; BMC xi; North 828)

Obv. legend around crowned and bearded bust r. w. sceptre. Rev. legend around voided cross w. pelleted crescent terminals.

BEDFORD

- 2236 *Godwine*. Obv. **+EADƿAR RD RE**. Rev. **+EODƿINE ON BEDEFO**. 1.15g (cracked) 180°.
2237 *Sigegod*. Obv. as last. Rev. **+EOD ON BEDEFOR**. 1.32g 90°. *SCBI* 1.905.

CAMBRIDGE

- 2238 *Eadweard*. Obv. **+EADƿAR RD RE**. Rev. **+EADƿERD ONGRA**. 1.34g 0°. *SCBI* 1.906. Same rev. die as **2239**.
2239 *Eadweard*. Obv. **+EADƿAR D REX**. Rev. as last. 1.29g 90°. *SCBI* 1.907. Same rev. die as **2238**.
2240 *Sæcollr*. Obv. **+EAD[ƿ] RD RE**. Rev. **+EOLƿ[LF] OJN EANT**. 1.31g 180°. *SCBI* 1.909. Same dies as **2241**.
2241 *Sæcollr*. Obv. **+EAD[ƿ] RD RE**. Rev. **+EOLƿ ON EA[]**. 1.26g 270°. *SCBI* 1.908. Same dies as **2240**.
2242 *Wulfwine*. Obv. **+EADƿAR RD RE**. Rev. **+ƿVLƿƿINE ONGRAN**. 1.28g 0°. *SCBI* 1.910.



2227



2228



2229



2230



2231



2232



2233



2234



2235



2236



2237



2238



2239



2240



2241



2242



2243



2244



2245



2246



2247



EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (*cont.*)

Hammer Cross type (cont.)

CHICHESTER

- 2243 *Wulfric*. Obv. **HEADFAR RD RE**. Rev. **HFVLFRIE ON
CICEIT**. 1.30g 180°. *SCBI* 1.911.
2244 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **[HEAD]FAR [RD RE]**. Rev. **[]N
CICEIT**. 0.55g (cut halfpenny; chipped) 270°.

- 2246 *Wicing*. Obv. **HEADFAR RD RE**. Rev. **HFICING ON
EXECEST**. 1.35g 270°. *SCBI* 1.913; 1867 *Catalogue*, 27;
Perne Catalogue, Saxon and English 6.
2247 *Wicing*. Obv. as last. Rev. **HFICING ON EXECE2**. 1.19g 90°. *SCBI* 1.914.

EXETER

- 2245 *Ælfric*. Obv. **HEADFARD RD RE**. Rev. **HFELFRIE ON
EXECE2**. 1.31g 180°. *SCBI* 1.912.

2243 CM.TR.2008-R: Trinity College loan
1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton
hoard.

2244 CM.566-2013: from Galata Coins; ex
Rogers coll.

2245 CM.YG.3274-R: ex Young coll. (gift);
ex Sotheby sale 16.6.1885, lot 37.

2246 CM.ME.589-R: ex Old University
collection.

2247 CM.ME.590-R: ex Old University
collection (but not in 1867 *Catalogue*).

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (*cont.*)

Hammer Cross type (cont.)

Obv. legend around crowned and bearded bust r. w. sceptre. Rev. legend around voided cross w. pelleted crescent terminals.

GLOUCESTER

- 2248 *Leofnoth*. Obv. **†EADƿAR]D [R]EX**. Rev. **†LIOFNOÞ ON GLEFE[]**. 1.65g (cracked; rivetted) 90°. Mounted as brooch, with pin missing; reverse gilded.

HASTINGS

- 2249 *Brid*. Obv. **†EADƿAR RD RE**. Rev. **†BRID ON H/E∫TI**. 1.22g 270°. *SCBI* 1.915.
 2250 *Dunning*. Obv. **†EADƿAR RD RE**. Rev. **†DVNNING ON H/E∫T**. 1.30g 90°. *SCBI* 1.917. Same dies as **2251**.
 2251 *Dunning*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.26g 270°. *SCBI* 1.918. Same dies as **2250**.
 2252 *Dunning*. Obv. **†EADƿAR RD RE**. Rev. **†DVNNING ON H/E∫T**. 1.25g 90°. *SCBI* 1.916.
 2253 *Wulfric*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†FVLFRIC ON H/E∫TI**. 1.31g 180°.

HEREFORD

- 2254 *Ælfric*. Obv. **†EADƿARD RD RE**. Rev. **†ELRIE ON HEREOF**. 1.30g 180°. *SCBI* 1.919.
 2255 *Ælfric*. Obv. **†EADƿARDE RD RE**. Rev. **†ELFFI ON HEREOF**. 1.34g 0°. *SCBI* 1.920.

LEWES

- 2256 *Godwine*. Obv. **†EADƿAR RD RE**. Rev. **†EODFINE ON LEFE**. 1.34g 180°. *SCBI* 1.922. Same dies as **2257**.
 2257 *Godwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.33g 90°. *SCBI* 1.921. Same dies as **2256**.

- 2258 *Leofweard*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†LIOFR/ED ON LEFE**. 1.30g 270°. *SCBI* 1.923.

- 2259 *Osweald*. Obv. **†ADƿAR RD RE**. Rev. **†O∫FOLD ON LEFE**. 1.34g 180°. *SCBI* 1.924. Same obv. die as **2260**.

- 2260 *Osweald*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.32g 270°. Same obv. die as **2259**.

LINCOLN

- 2261 *Wulfbeorn*. Obv. **†EDƿARD RE**. Rev. **†FVLBREN ON LIN**. 1.21g 0°. *SCBI* 1.925.

LONDON

- 2262 *Godric*. Obv. **†EADƿAR RD RE**. Rev. **†EODRIC ON LVND**. 1.19g 90°. *SCBI* 1.926.
 2263 *Godwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†GODFINE ON LVNDE**. 1.08g 0°. *SCBI* 1.927.

MALMESBURY

- 2264 *Beorhtwine*. Obv. **†EDƿ RD RE**. Rev. **†BRIHF I ON MELME**. 1.25g 270°.

STEYNING

- 2265 *Deorman*. Obv. **ÆDƿAR RD RE**. Rev. **†DIORMAN ON ∫T/ENIE**. 1.28g 0°. *SCBI* 1.929. Same dies as **2266–7**.
 2266 *Deorman*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.31g 0°. Same dies as **2265** and **2267**.
 2267 *Deorman*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.33g 270°. *SCBI* 1.928. Same dies as **2265–6**.

THETFORD

- 2268 *Ælfwine*. Obv. **†EDƿAR D REX**. Rev. **†ELFFINE ON ÐET**. 1.09g 200°. *SCBI* 1.930.

- 2248 CM.817–2010: from Garnett.
 2249 CM.YG.3275–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 16.6.1885, lot 37.
 2250 CM.5.83–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
 2251 CM.5.84–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
 2252 CM.YG.3276–R: ex Young coll. (gift); found at Hastings, East Sussex (EMC 1001.0916).
 2253 CM.1.747–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Owston Smith 1949; ex Grantley.
 2254 CM.ME.591–R: no provenance.
 2255 CM.5.85–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); acq. 1890.

- 2256 CM.ME.592–R: no provenance.
 2257 CM.TR.2009–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.
 2258 CM.YG.3227–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 8.4.1880, lot 325; found in Denmark.
 2259 CM.TR.2010–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.
 2260 CM.237–1964: ex Vidler (gift).
 2261 CM.ME.593–R: no provenance.
 2262 CM.1.71–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

- 2263 CM.TR.2011–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.
 2264 CM.1.748–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendining sale 10, 21.9.1983, lot 39.
 2265 CM.5.90–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
 2266 CM.ME.594–R: not in *SCBI* 1; possibly ex Searle.
 2267 CM.TR.2012–R: Trinity College loan 1937.
 2268 CM.383–1923: ex Jenkinson coll.



2248



2249



2250



2251



2252



2253



2254



2255



2256



2257



2258



2259



2260



2261



2262



2263



2264



2265



2266



2267



2268



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (*cont.*)

Hammer Cross type (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around crowned and bearded bust r. w. sceptre. Rev. legend around voided cross w. pelleted crescent terminals.

WALLINGFORD

- 2269 *Brandr.* Obv. **ƿEADƿAR RD RE.** Rev. **ƿBRAD ON ƿALINCE.** 1.34g 90°. *SCBI* 1.931.

WILTON

- 2270 *Ælfweald.* Obv. as last. Rev. **ƿALFFOLD ON ƿILTVE.** 1.09g 180°. Same obv. die as **2271**.
2271 *Ælfweard.* Obv. as last. Rev. **ƿALFFORD ON ƿNƿVE.** 1.19g 270°. *SCBI* 1.932. Same obv. die as **2270**.

WINCHESTER

- 2272 *Anderboda.* Obv. as last. Rev. **ƿANDERBODE ON ƿINCE.** 1.30g 180°. *SCBI* 1.933; Biddle 2012a, 1755b.
2273 *Godwine.* Obv. as last. Rev. **ƿGODƿINE ON ƿINCE.** 1.32g 0°. Biddle 2012a, 1765a.

WORCESTER

- 2274 *Estmær.* Obv. as last. Rev. **ƿEƿTMAR ON ƿIHRE.** 1.35g 270°.

YORK

- 2275 *Authgrimr.* Obv. **ƿEDƿARD D REX.** Rev. **ƿOƿGRIM ON ƿOFER;** annulet in one quarter. 1.37g 90°. *SCBI* 1.934.
2276 *Ulfketill.* Obv. **ƿEADƿAR D REX.** Rev. **ƿVLƿETEL ON ƿOFRƿ.** 1.34g 90°.

Facing Bust/Small Cross type (BEH Ac; BMC xiii; North 830)

Obv. legend around facing crowned and bearded bust in circle. Rev. legend around small cross pattée in circle.

BATH

- 2277 *Eorlwine.* Obv. **ƿEADƿARD REX ƿ.** Rev. **ƿEORLEƿINE ON ƿAƿ.** 1.10g (chipped) 90°. *SCBI* 1.935.

BEDWYN

- 2278 *Cild.* Obv. **ƿEADƿARD RE.** Rev. **ƿCILD ƿ ON ƿEDEƿI.** 0.95g (chipped) 0°.

CAMBRIDGE

- 2279 *Eadweard.* Obv. **ƿEADƿARD RE.** Rev. **ƿEADRD ON GR ƿNI.** 1.08g 180°. *SCBI* 1.936. Same dies as **2280–1**.
2280 *Eadweard.* Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.08g (slightly chipped) 180°. Same dies as **2279** and **2281**.
2281 *Eadweard.* Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 0.93g (slightly chipped) 180°. *SCBI* 1.937. Same dies as **2279–80**.
2282 *Godwine.* Obv. as last. Rev. **ƿGODƿINE ON GR ƿ.** 1.10g 90°. *SCBI* 1.938.
2283 *Godwine.* Obv. **[ƿEADƿA]RD R ƿNGL.** Rev. **ƿGODƿINE ON GR ƿ.** 0.79g (obverse badly corroded by adhesive) 45° (?).
2284 *Sækoltr.* Obv. **ƿEADƿARD RE.** Rev. **ƿSƿEOL ON GR ƿNIV.** 1.04g 90°. *SCBI* 1.939. Same dies as **2285**.
2285 *Sækoltr.* Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.04g (obverse corroded by adhesive) 90°. Same dies as **2284**.
2286 *Wulfwig.* Obv. **ƿEADƿARD RE.** Rev. **ƿƿVLƿƿI ON GR ƿNT.** 1.18g 180°. Same dies as **2287–8**.
2287 *Wulfwig.* Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.09g 180°. *SCBI* 1.940. Same dies as **2286** and **2288**.
2288 *Wulfwig.* Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.13g (reverse badly corroded by adhesive) 180°. Same dies as **2286–7**.
2289 *Uncertain moneyer.* Obv. **ƿEADƿARD RE.** Rev. **[ƿON GR ƿ].** 0.37g (cut halfpenny; chipped) 0°.

CANTERBURY

- 2290 *Man.* Obv. **ƿEADƿARD RE.** Rev. **ƿMAN ON ƿANTVR.** 1.02g (slightly chipped) 0°. *SCBI* 1.941.

CHICHESTER

- 2291 *Ælfwine.* Obv. **[ƿEADƿ]ARD REƿ.** Rev. **ƿƿELƿINE ON ƿIC.** 1.12g 0°. *SCBI* 1.942.
2292 *Wulfric.* Obv. **ƿEADƿARD REX.** Rev. **ƿƿVLƿRIC ON ƿIC.** 1.10g 180°. *SCBI* 1.943.

- 2269 CM.ME.595-R: no provenance.
2270 CM.1.749-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1986.
2271 CM.TR.2013-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.
2272 CM.TR.2014-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.
2273 CM.1.750-1990: ex Blunt coll.
2274 CM.1.751-1990: ex Blunt coll.
2275 CM.TR.2015-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Bell coll.
2276 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 1923.1339.E: ex Griffith; possibly found in the Cambridge area.

- 2277 CM.ME.596-R: no provenance.
2278 CM.1.752-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1955; ex Lockett 850.
2279 CM.ME.597-R: no provenance.
2280 CM.204-1964: no provenance.
2281 CM.26-1944: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 24.3.1944; ex Grantley 1218; ex F.G. Lawrence.
2282 CM.ME.598-R: no provenance.
2283 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 1927.1555: ex Peck.
2284 CM.22-1926: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 24.11.1926; from Seaby; ex NCirc 34 (1926), no. 59756.
2285 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 1927.1556: ex Peck.

- 2286 CM.ME.600-R: no provenance (possibly ex Searle; not in *SCBI* 1).
2287 CM.ME.599-R: no provenance.
2288 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 1927.1557: ex Peck.
2289 CM.567-2013: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.
2290 CM.27-1944: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 24.3.1944; ex Grantley 1281; bt Cambridge.
2291 CM.28.15-1920: ex Hasluck coll.
2292 CM.28-1944: from Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (gift) 24.3.1944; ex Grantley 1218.



2269



2270



2271



2272



2273



2274



2275



2276



2277



2278



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2283



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2285



2286



2287



2288



2289



2290



2291



2292



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (*cont.*)

Facing Bust/Small Cross type (cont.)

Obv. legend around facing crowned and bearded bust in circle.
Rev. legend around small cross pattée in circle.

IPSWICH

- 2293 *Brunman*. Obv. **EADƿARD RE**. Rev. **+BRVM ON GIPES**.
1.08g 0°.

LINCOLN

- 2294 *Ulfir*. Obv. **ƿEADƿARD REX**. Rev. **+VLF ON LINEOLL**.
1.05g 180°. *SCBI* 1.944.
2295 *Ulfir*. Obv. **ƿEADƿAREÐ RE+**. Rev. **+VLF ON LINEOLL**.
1.05g 180°. *SCBI* 1.945. Same obv. die as 2296.
2296 *Ulfir*. Obv. as last. Rev. **+VLF ONN LINEOLL** (NN ligatured).
1.05g 90°. *SCBI* 1.946. Same obv. die as 2295.

LONDON

- 2297 *Ælfveard*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX AN**. Rev. **+ÆLFFARD ON LVND**.
1.06g 270°. *SCBI* 1.947.
2298 *Eadwine*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX A**. Rev. **ƿEAFINE ON LVND**.
1.07g 270°.

MALMESBURY

- 2299 *Beorhtwig*. Obv. **EADƿARD RE**. Rev. **+RIHIF ON MALME**.
0.97g 270°.

NORWICH

- 2300 *Leofwine*. Obv. **EADƿARD REE+**. Rev. **+LIOFFNE MOR NORΩ**.
0.86g (bent and cracked) 0°.

ROCHESTER

- 2301 *Leofwine Horn*. Obv. **EADƿARD REE+**. Rev. **+LIFFINE HORN O ROF**.
1.13g 270°. *SCBI* 1.948.

STEYNING

- 2302 *Deorman*. Obv. **EADƿARARD REEX A**. Rev. **+DIORMAN ON ƿT/E**.
1.04g 90°. *SCBI* 1.949. Same dies as 2303.
2303 *Deorman*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.09g 0°. *SCBI* 1.950.
Same dies as 2302.

THETFORD

- 2304 *Godleof*. Obv. **ƿEADƿAR RE+** REX. Rev. **+GODLEF ON ƿETƿ**.
1.09g 90°. *SCBI* 1.951.
2305 *Sumarlithr*. Obv. **ƿEADƿARD REX+**. Rev. **+SVMRD ON ƿETFOR**.
0.99g 180°. *SCBI* 1.952.

WALLINGFORD

- 2306 *Beorhtmær*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX A**. Rev. **+BRIHTM/ER ON ƿA**.
1.06g 270°. *SCBI* 1.953.
2307 *Burhwine*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX A**. Rev. **+BVREFNE ON ƿALI**.
1.07g 180°. *SCBI* 1.954.

WILTON

- 2308 *Leofwine*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX**. Rev. **+LEOFFINE ON ƿILV**.
0.86g 270°.

WINCHCOMBE

- 2309 *Goldwine*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX**. Rev. **+GOLDFINE ON ƿINE**.
1.14g 270°. *SCBI* 1.955.

YORK

- 2310 *Arnketill*. Obv. **ƿEDƿ[]E RE+**. Rev. **+ARNTELE ON EO**;
annulet in field. 1.05g (reverse corroded by adhesive) 180°.
2311 *Authgrimir*. Obv. **ƿEADƿARD REX**. Rev. **+OƿERIM ON E[]**;
annulet in field. 0.87g (reverse corroded by adhesive) 0°.
2312 *Ioketill*. Obv. **ƿEADƿARD RE+**. Rev. **+IOETEL ON EO**;
annulet in field. 1.19g 0°. *SCBI* 1.956.
2313 *Snæbjorn*. Obv. **ƿEDƿAREÐ REHT**. Rev. **+SNEBORN ON EOF**;
annulet in field. 1.22g 90°. *SCBI* 1.957.
2314 *Thorr*. Obv. **ƿEADƿARD RE+**. Rev. **+ƿORR ON EOFR**;
annulet in field. 1.19g 270°. *SCBI* 1.958.
2315 *Ulfketill*. Obv. **ƿEAD[ƿA]RD REX**. Rev. **[+VLFEET]EL ON EOFR**;
annulet in field. 1.07g (chipped) 45°.
2316 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **EADƿARD RE+** A. Rev. blundered
and partly retrograde; annulet in field. 0.91g 180°. *SCBI* 1.959.

- 2293 CM.1.753-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961.
2294 CM.TR.2016-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Bell coll.
2295 CM.1.69-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.
2296 CM.5.88-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 130.
2297 CM.28.18-1920: ex Hasluck coll.
2298 CM.1.754-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961.
2299 CM.1.755-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Elmore-Jones 580; ex Lockett 853; ex Roth (I) 84; from the City/Walbrook hoard.
2300 CM.577-2014: ex Stewart (gift); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, October 2014 (EMC 2014.0284).

- 2301 CM.5.89-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 130.
2302 CM.5.91-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 130; from the Chancton hoard.
2303 CM.TR.2017-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.
2304 CM.5.92-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 130; from the Chancton hoard.
2305 CM.YG.3278-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Sotheby sale 16.6.1885, lot 37.
2306 CM.5.93-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 130.
2307 CM.5.94-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); acq. 1890.

- 2308 CM.1.756-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1958; ex Carlyon-Britton 1172; ex Argyll coll.; from 'Davids'.
2309 CM.ME.601-R: no provenance.
2310 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 1923.1339.D: ex Griffith; possibly found in the Cambridge area.
2311 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 1923.1339.C: ex Griffith; possibly found in the Cambridge area.
2312 CM.ME.602-R: no provenance.
2313 CM.790-1910: from Spink 1910.
2314 CM.5.96-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 130.
2315 CM.1.757-1990: ex Blunt coll.
2316 CM.5.97-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 130.



2293



2294



2295



2296



2297



2298



2299



2300



2301



2302



2303



2304



2305



2306



2307



2308



2309



2310



2311



2312



2313



2314



2315



2316



KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (*cont.*)

Transitional Pyramids type (BEH Ia; BMC xiv; North 835)

Obv. legend around facing crowned and bearded half-length figure holding sceptre. Rev. legend around voided cross with V-shaped ornaments in angles in circle.

WORCESTER

- 2317 *Wicing*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX**. Rev. **†ƿICING ON ƿIRECE**. 1.08g 6°.

Pyramids type (BEH I; BMC xv; North 831)

Obv. legend around crowned and bearded bust r. w. sceptre. Rev. as last.

CAMBRIDGE

- 2318 *Godlam*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX**. Rev. **†GODLAM ON GRAN**. 1.13g (slightly chipped) 270°. SCBI 1.960.
2319 *Godwine*. Obv. **EADƿARD RE†**; unusual style (locally cut dies?). Rev. **†GODƿINE ON GRANT**. 1.21g 270°.

CHESTER

- 2320 *Ælfsige*. Obv. **EADƿARD RE**. Rev. **†ÆLFS ON LEƿECE**. 1.32g (double-struck) 90°. SCBI 1.961.
2321 *Bruning*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX**. Rev. **†BRVNINT ON LEGI**. 1.29g 0°. SCBI 1.962.

CHICHESTER

- 2322 *Ælfwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†ÆLFƿINE ON CICE**. 1.30g 160°. SCBI 1.963.

OXFORD

- 2323 *Beorhtweald*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX A**. Rev. **†BRIHTƿOLD ON OXE**. 1.35g 90°.

STAFFORD

- 2324 *Godwine*. Obv. **EADƿARD RE**. Rev. **†GODƿINE ON STÆ**. 1.30g 270°. SCBI 1.964.
2325 *Godwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†GODƿINE ON STA**. 1.28g 225°.

WILTON

- 2326 *Ælfweald* (?). Obv. **[E]ADƿARD R[E]**. Rev. **[†ÆLFƿOLD] ON ƿAN[]** (?). 0.54g (cut halfpenny) 90°.

WINCHESTER

- 2327 *Leofing*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX**. Rev. **†LIFINE ON ƿINCE**. 1.27g 270°. SCBI 1.965; Biddle 2012a, 1832a.
2328 *Leofing*. Obv. **EADƿARD RE**. Rev. **†LIFINE ON ƿINFIL**. 1.15g 90°. SCBI 1.966; Biddle 2012a, 1839a.

YORK

- 2329 *Arnketill*. Obv. **EADƿARD RE†**. Rev. **†EARCIL ON EO FRƿIC**; annulet in one quarter. 1.45g 135°. SCBI 1.967. Same obv. die as 2330.
2330 *Arnketill*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†EARCIL ON EOFERƿ**; annulet in one quarter. 1.41g 90°. Same obv. die as 2329.
2331 *Authulfr*. Obv. **EADƿARD REX**. Rev. **†OVÐVLƿ ON EOFEL**; annulet in one quarter. 1.39g 180°. SCBI 1.968.

HAROLD II, 1066

For commentary, see Chapter 10, section (I), pp. 276–7.

Pyramids/Pax mule

Types as last (obv.) and (rev.) next.

WILTON

- 2332 *Centwine*. Obv. **EADƿARD RE**. Rev. **†KENTƿINE ON ƿILTƿ**. 1.20g 270°.

Pax type (BMC i; North 836)

Obv. legend around crowned and bearded bust l. w. sceptre. Rev. legend around **PAX** between two lines, in circle.

BRISTOL

- 2333 *Leofwine*. Obv. **†HAROLD REX ANGL**; no sceptre before bust. Rev. **†LEOFFINE ON BRI**. 1.33g 180°. SCBI 1.969; North 837.

2317 CM.1914–2003; ex Conte 2003; from Spink 1989; found in London (Thames Exchange).

2318 CM.ME.603–R: no provenance.
2319 CM.801–2012; ex Lockdale sale 95, 14.7.2012, lot 865.
2320 CM.ME.604–R: no provenance.
2321 CM.ME.605–R: no provenance.
2322 CM.28.16–1920; ex Hasluck coll.
2323 CM.1.758–1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Shirley-Fox coll.

2324 CM.ME.606–R: no provenance.
2325 CM.1.759–1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendining sale 9, 13.10.1960, lot 494.
2326 CM.568–2013; from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.
2327 CM.ME.607–R: no provenance.
2328 CM.YG.3279–R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Shepherd 108.
2329 CM.ME.608–R: no provenance.
2330 CM.6003–2007; ex J. C. Mossop coll.

2331 CM.28.21–1920; ex Hasluck coll.

2332 CM.1919–2003; ex Conte 2003; ex Stack 611; ex Mack (II) 232 (SCBI 20, 1337); ex Ryan 867; ex Carlyon-Britton 1177; ex Rashleigh 321.
2333 CM.YG.3280–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 666.



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HAROLD II, 1066 (*cont.*)

CAMBRIDGE

- 2334 *Beorhtic*. Obv. **†HAROLD REX ANGLO**. Rev. **†BRIHTRIC ON GRA**. 1.38g 270°.
- 2335 *Godwine*. Obv. as last. Rev. **†GODFINE ON GRANTV**. 1.25g 270°.
- 2336 *Sækolfr*. Obv. **†HAROLD REX ANGLOR**. Rev. **†SÆCOL ON GRANT**. 1.31g 270°.

CANTERBURY

- 2337 *Eadweard*. Obv. **†HAROLD REX ANGL**. Rev. **†EADWARD ON EA**. 1.33g 90°. *SCBI* 1.970.
- 2338 *Wulfred*. Obv. **†HAROLD REX AN**. Rev. **†WLFRED ON EANT**. 1.36g 270°.

2334 CM.347-1969: ex Grierson (gift); ex Sotheby sale 15.10.1969, lot 10.

2335 CM.213-1996: ex Jacob coll.; from Seaby, April 1975.

2336 CM.214-1996: ex Jacob coll.; from Baldwin, April 1987.

2337 CM.YG.3281-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 654; ex Rashleigh 327.

2338 CM.P.3-1960: Peterhouse loan 1960.

KINGS OF THE ENGLISH

HAROLD II (*cont.*)

Pax type (cont.)

Obv. legend around crowned and bearded bust l. w. sceptre. Rev. legend around **PAX** between two lines, in circle.

CHESTER

- 2339 *Throndr.* Obv. as last. Rev. **†DRONT ON LEGE**. 1.32g 90°. *SCBI* 1.971.

LEWES

- 2340 *Osweald.* Obv. **†HAROLD REX ANG.** Rev. **†OZFOLD ON LEPEEI**. 1.36g 90°. *SCBI* 1.973. Same dies as 2341.
2341 *Osweald.* Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.30g 0°. *SCBI* 1.972. Same dies as 2340.

LONDON

- 2342 *Eadwine.* Obv. **†HAROLD REX ANGLO.** Rev. **†EDFINE ON LVNDEI**. 1.26g 270°. *SCBI* 1.974.
2343 *Leofsig.* Obv. **†HAROLD REX AN.** Rev. **†LEOFZI ON LVNDE**. 1.29g 270°. *SCBI* 1.975.
2344 *Uncertain moneyer.* Obv. **[†HAR]OLD REX AN.** Rev. **†[]LVNDI**. 0.59g (cut halfpenny) 0°.

MALMESBURY

- 2345 *Beorhtwig.* Obv. **†HAROLD REX ANG.** Rev. **†BRIHTFI ON MALM**. 1.28g 0°. *SCBI* 1.976.

ROMNEY

- 2346 *Wulfmær.* Obv. **†HAROLD REX ANGL.**; no sceptre before bust. Rev. **†FVLM/ER ON RVMEI**. 1.17g 180°. *SCBI* 1.977; North 837.

STAMFORD

- 2347 *Leofric.* Obv. **[†HAROLD R]EX ANG.** Rev. **†LEO[FRIC ON ST]ANF**. 0.56g (cut halfpenny) 90°.

THETFORD

- 2348 *Godwine.* Obv. **†HAROLD REX ANG.** Rev. **†GODFINE ON ðEOTF**. 1.20g 180°. *SCBI* 1.978.

WILTON

- 2349 *Ælfweald.* Obv. **†HAROLD REX AN.** Rev. **†ÆLFOLD ON FILTV**. 1.30g 90°. *SCBI* 1.979.
2350 *Winus.* Obv. **†HAROLD REX AI.** Rev. **†FINVS ON FILTVN**. 1.35g 270°.

WINCHESTER

- 2351 *Anderboda.* Obv. **†HAROLD REX ANGL.** Rev. **†ANDERBODE ON FII**. 1.30g 270°. *SCBI* 1.980; Biddle 2012a, 1864a.

YORK

- 2352 *Ulfketill.* Obv. **†HAROLD REX ANG.** Rev. **†[VLF]EETEL ON EOFR**. 1.39g 45°. *SCBI* 1.982.
2353 *Ulfketill.* Obv. **†HAROLD REX AN.** Rev. **†VLFCEETEL ON EO**. 1.37g 180°. *SCBI* 1.981.

2339 CM.YG.3282-R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 655; ex Hodgson 288.

2340 CM.TR.2018-R; Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.

2341 CM.TR.950-R; Trinity College loan 1937; ex Beck (gift) 1880; from the Chancton hoard.

2342 CM.5.99-1933; ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 168; ex Brice coll.; ex Bergne 279; ex Durrant 97; ex Thomas 251.

2343 CM.1.73-1930; ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

2344 CM.1.760-1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendinning sale 9, 13.10.1960, lot 461.

2345 CM.YG.3301-R; ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 661; ex Rashleigh 332.

2346 CM.ME.636-R; no provenance.

2347 CM.569-2013; from Galata Coins; ex Rogers coll.

2348 CM.385-1923; ex Jenkinson coll.

2349 CM.5.100-1933; ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Christie sale 13.6.1888, lot 24.

2350 CM.1.761-1990; ex Blunt coll.; ex Argyll coll.; from Baldwin.

2351 CM.ME.638-R; ex Dewick coll.

2352 CM.YG.3302-R; ex Young coll. (gift); Sotheby 16.6.1885, 40.

2353 CM.ME.637-R; no provenance.



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234I



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2348



2349



2350



235I



2352



2353



ANGLO-VIKING COINAGES

IMITATIVE AND RELATED ISSUES

All coins are silver pennies unless stated otherwise. For commentary, see Chapter 11, pp. 278–304.

GUTHRUM, c. 880–90

Horizontal/Two-Line type (North 479)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines.

EAST ANGLIA

2354 Obv. **†ED EL TÆ RE**. Rev. **EDEL / TÆ RE**. 1.17g (pierced) 270°.

2355 *Abenel*. Obv. **†ED EL TÆ RE**. Rev. **ÆBE / VIEL**. 1.35g 315°. *SCBI* 1.456; *MEC* 1.1387.

2356 *‘Aelven’*. Obv. **†ED EL IA RE**. Rev. **AEL / VEN**. 1.32g (cracked) 270°.

2357 *Beornæd* (?). Obv. [] **IF** [] **IA RE**. Rev. **BEI** [] **IR**. 1.52g (broken; fragments probably but not certainly from the same coin).

2358 *Elda*. Obv. **†ED EL TÆN RE**. Rev. **ELDÆ / ME FEC**. 1.40g 0°.

2359 *Elda* (?). Obv. [] **ÆN R** []. Rev. [] **/ MEE**. 0.51g (broken).

IMITATIONS OF ALFRED, c. 880 AND AFTER

The identification of Viking imitations is based on a combination of metrological and stylistic criteria, together with distribution among hoards and single-finds (see Chapter 11, section (g), pp. 288–90). Nonetheless, some ambiguity remains, and reference should be made to the ‘official’ Alfredian issues of similar types above (1253–80).

London monogram type

Obv. legend around bust r. Rev. *Lundonia* monogram.

UNCERTAIN MINT(S)

2360 Obv. **ELFR / LD RE†**. North 464 var. 1.25g (chipped) 290°.

2361 Obv. **†EIFFR / ED RE** (F inverted). North 464 var. 1.37g 235°.

2362 *‘Tilwine’*. Obv. **†ÆE** [] **/ RED RE†**. Rev. **TILEVINE / [] ONETÆ** above and below monogram. North 464. 1.20g (chipped) 180°.

Halfpenny

Obv. **ÆIV / REI** around bust r. Rev. *Lundonia* monogram.

2363 0.64g (chipped) 180°. North 466.

Two-Line/London monogram type (North 465)

Obv. legend, cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend above and below *Lundonia* monogram.

Pennies

UNCERTAIN MINT

2364 *‘Tilwine’*. Obv. **†EL ER ED RE**. Rev. **MONETÆ / TILEVINE**. 1.30g 90°.

2365 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. [] **JD RE**. Rev. [] **/ BIR** on either side of uncertain monogram. 0.63g (fragment) 180°.

‘Orsnaforda’ type

Obv. legend in three horizontal lines w. pelleted cross above and below. Rev. legend in two lines w. three crosses pattée between.

‘OXFORD’ (North 472–3)

2366 *‘Beornweald’*. Obv. **ELFRED** w. **ORSNÆ / FORDÆ** above and below; no crosses. Rev. **BERNV / ÆLD MO**. 1.31g 0°. *SCBI* 1.561; *MEC* 1.1380.

2367 *‘Beornweald’*. Obv. **ELFRED** w. **ORÆNÆ / FORDÆ** above and below. Rev. **BERNÆ / ÆLD MO** (retrograde). 1.46g 180°. *SCBI* 1.562; *MEC* 1.1381.

2368 *‘Beornweald’*. Obv. **ELFRED†** w. **ORSNÆ / FODÆ** above and below. Rev. **BERNV / ÆLD NO**; elongated standing cross between (cf. 2529). 1.36g 90°.

2354 CM.1.238–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Bute 56a.

2355 CM.ME.451–R: uncertain provenance.

2356 CM.20–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 2).

2357 CM.45–1985, CM.22–1985, CM.72–1985, CM.62–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 4).

2358 CM.1.239–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Ryan 663; ex Drabble 363; from the Cuerdale hoard.

2359 CM.21–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 5).

2360 CM.1.241–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Lee 1950.

2361 CM.1.243–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1958; ex Lockett 506; ex Shand 316.

2362 CM.1.240–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1953; ex Bliss 82.

2363 CM.1.242–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 3645; ex Watters 53; ex Rashleigh 223; ex Lewin Sheppard 104; found before 1821.

2364 CM.1.244–1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Seaby 1951; possibly from the Cuerdale hoard (bt by Seaby from a family living in the vicinity of Cuerdale as part of a parcel of contemporary coins).

2365 CM.1.245–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1969.

2366 CM.YG.3169–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 345.

2367 CM.ME.452–R: no provenance.

2368 CM.1.246–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1953; ex Montagu 542; ex Grantley 1023.



2354



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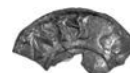
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IMITATIONS OF ALFRED, *c.* 880 AND AFTER (*cont.*)

Horizontal/Two-Line type

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two horizontal lines, w. pellet or other ornaments between.

With mint name

Halfpenny (North 468)

LEICESTER

2369 *Ricwulf* (?). Obv. **HLICIRA CIVI**. Rev. **RICO** / **F ME**. 0.49g 90°.

Without mint name

Pennies (North 475/1)

2370 '*Baldo*'. Obv. **HEL FR ED RE**. Rev. **BAL** / **OANE**. 1.08g (uncleaned) 120°.

2371 *Bealdhere* (?). Obv. as last. Rev. **BLTERE** / **MON**. 1.10g (bent) 160°.

2372 '*Cuthbeorht*'. Obv. as last. Rev. **LAÐ** / **BERHT**. 1.05g (bent; uncleaned) 170°.

2373 '*Cuthbeorht*'. Obv. as last. Rev. as last **CVÐ** / **BERHT**. 1.33g (broken; chipped) 190°.

2374 '*Deorveald*'. Obv. [**JR E**] **REX**. Rev. **DIAR** / []. 0.71g (broken) 180°.

2375 *Elda*. Obv. **HEL EE ED RE**. Rev. **ELDA** / **ME FEC** (retrograde). 1.45g 0°.

2376 *Elda*. Obv. **HEL FR ED RE**. Rev. **ELDA** / **ME FEC**. 1.40g 180°. Same obv. die as **2377**.

2377 *Elda*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.39g (slightly chipped) 180°. Same obv. die as **2376**.

2369 CM.1.247–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Drabble 391; ex Carlyon–Britton 353; from the Stamford hoard.

2370 CM.23–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 8).

2371 CM.24–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 9).

2372 CM.25–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 20).

2373 CM.26–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 21).

2374 CM.27–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 22).

2375 CM.1.251–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1949; ex Grantley; ex Carlyon–Britton 313.

2376 CM.1.250–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1952; ex Argyll coll.; from Spink; ex Rashleigh 228.

2377 CM.1.249–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex O'Byrne 204.

ANGLO-VIKING COINAGES

IMITATIVE AND RELATED ISSUES (*cont.*)

Horizontal/Two-Line type (without mint name) (cont.)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two horizontal lines, w. pellet or other ornaments between.

- 2378 *Elda*. Obv. **EL FR ED REX**. Rev. **ELDƿ / ME FEC**. 1.27g (slightly chipped) 180°.
- 2379 *Elda*. Obv. **†EL FR ED RE**. Rev. **ELDƿ / ME FE[C]**. 1.30g (slightly chipped) 0°.
- 2380 *Ludig*. Obv. [] **FR ED RE**. Rev. **LVDIG / [] ONE**. 0.62g (broken) 110°.
- 2381 *Ludig*. Obv. **EL FR ED REX**. Rev. **LVDIG / MON**. 1.18g (slightly chipped) 40°.
- 2382 *Ludig*. Obv. **XEL [] RE**. Rev. **LVDIG / []**. 0.48g (broken) 70°.
- 2383 *Ludig*. Obv. [**JL FR []**]. Rev. [**L]VDE / EIM[]**. 0.56g (broken) 220°.
- 2384 *Simun*. Obv. **†EL FR ED RE**. Rev. **SIMVN / ME FEC**. 1.34g 0°. *SCBI* 1.556; *MEC* 1.1367.
- 2385 *Simun*. Obv. **XEL FR ED RE**. Rev. as last. 1.25g (broken) 250°.
- 2386 *Simun*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.18g (chipped) 200°.
- 2387 *Simun*. Obv. **EL FR [] REX**. Rev. **SIM[] / ME FEC**. 0.89g (fragment; broken and repaired) 160°.
- 2388 *Simun* (?). Obv. **†[]RE**. Rev. no legend. 0.21g (broken) 30°.
- 2389 *‘Tilwine’*. Obv. **†AL FR ED RE**. Rev. **TILE / IVNE**. 1.16g 220°.
- 2390 *‘Tilwine’*. Obv. **†EL FR ED RE**. Rev. **TIF / VVIE** (inverted and retrograde). Lead or lead-alloy striking. 2.69g 0°.

- 2391 *‘Varolf’*. Obv. **†EL ER EL RE**. Rev. **VÆRO / LF DI** (F inverted). 1.26g (broken; chipped) 0°.
- 2392 *Winig*. Obv. **EL [] ED REX**. Rev. **VVINIG / MONE**. 1.01g (broken fragments; bent) 340°.
- 2393 *Winig*. Obv. **XEL FR ED RE**. Rev. **VVIING / MONE** (lozenge-shaped O). 1.22g 260°.
- 2394 *‘Wulfred’*. Obv. **†RECHMEXL**. Rev. **VVLV / RED**. 1.29g 160°.
- 2395 *Uncertain money*. Obv. **†/EL FRE DRE**. Rev. pseudo-legend. 1.48g 90°. *MEC* 1.1382. Same dies as *BMC* 453 and Lockett 498. For discussion of possible attribution see *MEC* 1, p. 610.
- 2396 *Uncertain money*. Obv. **E[] ED REX**. Rev. [**JVDY / []VN** or **HA[] / TQC[]**]. 0.50g (fragment) 45° or 135°.
- 2397 *Uncertain money*. Obv. [**IER[]**]. Rev. **ILI[]**. 0.20g (fragment) 180°.
- 2398 *Uncertain money*. Obv. [**JFR ED R[]**]. Rev. **R[] / BOD**. 0.61g (fragment; broken) 210°.
- 2399 *Uncertain money*. Obv. **EL FR ED [R]E**. Rev. **RDO / ΓЯ[]**. 0.88g (fragment; broken).
- 2400 *Uncertain money*. Obv. **EL FR ED [RE]**. Rev. [] / **IIΘIƿ**. 0.78g (fragment) 90°(?).
- 2401 *Uncertain money*. Obv. **[EL] FR ED [RE]**. Rev. [**JDI / VVN[]**]. 0.68g (fragment; broken).
- 2402 *Uncertain money*. Obv. **R EP N**. Rev. [**JEI / []VI**]. 0.64g (three fragments) 90°.
- 2403 *Uncertain money*. Obv. **†[]R[]**. Rev. [] / **RHEI**. 0.22g (fragment) 200°.

2378 CM.1.248–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lawrence 230.

2379 CM.28–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 10).

2380 CM.31–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 23).

2381 CM.32–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 24).

2382 CM.30–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 26).

2383 CM.81–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 27).

2384 CM.12–1944: ex Grantley 1017; from Sadd; found in Cambridge, Cambridgeshire? (*EMC* 1986.9367).

2385 CM.34–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 11).

2386 CM.35–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 13).

2387 CM.36–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 14).

2388 CM.67–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 15).

2389 CM.37–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 28).

2390 CM.435–2013: ex O’Bee (gift); found Riby Cross Roads, Lacey, Lincolnshire (*EMC* 2013.0253).

2391 CM.38–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 17).

2392 CM.39–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 18).

2393 CM.40–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 19).

2394 CM.1.252–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Parsons (1954) 136.

2395 CM.1–2013: ex Chilvers 1963; ex *SCMB* (Apr 1957, no. 4335); ex Ryan 723; from the Cuerdale hoard.

2396 CM.530–2005: from Stocks 2005; found Middleton-on-the-Wolds, Yorkshire, 2004.

2397 CM.54–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 29).

2398 CM.41–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 30).

2399 CM.42–1985, CM.59–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 31).

2400 CM.43–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 32).

2401 CM.57–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 33).

2402 CM.47–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 34).

2403 CM.60–1985: from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 35).



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ANGLO-VIKING COINAGES

IMITATIVE AND RELATED ISSUES (*cont.*)

Horizontal/Two-Line type (without mint name) (cont.)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two horizontal lines, w. pellet or other ornaments between.

Fragments of uncertain Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Viking origin (cf.

1262–80)

- 2404 Obv. []L FR []. Rev. [] / DEI. 0.47g (fragment; broken) 30°.
- 2405 Obv. []ED []. Rev. [] / DE []. 0.35g (fragment; broken) 180°.
- 2406 Obv. XEL []. Rev. N []. 0.13g (fragment).
- 2407 Obv. OR []. Rev. B []. 0.12g (fragment).
- 2408 Obv. 7II []. Rev. []RH / []. 0.44g (fragment; broken) 0°.
- 2409 Obv. EL F []. Rev. [] / I MON. 0.44g (fragment; broken) 150°.
- 2410 Obv. []FR []. Rev. []O []. 0.12g (fragment).
- 2411 Obv. uncertain. Rev. EI [] / []. 0.15g (fragment).
- 2412 Obv. []ED R+ []. Rev. IE [] / ZTΛ. 0.46g (fragment) 270°.
- 2413 Obv. []O RE []. Rev. T []. 0.16g (fragment).
- 2414 Obv. []L []. Rev. I []. 0.13g (fragment).
- 2415 Obv. E []R. Rev. [] / MEI []. 0.26g (fragment; broken) 320°.
- 2416 Obv. []E []. Rev. [] / EI []. 0.20g (fragment; broken).

- 2417 Obv. []FR []. Rev. []Λ [] / VLF. 0.47g (fragment) 90°.
- 2418 Obv. []R []. Rev. [] / []NE []. 0.10g (fragment).
- 2419 Obv. []FR []. Rev. ΛI [] / []. 0.17g (fragment).
- 2420 Obv. 7 []E. Rev. [] / II []. 0.22g (fragment).
- 2421 Obv. []RD [] (?) Rev. [] / []IS. 0.09g (fragment).
- 2422 Obv. []E []. Rev. uncertain. 0.11g (fragment).
- 2423 Obv. []R []. Rev. [] / VV [] (or inverted). 0.27g (fragment).
- 2424 Obv. uncertain. Rev. []N [] / []. 0.11g (fragment).
- 2425 Obv. []EI []. Rev. []V / [] (or inverted). 0.08g (fragment).
- 2426 Obv. []F []. Rev. uncertain. 0.12g (bent fragment).
- 2427 Obv. []RE []. Rev. uncertain. 0.13g (fragment).
- 2428 Obv. []F []. Rev. uncertain. 0.07g (fragment).
- 2429 Obv. uncertain. Rev. [] / []VH [] (or inverted). 0.09g (fragment).
- 2430 Obv. uncertain. Rev. IL [] / []. 0.10g (fragment).
- 2431 Obv. uncertain. Rev. 7 []. 0.09g (fragment).
- 2432 Obv. uncertain. Rev. uncertain. 0.10g (fragment).
- 2433 Obv. uncertain. Rev. uncertain. 0.08g (fragment).
- 2434 Obv. uncertain. Rev. uncertain. 0.06g (fragment).
- 2435 Obv. uncertain. Rev. uncertain. 0.04g (fragment).

- 2404 CM.46–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 36).
- 2405 CM.52–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 37).
- 2406 CM.86–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 38).
- 2407 CM.65–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 39).
- 2408 CM.73–1985, CM.91–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 40).
- 2409 CM.69–1985, CM.51–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 41).
- 2410 CM.68–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 42).
- 2411 CM.87–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 43).
- 2412 CM.44–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 44).
- 2413 CM.80–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 45).
- 2414 CM.93–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 46).

- 2415 CM.50–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 47).
- 2416 CM.53–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 48).
- 2417 CM.55–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 49).
- 2418 CM.82–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 50).
- 2419 CM.56–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 51).
- 2420 CM.63–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 52).
- 2421 CM.61–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 53).
- 2422 CM.66–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 54).
- 2423 CM.58–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 55).
- 2424 CM.92–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 56).
- 2425 CM.70–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 57).

- 2426 CM.71–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 58).
- 2427 CM.89–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 59).
- 2428 CM.94–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 60).
- 2429 CM.75–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 61).
- 2430 CM.74–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 62).
- 2431 CM.76–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 63).
- 2432 CM.90–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 64).
- 2433 CM.83–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 65).
- 2434 CM.85–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 66).
- 2435 CM.88–1985; from the Ashdon hoard (Blackburn 1989a, 67).



24II



24I9



2427



2435



ANGLO-VIKING COINAGES

IMITATIVE AND RELATED ISSUES (*cont.*)

Halfpennies (North 478)

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two horizontal lines, w. pellet or other ornaments between.

- 2436 'Everat'. Obv. **EVE** / **RAT**; legend in two lines, divided by line with cruciform terminals. Rev. **ME F** / **ECIL**. 0.61g 90°. *SCBI* 1.563; *MEC* 1.1386.
2437 'Rafing'. Obv. **HEL FR DI RE**. Rev. **RÆF** / **ING**. 0.41g 0°. *SCBI* 1.555; *MEC* 1.1383.

- 2438 'Tilwine'. Obv. **EL FR ED RE**. Rev. **TIL** / **VVIN**. 0.48g 180°. Same dies as 2439.
2439 'Tilwine'. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 0.47g 70°. *SCBI* 1.558; *MEC* 1.1384. Same dies as 2438.
2440 'Tilwine'. Obv. as last. Rev. **TIL** / **VVN**. 0.50g 90°. *SCBI* 1.557; *MEC* 1.1385.
2441 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **E[L] RL DE R**. Rev. **EBI** / **HRC** (lower half retrograde). 0.48g (chipped) 300°.

IMITATIONS OF EDWARD THE ELDER, 899 AND AFTER

These coins should be considered alongside those classified as official issues of Edward (**1281–1407**), for definitive identification of Viking and other imitations remains a matter of ongoing research.

Horizontal/Two-Line type

Obv. legend around cross pattée in circle. Rev. legend in two lines w. three crosses or other ornaments between.

Pennies

- 2442 Obv. **HEADVEARD RE**. Rev. **EDE I** / **ED MO+**. 0.89g (chipped) 180°.
2443 Obv. **HEADVEARD REX** (retrograde). Rev. **DIAIO** / **OEAIÐ** (retrograde). 1.54g 250°. Same dies as *SCBI* 26.214.
2444 Obv. **HEADVVEARD REEX**. Rev. **HMÆNO** / **DIÆNEI** (lower line retrograde). 1.46g (chipped) 180°.
2445 Obv. **HEA[DV]VEARD RE+**. Rev. **[]EAIÐ** / **DMEOM (ME** ligatured). 1.41g (chipped) 270°.
2446 Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**. Rev. **HER** / **NIVT**. 1.37g (chipped) 90°.
2447 Obv. **HEARDEAEVDVÆX**. Rev. **IOTITIT** / **IONZ**. 1.56g (slightly chipped) 270°.

- 2448 Obv. **HEADRWDA RE+**. Rev. **DAIIO** / **RWAΓ**. 1.61g 180°.
2449 Obv. **HEADRA[]QVI**. Rev. **BEIIO** / **IDO[]**. 1.05g (chipped) 0°.
2450 Obv. **HEVDEALVDI**. Rev. **DED** / **VEDI**. 1.19g (chipped, broken and repaired) 250°.
2451 Obv. **VDVEARD RX**. Rev. **EDER** / **ED IIO**. 1.21g 270°.

Bust diademed type (North 653)

Obv. legend around diademed bust l. in circle. Rev. legend in two lines divided by three crosses.

EAST ANGLIA

- 2452 Obv. **HEADVVEARD RE+**. Rev. **CIEREJ** / **MOIILL**. 1.43g 330°.
2453 Obv. **HEADVVEARD REX**; bust r. Rev. **OFNEHD** (retrograde)/ **NEHID**. 1.61g 270°.

2436 CM.YG.3168-R: ex Young coll.; ex Carlyon-Britton 358; ex Rashleigh 231; ex Whitbourn 86; ex Kenyon; from the Cuerdale hoard (Blunt 1983).

2437 CM.YG.3165-R: ex Young coll.; ex Carlyon-Britton 356; probably from the Stamford hoard.

2438 CM.1.253-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1955; ex Drabble 843; ex Carlyon-Britton 944.

2439 CM.YG.3167-R: ex Young coll.; ex Carlyon-Britton 355; probably from the Stamford hoard.

2440 CM.YG.3166-R: ex Young coll.; ex Carlyon-Britton 354; probably from the Stamford hoard.

2441 CM.1.254-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Drabble 390; ex Carlyon-Britton 1657.

2442 CM.1.380-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1985; from the Thames hoard.

2443 CM.1.377-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1954.

2444 CM.842-2005: from the Branham hoard.

2445 CM.843-2005: from the Branham hoard.

2446 CM.844-2005: from the Branham hoard.

2447 CM.841-2005: from the Branham hoard.

2448 CM.1.378-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 3695; ex Bruun 104.

2449 CM.845-2005: from the Branham hoard.

2450 CM.1.381-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1985; from the Thames hoard.

2451 CM.1.379-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1985; from the Thames hoard.

2452 CM.1.382-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1970; ex Lockett 3653; from the Vatican hoard (O'Donovan 1964, no. 37).

2453 CM.1.383-1990: ex Blunt coll.; from Erskine; ex Ryan 738; from the Killyon Manor hoard.



ANGLO-VIKING COINAGES

ST EDMUND MEMORIAL COINAGE, *c.* 895–917

For commentary, see Chapter 11, section (h), pp. 290–2.

Obv. legend around large **Æ** or **ᚱ** in circle. Rev. legend around cross pattée in circle.

Early phase

With name of King Alfred (North 484)

‘CANTERBURY’

- 2454 Obv. **†SC EᚱDMVN RE** / **ᚱ**. Rev. **†ÆLFRED REX DO** (O lozenge-shaped). 1.40g 180°.

Without moneyer’s name (North 483–483/1)

- 2455 Obv. **†SC EᚱDMVND R** / **ᚱ**. Rev. **†SC EᚱDMVND RE**. 1.30g 0°.

With moneyer’s name (North 483)

- 2456 *Abenel* (?). Obv. **†SCI ᚱDIOIVM DE** / **ᚱ**. Rev. **†ABIIOEI MIIIIE**. 1.20g 200° Early/Middle.
 2457 *Adalbert*. Obv. **†SC EᚱDMVND RE** / **ᚱ**. Rev. **†ᚱᚩᚱLBERT NE**. 1.40g 180°. *SCBI* 1.462; *MEC* 1.1388.
 2458 *Adalbert*. Obv. **†SC EᚱDMVN R** / **ᚱ**. Rev. **†ᚱOLBRᚱ IIIIE**. 1.32g 180°. *SCBI* 1.461; *MEC* 1.1390.
 2459 *Adalbert*. Obv. **†SC EᚱDMVNI IE** / **ᚱ**. Rev. **†ᚱOLBRT NII ME**. 1.28g 160°. *SCBI* 1.463; *MEC* 1.1389.

2454 CM.1.255–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959; ex Ryan 718; ex Bliss 70; ex Rashleigh 217; ex Murchison 221; from the Cuerdale hoard.

2455 CM.1.256–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1975; from the Cuerdale hoard.
 2456 CM.5999–2007: ex J. C. Mossop coll.
 2457 CM.28.4–1920: ex Hasluck coll.

2458 CM.46–1942: ex A. Smith (gift) 1942.
 2459 CM.28.5–1920: ex Hasluck coll.

ANGLO-VIKING COINAGES

ST EDMUND MEMORIAL COINAGE (*cont.*)

Early phase (cont.)

Obv. legend around large $\mathfrak{A}$ or $\mathfrak{A}$ in circle. Rev. legend around cross pattée in circle.

- 2460 *Adrad*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+SCE\mathfrak{A}DMVNDI\ RE}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+ADR\mathfrak{A}DV\mathfrak{S}MOT}$. 1.21g 210°. *SCBI* 1.464; *MEC* 1.1391.
 2461 *Ansiger*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+SCE\mathfrak{A}DMVNDE}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+ANSIERMONT\mathfrak{A}}$. 1.28g 340°. *SCBI* 1.457; *MEC* 1.1392.
 2462 *Ansiger*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+SCE\mathfrak{A}DMVN\ R}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+ANSIE\mathfrak{R}MON}$. 1.18g (chipped and corroded) 270°.
 2463 *Dægmund*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+SCE\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}DMVND\ R}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+D\mathfrak{A}IEMOND\ MOT}$. *MEC* 1.1395; 1.35g 90°.
 2464 *Dægmund*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+SCE\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}DMVNDE}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+D\mathfrak{A}IEMOND\ MOI}$. 1.33g 180°. *SCBI* 1.465; *MEC* 1.1394.
 2465 *Dægmund*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+SCE\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}DM\mathfrak{A}ND\ R}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$ ($\mathfrak{A}$ inverted). Rev. $\mathfrak{+D\mathfrak{V}GEMOND\ OT}$. 1.26g 90°.
 2466 *Dægmund*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+SCEDmVNDE}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+DEGEMVND\ MONET\mathfrak{A}}$. 0.64g (chipped and corroded) 0°. *MEC* 1.1395A.
 2467 *'Ersal'*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+EDREHID\mathfrak{A}N\mathfrak{A}C}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+ER\mathfrak{S}TL\ MON}$. 1.50g 190°. *SCBI* 1.470; *MEC* 1.1396. Same dies as 2468.
 2468 *'Ersal'*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.52g 10°. *SCBI* 1.471; *MEC* 1.1397. Same dies as 2467.
 2469 *Gundbert*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+SCE\mathfrak{A}DMVND\ REX}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+GVNDBERT\ MON}$. 1.37g 90°.
 2470 *Heming*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+SCE\mathfrak{E}ADITIVIN\ I}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+HEMIMEX\ REX\ E}$. 1.37g 90°.

- 2471 *'Quaran'(?)*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+SCE\mathfrak{A}INMND\ R}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+OVR\mathfrak{A}N\ MRIE}$. 1.20g 0°.
 2472 *'Reart'*. Obv. $\mathfrak{SCE\mathfrak{A}IDMVND\ E}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+RE\mathfrak{A}R\mathfrak{+}MODII}$. 1.33g 0°. *SCBI* 1.460; *MEC* 1.1398.
 2473 *Widbold*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+H\mathfrak{R}C\mathfrak{A}IIIVIC}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+VVIDBOLDV2\ NE}$. 1.30g 270°.
 2474 *Winegar (?)*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+SCE\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}DMVN}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+VVINEIR\ MOME}$. 1.53g 170°. *SCBI* 1.468; *MEC* 1.1402. Same dies as 2475.
 2475 *Winegar (?)*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.34g (slightly bent) 0°. *SCBI* 1.467; *MEC* 1.1401. Same dies as 2474.
 2476 *Winegar (?)*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+SCE\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}DHVND\ RI}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+VVINER\ MONET\mathfrak{A}}$. 1.43g 160°. *SCBI* 1.466; *MEC* 1.1400.
 2477 *Winegar (?)*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+SCE\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}DMVND}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+VVINER\ MONE}$. 1.39g 180°. *SCBI* 1.469; *MEC* 1.1399.
 2478 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+SCC\mathfrak{A}CIIIVIN}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+CIV\mathfrak{A}I\ CIVRH}$. 1.11g 0°.
 2479 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+SCE\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}DMVND\ RE}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+OIIIIONE\mathfrak{A}II\mathfrak{A}T}$. 1.38g 0°.
 2480 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+SCE\mathfrak{A}IDMVND}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+DM\mathfrak{+}O\mathfrak{S}TM}$. 1.44g 270°.
 2481 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+CII\mathfrak{A}DMIVE}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+CVN\ RIETIE}$. 0.91g 270°. *SCBI* 1.459; *MEC* 1.1393.
 2482 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+I\mathfrak{A}QI\]VND\ \mathfrak{A}RI}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+RDEVCI\]RI\mathfrak{I}}$. 0.63g (chipped and corroded) 340°. *MEC* 1.1395B.

2460 CM.YG.3170-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 318.

2461 CM.28.6-1920: ex Hasluck coll.

2462 CM.PG.19584-2006: ex Grierson (gift) 2006; from the Manningtree hoard.

2463 CM.QC.5206-R: Queens' College loan 2002.

2464 CM.ME.367-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 318.

2465 CM.1.257-1990: ex Blunt coll.

2466 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology: found in Castle Hill excavations, Cambridge, 1968 (EMC 1986.93951).

2467 CM.1.31-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

2468 CM.5.42-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); acq. March 1890.

2469 CM.1.258-1990: ex Blunt coll.

2470 CM.1.259-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1964; ex Bagnall coll.; ex Grantley 921; ex Carlyon-Britton 314.

2471 CM.1.260-1990: ex Blunt coll.

2472 CM.5.41-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

2473 CM.1.261-1990: ex Blunt coll.

2474 CM.YG.1438-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Weber 7.

2475 CM.YG.1437-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 318.

2476 CM.YG.1436-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Weber 7.

2477 CM.YG.1430-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 318.

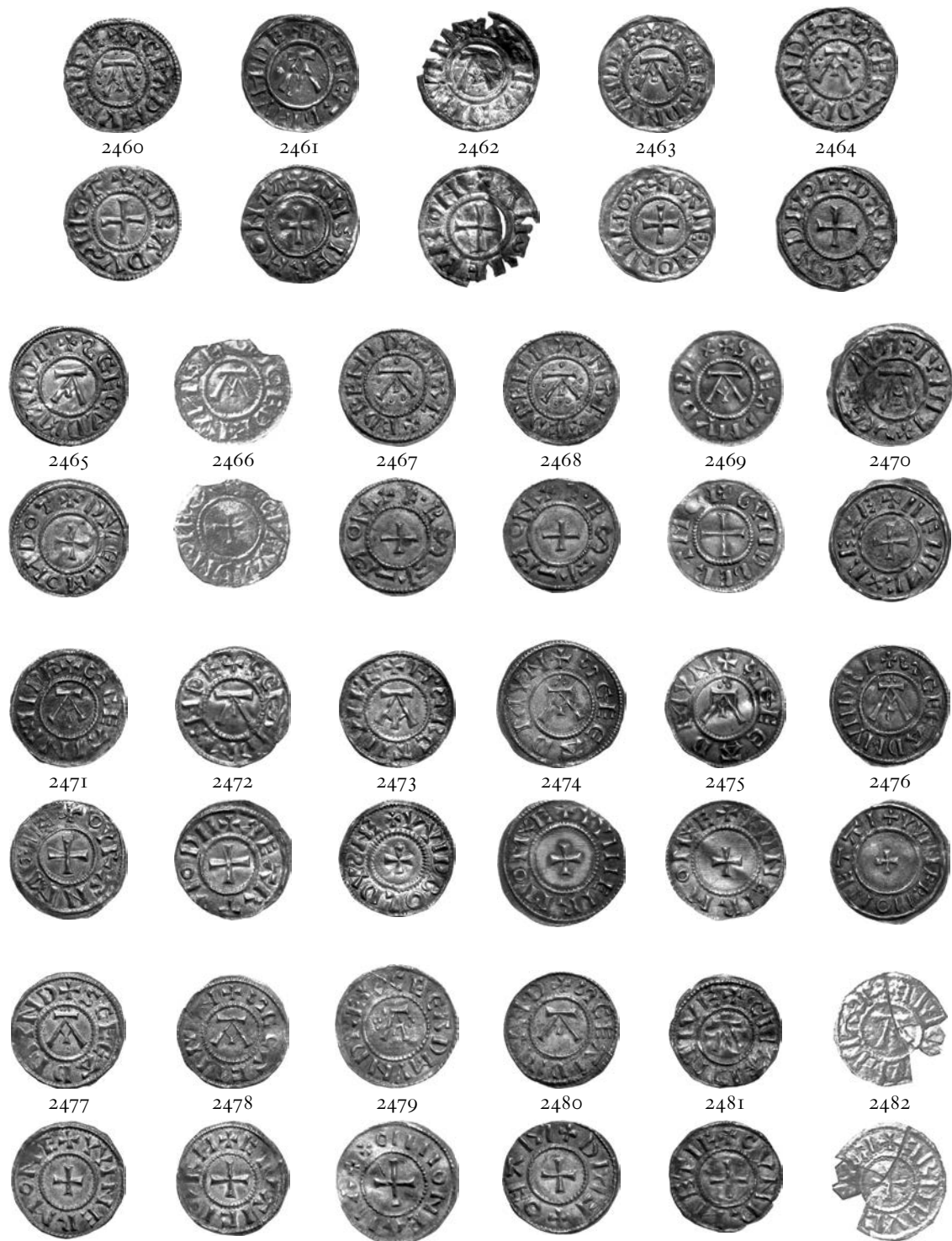
2478 CM.1.262-1990: ex Blunt coll.

2479 CM.1.263-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1985; found in the Thames.

2480 CM.1.263a-1990: ex Blunt coll.

2481 CM.ME.379-R: from Sadd.

2482 Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology: found in Castle Hill excavations, Cambridge, 1968 (EMC 1986.93952).



ANGLO-VIKING COINAGES

ST EDMUND MEMORIAL COINAGE (*cont.*)

Middle phase

Obv. legend around large $\mathfrak{A}$ or $\mathfrak{L}$ in circle. Rev. legend around cross pattée in circle.

- 2483 *Beorn* (?). Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{O}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$; annulets below and either side of $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{J}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{A}$. 1.20g (chipped, corroded and bent) 90°.
- 2484 *Bere...* Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{V}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{V}$. 1.23g 30°.
- 2485 *Martin*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{I}$. 1.42g 270°.
- 2486 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{T}$. 1.29g 90°.

Late phase

- 2487 *Abenel*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}$. 1.22g 0°.
- 2488 *Æthelred* (?). Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{V}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{I}$. 1.11g (chipped) 200°.
- 2489 *Agitneus*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{I}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{S}$. 1.46g 0°.
- 2490 *Ansigar*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{N}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{A}$. 1.52g 180°. Middle/Late.
- 2491 *Ansigar*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{N}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{A}$. 1.21g 0°.
- 2492 *Ansigar*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{D}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$ (retrograde). Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}$ (retrograde). 1.12g 0°.

- 2493 *Bado* (?). Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{V}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{O}$. 1.35g 280°. *SCBI* 1.458; *MEC* 1.1403.
- 2494 *'Ceber'*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{D}$ (retrograde) / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{I}$. 0.99g (chipped) 0°.
- 2495 *'Cecaiei'*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{N}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}$. 1.33g 270°.
- 2496 *'Cerber'*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{D}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{T}$. 1.44g 0°.
- 2497 *'Datdoi'*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{N}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{I}$. 1.58g 270°.
- 2498 *'Erdunot'*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{O}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{T}$. 1.40g 180°.
- 2499 *'Erdnais'*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{J}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{O}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{[}\mathfrak{J}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{[}\mathfrak{]}$. 1.21g (chipped) 180°.
- 2500 *'Gibuino'*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{N}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{O}$. 1.34g 0°.
- 2501 *'Gotolbert'*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{I}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{T}$. 1.20g 270°.
- 2502 *Husca* (?). Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{O}$. 1.45g 270°.
- 2503 *'Icaois'*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{C}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}$. 1.40g 180°.
- 2504 *'Iearci'*. Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{I}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{I}$. 1.33g 270°.
- 2505 *Inga* (?). Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{N}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{N}$. 1.38g 270°.
- 2506 *Odalbert* (?). Obv. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{+}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{I}$. 1.28g 90°. Middle/Late.

2483 CM.4-1992: ex Longfield (gift); found at Oxborough, Norfolk, 1991 (*CR* 1997, 123; *EMC* 1997.0123).

2484 CM.1.264-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1985; found in the Thames.

2485 CM.1.265-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Christie sale 20.4.1971, lot 117; found near Biggleswade, Bedfordshire.

2486 CM.1.266-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1980; found in Suffolk (with two others: cf. **2487** and **2512**) by a metal-detectorist.

2487 CM.1.267-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1980; found in Suffolk (with two others cf. **2486** and **2512**) by a metal-detectorist.

2488 CM.PG.19585-2006: Grierson bequest.

2489 CM.416-2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Baldwin 27.9.2001; from the 'Baldwin' hoard (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 3).

2490 CM.417-2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Baldwin, 20.2.2002; from the 'Baldwin' hoard (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 9).

2491 CM.1.268-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Glendining sale 6, 24.5.1972, lot 724.

2492 CM.428-2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Timeline Originals, 20.6.2003.

2493 CM.TR.1852-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Frere coll.

2494 CM.1.269-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1956.

2495 CM.418-2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Baldwin 29.5.2002; from the 'Baldwin' hoard (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 16).

2496 CM.419-2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Baldwin 26.10.2001; from the 'Baldwin' hoard (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 17).

2497 CM.421-2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Baldwin 26.11.2001; from the 'Baldwin' hoard (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, no. 21).

2498 CM.430-2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Baldwin 26.10.2001; from the 'Baldwin' hoard (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 24).

2499 CM.PG.19592-2006: Grierson bequest.

2500 CM.420-2013: ex Lyons (gift).

2501 CM.1.271-1990: ex Blunt coll.

2502 CM.422-2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Baldwin 20.2.2002; from the 'Baldwin' hoard (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 25).

2503 CM.423-2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Baldwin 19.6.2002; from the 'Baldwin' hoard (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 26).

2504 CM.424-2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Baldwin 20.2.2002; from the 'Baldwin' hoard (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 28).

2505 CM.425-2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Baldwin 19.6.2002; from the 'Baldwin' hoard (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 32).

2506 CM.426-2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Baldwin 29.5.2002; from the 'Baldwin' hoard (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 36).



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2496



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ANGLO-VIKING COINAGES

ST EDMUND MEMORIAL COINAGE (*cont.*)

Late phase (cont.)

Obv. legend around large $\mathfrak{A}$ or $\mathfrak{A}$ in circle. Rev. legend around cross pattée in circle.

- 2507 'Reart'. Obv. $\mathfrak{A} \text{CE} \mathfrak{A} \text{IDN}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{A} \text{E} \mathfrak{A} \text{RTVO}$. 1.34g 90°.
- 2508 'Sideci'. Obv. $\mathfrak{A} \text{E} \text{CVD}$ [] / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{A} \text{IDECI}$ [] (retrograde). 0.85g (chipped) 0°.
- 2509 'Sideci'. Obv. $\mathfrak{A} \text{E} \text{C}$ [] $\mathfrak{A} \text{IDN}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{A} \text{E}$ [] $\mathfrak{A} \text{O} \mathfrak{A} \text{CI}$ (retrograde). 0.98g (chipped) 90°.
- 2510 'Sideci'. Obv. [] $\mathfrak{A} \text{E} \mathfrak{C}$ [] / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{A} \text{E}$ [] $\mathfrak{A}$. 0.71g (fragment) 90°.
- 2511 'Walucus'. Obv. $\mathfrak{A} \text{E} \mathfrak{A} \text{EDMV}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{A} \text{V} \mathfrak{A} \text{LVCV} \mathfrak{A}$. 0.83g 90°.
- 2512 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. $\mathfrak{A} \text{NVRITCVI}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{A} \text{IOVIO} \mathfrak{A}$. 1.31g 180°.
- 2513 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. $\mathfrak{A} \text{O} \mathfrak{A} \text{IIIEV} \mathfrak{A}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{A} \text{O} \mathfrak{A} \text{ECIVII} \mathfrak{A}$. 1.05g 0°.
- 2514 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. $\mathfrak{A} \text{E} \mathfrak{A} \text{D}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{A} \text{E} \mathfrak{A} \text{D}$. 0.83g 180°.
- 2515 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. $\mathfrak{A} \text{E} \mathfrak{A} \text{DIVII}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{A} \text{CTIDIOI}$. 1.29g 90°.

- 2516 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. $\mathfrak{A} \text{E} \mathfrak{A} \text{ID}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{A} \text{ICEIV} \mathfrak{A}$. 1.04g 270°.
- 2517 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. as last. Rev. $\mathfrak{A} \text{SRCI} \mathfrak{A} \text{D} \mathfrak{A}$ (retrograde). 1.15g 270°.
- 2518 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. $\mathfrak{A} \text{E} \mathfrak{A} \text{IIDI}$ (retrograde) / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{A} \text{E} \mathfrak{A} \text{IIDI}$ (retrograde). 1.05g 75°.
- 2519 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. $\mathfrak{A} \text{E}$ [] $\mathfrak{A}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{A} \text{E}$ [] $\mathfrak{A}$. 0.73g (fragment) 0°.
- 2520 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. $\mathfrak{A}$ [] $\mathfrak{A}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. [] $\mathfrak{A}$ [] $\mathfrak{A}$. 0.47 (fragment).
- 2521 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. [] $\mathfrak{A} \text{LC}$ [] / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{A} \text{V}$ [] $\mathfrak{A}$. 0.44g (fragment).
- 2522 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. [] / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. legends uncertain; central cross pattée. 0.20g (fragment).
- 2523 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. uncertain. Rev. uncertain. 0.09g (fragment).

Halfpennies (North 485)

Types as last.

- 2524 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. $\mathfrak{A} \text{CENI}$ / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{A} \text{ERCRI}$. 0.54g 90°.
- 2525 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. [] $\mathfrak{A} \text{MV}$ [] / $\mathfrak{A}$. Rev. $\mathfrak{A} \text{RN}$ [] $\mathfrak{A}$. 0.21g (fragment).

2507 CM.427–2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Baldwin 28.10.2001; from the 'Baldwin' hoard (Blackburn and Pagan 2002, 40).

2508 CM.PG.19584–2006: Grierson bequest.

2509 CM.PG.19590–2006: Grierson bequest.

2510 CM.PG.19591–2006: Grierson bequest.

2511 CM.1.274–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Whitton (gift) 1948.

2512 CM.1.272–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1980; found in Suffolk (with two others cf. 2486–7) by a metal-detectorist.

2513 CM.1.273–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1969.

2514 CM.415–2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Timeline Originals, 14.6.2004.

2515 CM.1.270–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt 1956; ex Erskine; ex Argyll coll.

2516 CM.429–2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Vosper 9.2.2008; found at Thetford, Norfolk, 1.10.2007 (CR 2008, 240; EMC 2007:0243).

2517 CM.414–2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Chapman, 14.2.2008; from Harmer Rooke; from Linzalone.

2518 CM.413–2013: ex Lyons (gift); from Chapman, 14.2.2008; found at Timworth, Suffolk.

2519 CM.PG.19586–2006: Grierson bequest.

2520 CM.PG.19587–2006: Grierson bequest.

2521 CM.PG.19593–2006: Grierson bequest.

2522 CM.PG.19588–2006: Grierson bequest.

2523 CM.PG.19594–2006: Grierson bequest.

2524 CM.1.276–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1957; ex Grantley 933; ex Carlyon-Britton 320.

2525 CM.8–1988: ex Blackburn (gift); from Brown 1988; found near Oxborough, Norfolk, September 1987 (CR 1987, 119; EMC 1987.0119).



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ANGLO-VIKING COINAGES (*cont.*)

VIKING KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBRIA, *c.* 895–954

Unless otherwise stated, the mint is York and all coins are silver pennies. For commentary, see Chapter 11, sections (i) and (j), pp. 292–301.

REGAL COINAGE, *c.* 895–905

The scheme of classification uses the numerical classes laid out in Lyon and Stewart (1961; 1964).

Class I: Ebraice civitas, etc.

- Ia (North 489; Lyon and Stewart 1961, EC1(a)-i/CSR-A)
 2526 Obv. **ƿEB RAICE CIVI**, small cross pattée in circle. Rev. **SIEFR** / **EDIIS E** w. pellets above, between and below. 1.22g 90°. *SCBI* 1.507; *MEC* 1.1404.
- Id (North 495; Lyon and Stewart 1961, EC1(a)-i/CR-C)
 2527 Obv. **ƿEB RAI CECIV**, small cross pattée in circle. Rev. **C / N / V / T / R / E / X** distributed around cross pattée, w. pellets in angles. 1.52g 270°.
- Ih (North 494; Lyon and Stewart 1961, EC1(a)-ii/SFR-E)
 2528 Obv. **ƿEB IAI CEC IVI**, cross pattée in circle and four trefoils of pellets. Rev. **ƿSIEFREDVS REX** around cross-croslet. 1.45g 200°. *SCBI* 1.506; *MEC* 1.1405.
- Ij (North 492; Lyon and Stewart 1961, EC1(b)-i/CSR-B)
 2529 Obv. **ƿEB IAI CEC IVI**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **C** **SIEFFRX** / **EDIIS ƿE**, cross on steps between. 1.35g 60°.
- Io (North 496; Lyon and Stewart 1961, EC1(b)-i/CR-D)
 2530 Obv. **ƿEB IAI CEC IV**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **C / N / V / T / R / E / X** distributed around long cross pattée, with pellets in angles. 1.42g 70°.
- Is (North 497; Lyon and Stewart 1961, EC1(b)-ii/CR-G)
 Obv. legend, cross pattée in circle. Rev. as last, but distributed around patriarchal cross.
 2531 Obv. **ƿEB IAI ICE I**. 1.26g 70°. *SCBI* 1.504; *MEC* 1.1406.

2532 Obv. **ƿEB IAI CEC IV**. 1.20g 220°.

2533 Obv. **ƿEB IAR I CE I**. Rev. **C / N / A / T / R / E / X / B**. 1.46g 130°.

Halfpennies (North 517)

Types as above (**2531–3**).

2534 Obv. **ƿEB IAI CEC IV**. Rev. **C / N / V / T / R / E / X**. 0.54g 45°.

Iu (North 518; Lyon and Stewart 1961, EC2(b)/CR-G)

Obv. **ƿEB IAI CEC IV**, *Karolvs* monogram in circle. Rev. **C / N / V / T / R / E / X** around patriarchal cross.

2535 0.57g 10°. *SCBI* 1.505; *MEC* 1.1407.

Class II: Cunnetti, etc.

Pennies

IId (North 499; Lyon and Stewart 1961, C-1(b)/CR-F)

Obv. **ƿCVN NET TI**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **C / N / V / T / R / E / X** distributed around cross pattée.

2536 1.48g 130°.

2537 1.32g 270° ('20' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.472; *MEC* 1.1408.

2538 1.31g 50°. Obv. **ƿCVN ƿET TI**. *SCBI* 1.474; *MEC* 1.1410.

2539 1.33g 70°. Obv. **ƿCVN NETI**. *SCBI* 1.473; *MEC* 1.1409.

- 2526 CM.ME.453-R: uncertain provenance.
 2527 CM.1.281–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1948.
 2528 CM.1.43–1930: ex Duncan; ex Smart.
 2529 CM.1.278–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Lockett 433; ex Miller 43.
 2530 CM.1.284–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1954.
 2531 CM.5.44–1933: ex Henderson.

- 2532 CM.1.282–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Le Gentilhomme (gift).
 2533 CM.1.283–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1979; acq. 'France', but probably from the Cuerdale hoard.
 2534 CM.1.285–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1947.
 2535 CM.1.41–1930: ex Duncan; ex Smart.

- 2536 CM.1.3660–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1948.
 2537 CM.ME.454-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.
 2538 CM.YG.3172-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 250e.
 2539 CM.YG.3171-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 250d; from the Cuerdale hoard.



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REGAL COINAGE, *c.* 895–905 (*cont.*)

Ile (North 501; Lyon and Stewart 1961, C-1(b)/CR-G)
Obv. as last. Rev. as last, but distributed around patriarchal cross.

2540 Obv. **†CVN NETI**. 1.35g 300° ('8' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.496; *MEC* 1.1431.

2541 Obv. **†CVN NET T**. 1.19g 50° ('18' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.476; *MEC* 1.1412.

2542 Obv. **†CVN NET TI**. 1.46g 350°.

2543 Obv. **†CVN IET TI**. 1.43g 110° ('19' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.491; *MEC* 1.1427.

2544 Obv. **†CVN NET TI**. 1.43g 270° ('15' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.487; *MEC* 1.1423.

2545 1.42g 300° ('12' written on obv. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.497; *MEC* 1.1432.

2546 1.42g 350° ('11' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.500; *MEC* 1.1435.

2547 1.41g 180° ('2' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.499; *MEC* 1.1434.

2548 1.38g 320° ('14' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.483; *MEC* 1.1419.

2540 CM.ME.469-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; ex Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.

2541 CM.ME.455-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; ex Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.

2542 CM.1.280-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1955; ex Lockett 424; ex Parsons (1954) 69; ex Andrew.

2543 CM.ME.467-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; ex Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.

2544 CM.ME.463-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.

2545 CM.ME.470-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.

2546 CM.ME.473-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.

2547 CM.ME.472-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.

2548 CM.ME.460-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.

ANGLO-VIKING COINAGES (*cont.*)

VIKING KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBRIA (*cont.*)

REGAL COINAGE (*cont.*)

Class II: Cunnetti etc. (cont.)

Ile (cont.)

Obv. **†CVN NET TI**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **C / N / V / T / R / E / X** distributed around patriarchal cross.

- 2549 1.36g 130° ('8' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.478; *MEC* 1.1414.
 2550 1.36g 40° ('7' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.485; *MEC* 1.1421.
 2551 1.36g 240°. *SCBI* 1.486; *MEC* 1.1422.
 2552 1.35g 240° ('3' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.489; *MEC* 1.1425.
 2553 Rev. **C / N / A / T / R / E / X**. 1.33g 170° ('6' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.498; *MEC* 1.1433.
 2554 Obv. **†CVN IET TI**. 1.32g 0°. *SCBI* 1.492; *MEC* 1.1428.
 2555 Obv. **†CVN NET TI**. 1.31g 120°. *SCBI* 1.482; *MEC* 1.1418. Same dies as **2556**; same obv. die as **2557**.
 2556 Obv. as last. 1.28g 300°. *SCBI* 1.481; *MEC* 1.1417. Same dies as **2555**; same obv. die as **2557**.
 2557 1.22g 300°. *SCBI* 1.493; *MEC* 1.1429. Same obv. die as **2555–6**.
 2558 1.29g 200°. *SCBI* 1.501; *MEC* 1.1436.
 2559 Obv. **†CVN NETI TI**. 1.29g 310°. *SCBI* 1.479; *MEC* 1.1415.
 2560 Obv. **†CVN NE[T] TT**. 1.26g (slightly chipped) 160°.
 2561 Obv. **†CVN NET TI**. 1.26g 230°. *SCBI* 1.484; *MEC* 1.1420.

- 2562 Obv. **†CVN IET TI**. 1.25g 50° (traces of number written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.477; *MEC* 1.1413.
 2563 1.22g 180° ('10' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.490; *MEC* 1.1426.
 2564 Obv. **†CVN IET TI**. 1.17g 200° ('13' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.488; *MEC* 1.1424.
 2565 Obv. **†CVN NET TI**. 1.16g (chipped) 0° ('1' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.480; *MEC* 1.1416.
 2566 Obv. **[†C]VN NET [TI]**. Rev. **[C] / N / V / [T / R / E / X]**. 0.59g (cut halfpenny) 330°.
 2567 Obv. **†CVN NET TI** (retrograde). Rev. **C / N / V / T / R / E / X**, cross with two limbs crosslet. 1.19g 310°. *SCBI* 1.503; *MEC* 1.1438; North 501 var.; Lyon and Stewart 1961, C-1(b)/CR-G (var.). This specimen is of unusual style, and may be late or irregular.
 2568 Obv. **†CVN NEL TI**. 1.38g 70° ('4' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.502; *MEC* 1.1437.
 2569 Obv. **†CVN IIT TI**. 1.26g 60° ('2' written on rev. in Indian ink). *SCBI* 1.495; *MEC* 1.1430.
 2570 Obv. **†CVN NTI**. 1.44g 200°. *SCBI* 1.475; *MEC* 1.1411.
 2571 Obv. **†CVN NT TEL**. 1.21g (slightly chipped) 45°.

Halfpenny (North 519)

- 2572 Obv. **†CVN NET TI**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **C / N / V / T / R / E / X** distributed around patriarchal cross. 0.48g (slightly chipped) 90°. *SCBI* 1.494; *MEC* 1.1439.

2549 CM.ME.457-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.
 2550 CM.ME.462-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.
 2551 CM.1.40–1930: ex Duncan; ex Smart.
 2552 CM.ME.465-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.
 2553 CM.ME.471-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.
 2554 CM.YG.3175-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 250a.
 2555 CM.ME.459-R: from Cureton.
 2556 CM.YG.3174-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 250b.

2557 CM.5.43–1933: ex Henderson.
 2558 CM.YG.3176-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Weber 18.
 2559 CM.YG.3173-R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Carlyon-Britton 250c.
 2560 CM.1.3661–1990: ex Blunt coll.
 2561 CM.ME.461-R: uncertain provenance.
 2562 CM.ME.456-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.
 2563 CM.ME.466-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.
 2564 CM.ME.464-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.
 2565 CM.ME.458-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.

2566 CM.5–2013: ex Northey (gift); found near Newark, Nottinghamshire, 3.11.2012 (EMC 2012.0284).
 2567 CM.ME.475-R: ex Dewick coll. 1918.
 2568 CM.ME.474-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.
 2569 CM.ME.468-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.
 2570 CM.TR.1957-R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex King (gift); from the Cuerdale hoard.
 2571 CM.1.279–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Shirley-Fox coll.
 2572 CM.ME.476-R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Duchy of Lancaster (gift), July 1844; from the Cuerdale hoard.



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ANGLO-VIKING COINAGES (*cont.*)

VIKING KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBRIA (*cont.*)

REGAL COINAGE (*cont.*)

Class III: Siefredus

Pennies

IIIa (North 502; Lyon and Stewart 1961, S-1(a)/REX-E)

- 2573 Obv. **†SI EF RED VS**, cross pattée in circle and pellets.
Rev. **† / R / E / X** around cross crosslet. 1.39g 320°.
SCBI 1.509; *MEC* 1.1440.

IIIc (North 503; Lyon and Stewart 1961, S-1(b)/REX-F)

- 2574 Obv. **†SIEF RED VS**, cross pattée in circle and pellets. Rev.
as last, but legend around cross pattée. 1.27g (slightly
chipped) 270°.

IIId (North 504; Lyon and Stewart 1961, S-1(b)/CR-G)

- 2575 Obv. **†SIEF REDVS**, cross pattée in circle and pellets. Rev.
C / N / V / T / R / E / X distributed around patriarchal
cross. 1.28g 140°. *SCBI* 1.508; *MEC* 1.1441.

Class IV: Alvaldus (i.e. ÆTHELWOLD, d. 902)

IVa (North 505; Lyon and Stewart 1961, A-1/DDOR-A(i))

- 2576 Obv. **†ALVALDVS**, cross pattée in circle and pellets. Rev.
DNS DS / REX in two lines. 1.17g 90°.

Class V: Dominus Deus rex

Va (North 506; Lyon and Stewart 1961, DDR-1/SR-G)

- 2577 Obv. **†D NS DS REX**, cross pattée in circle w. two pel-
lets. Rev. **†SIEURT RE** around patriarchal cross. 1.33g 10°.
SCBI 1.513; *MEC* 1.1442.

Vb (North 508; Lyon and Stewart 1961, DDR-1/EC-G)

- 2578 Obv. as last. Rev. **†EBRAI CIC** around patriarchal cross.
1.27g 160°. *SCBI* 1.514; *MEC* 1.1443.

Class VI: Mirabilia fecit

VIa (North 509; Lyon and Stewart 1961, MF-1/DDOR-A(ii))

- 2579 Obv. **†MIRABILIA FECIT**, cross pattée in circle and pel-
lets. Rev. **DN2 D2 / O REX** (O lozenge-shaped) in two
lines, w. cross between. 1.28g 10°. Same dies as Drabble
809.

2573 CM.YG.1407-R; ex Young coll. (gift);
ex Carlyon-Britton 255; from the Cuerdale
hoard.

2574 CM.1.277-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt
London 1947; ex Walters 21; ex Rashleigh 165;
from the Cuerdale hoard.

2575 CM.1.42-1930: ex Duncanson; ex
Smart.

2576 CM.1.289-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex
Norweb 36 (*SCBI* 16, 120); ex Lockett 438;
ex Carlyon-Britton 260; probably from the
Cuerdale hoard.

2577 CM.ME.477-R; from Sadd.

2578 CM.TR.1958-R; Trinity College loan
1937; ex King; from the Cuerdale hoard.

2579 CM.1.287-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt
Copenhagen 1957.

2580 CM.1.288-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex
Lockett 429; ex Carlyon-Britton 259; from the
Cuerdale hoard.

2581 CM.1.286-1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Le
Gentilhomme (gift).

2582 CM.TR.1959-R; Trinity College loan
1937; ex King (gift); from the Cuerdale hoard.

2583 CM.YG.3177-R; ex Young coll. (gift);
ex Weber 18.

2584 CM.YG.3178-R; ex Young coll. (gift);
ex Carlyon-Britton 248; from the Cuerdale
hoard.

2585 CM.1.3662-1990: ex Blunt coll.

2586 CM.YG.3179-R; ex Young coll. (gift).

Halfpenny

VIa (North 521)

- 2580 Obv. **†M ID AFI CIT**, cross pattée in circle and pellets.
Rev. **DNS D / O REX** (O lozenge-shaped) in two lines,
with cross between. 0.57g 110°.

Pennies

VIc (North 512; Lyon and Stewart 1961, MF-1/EC-G)

- 2581 Obv. **†MIRABILIA FEI**, cross pattée in circle and pellets.
Rev. **†EBRAICE C** around patriarchal cross and pellets.
1.37g 300°. Same obv. die as **2584-5**.

VId (North 511; Lyon and Stewart 1961, MF-1/CR-G)

Obv. **†MIRABILIA FECIT**, cross pattée in circle and pellets. Rev.
C / N / V / T / R / E / X distributed around patriarchal cross
and pellets.

- 2582 1.36g 220°. *SCBI* 1.510; *MEC* 1.1444. Same obv. die as
2583.

- 2583 1.24g 0°. *SCBI* 1.511; *MEC* 1.1445. Same obv. die as
2582.

- 2584 Obv. **†MIRABILIA FEI**. 1.31g 270°. *SCBI* 1.512; *MEC*
1.1446. Same dies as **2585**; and same obv. die as **2581**.

- 2585 Obv. as last. 1.23g 200°. Same dies as **2584**; same obv. die
as **2581**.

Class VII: Quentovici (North 524)

UNCERTAIN MINT

Obv. **†QVENTOI VICI**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **C / N / V / T**
/ R / E / X (some letters inverted) distributed around cross pattée
w. pellets and rays.

- 2586 1.37g 300°. *SCBI* 1.515; *MEC* 1.1447.



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ST PETER COINAGE, *c.* 905–27

Phase I (*c.* 905–10) (North 551)

Obv. legend in two lines, w. pellets distributed around. Rev. legend around cross pattée in circle.

2587 Obv. **SCI IE** / **TRI IIC**. Rev. **†EBORA CEC**. 1.23g 200°.

2588 Obv. **SCI IE** / **TIMIO**. Rev. **†EBORACE CIV**. 1.20g (bent and chipped) 90°.

Phase II (*c.* 910–19) (North 553)

2589 Obv. **SCI PE** / **TRI M[]** in two lines, with pellet between.

Rev. **†EBORA CEC**, cross pattée in circle. 0.76g (chipped) 90°. *SCBI* 1.517; *MEC* 1.1448.

2587 CM.1.290–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex O'Byrne 201.

2588 CM.1.291–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1985; found in the Thames with three other coins.

2589 CM.ME.478-R: uncertain provenance.

ANGLO-VIKING COINAGES (*cont.*)

VIKING KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBRIA (*cont.*)

ST PETER COINAGE (*cont.*)

Phase III (c. 921–7)

Cross type (North 555)

Obv. legend in two lines w. cross above, sword between, and hammer integrated into lower line of legend. Rev. legend, cross pattée in circle w. pellets in quarters.

2590 Obv. **SCI PE** / **TRIIIO**. Rev. **HEBORA CEI** (O lozenge-shaped). 1.12g 0°. Stewart and Lyon 1992, 13(b)(i). Same obv. die as **2591–2**.

2591 Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.03g (slightly chipped; broken and repaired) 50°. Same obv. die as **2590** and **2592** (Stewart and Lyon 1992, 13).

2592 Obv. [**PE**] . Rev. **†** [**I**]. 0.30g (fragment). Same obv. die as **2590–1** (Stewart and Lyon 1992, 13).

Mallet type (North 556)

Obv. legend in two lines w. cross above and below, w. sword between. Rev. legend around ‘mallet’ in circle.

2593 Obv. **SCIIF** / **THIIIO**. Rev. **HERIVITI**. 1.09g 90°. Stewart and Lyon 1992, 23 (a)(iii).

2594 Obv. **SCIE** / **THIIIO**. Rev. **HERIVITI**. 1.29g 270°. *SCBI* 1.518; *MEC* 1.1449; Stewart and Lyon 1992, 29 (b)(i).

RAGNALD I, c. 919–20/1

Obv. **†RACIOLT**, crude hand in circle. Rev. **†RXEACIDIT** (retrograde), *Karolv*s monogram in circle. North 531.

2595 1.22g 10°. *SCBI* 1.516; *MEC* 1.1450; Blunt and Stewart 1983, 14.

2596 Rev. **HEIOI A CII**. 1.20g 45°. Blunt and Stewart 1983, 9.

SIHTRIC I, 920/1–7

EAST MIDLANDS? (North 534)

Obv. legend in two lines w. sword between and pellets distributed around. Rev. legend around T-shaped ‘hammer’ in circle.

2597 Obv. **SITR** (retrograde) / **IICDŶ**. Rev. **†HOIOIIAIIII**. 0.75g (bent and chipped) 180°. Blackburn 2006a, SH4.

2598 Obv. **SITR** / **IR M**. Rev. **†HERDICEICRR**. 1.06g (chipped, bent, broken and repaired) 0°. Blackburn 2006a, SC4.

2599 Obv. illegible. Rev. [**IDE**] . 0.20g (small fragment). Blackburn 2006a, SC8. Same obv. die as **2600**.

2600 Obv. **SITR** / **IC D†**. Rev. **†IEDREICIRI**. Blackburn 2006a, SC7; North 534 var. 1.15g (bent) 270°. Same obv. die as **2599**.

2601 Obv. **IERI** / **D II**. Rev. **†ICIARDOI E**. 0.89g 350°. Blackburn 2006a, SC5.

2602 Obv. [**IRI**] / [**EI**]. Rev. [**†ICERI**] . 0.51g (fragment) 90° (?). Blackburn 2006a, SC6.

Uncertain type, temp. Sihtric I?

UNCERTAIN MINT

2603 Obv. legends uncertain; fragment of field w. part of sword survives. Rev. legends uncertain; portion of ‘hammer’ survives. 0.09g (fragment).

ANONYMOUS SWORD TYPE, c. 920/1–7

EAST MIDLANDS? (North 353)

2604 Obv. **†EIOICIAICIA** (retrograde), T-shaped ‘mallet’ in circle. Rev. **†EIOIALAIE** (retrograde), sword in circle. 1.25g 270°. Lindsay 1842, pl. 2, 52.

2590 CM.1.293–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959; ex Grantley 963; ex Robinson 32; probably from the Bossall/Flaxton hoard.

2591 CM.952–2000: from the Thurstaston hoard (Blackburn 2001b, 6).

2592 CM.864–2002: from the Thurstaston hoard (Blackburn 2001b, 7).

2593 CM.1.294–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959 (said to be ex Bliss, but not in either known sale).

2594 CM.1.38–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

2595 CM.YG.3180–R: ex Young coll. (gift); ex Bliss 59; ex Robinson 29.

2596 CM.1.292–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex St Oswald (1981) 139; from the Bossall/Flaxton hoard.

2597 CM.324–1995: from Hawthorne, March 1995; found at Swallow, Lincolnshire, 1994.

2598 CM.33–2000: from the Thurstaston hoard (Blackburn 2001b, 3).

2599 CM.839–2002: ex Kimberley, Petty and Chantrell (gift) 2002; from the Thurstaston hoard (Blackburn 2001b, 2).

2600 CM.863–2002: from the Thurstaston hoard (Blackburn 2001b, 1).

2601 CM.34–2000: from the Thurstaston hoard (Blackburn 2001b, 4).

2602 CM.238–1997: ex Kimberley and Petty (gift), 1997; from the Thurstaston hoard (Blackburn 2001b, 5).

2603 CM.167–2010: ex Mitchell (gift); found Wragby, Lincolnshire, May 2010 (*CR* 2011, 105; *EMC* 2010.0213).

2604 CM.1.296–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961; ex Dean of St Patrick; from the Glasnevin hoard.



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2600



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2604A



2605



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2604



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2612



ST MARTIN COINAGE, *c.* 920/1–7

LINCOLN (North 486)

- 2604A Obv. **SCI M** / **[ARTIN]** in two lines divided by sword,
w. inverted T-shaped 'mallet' or tau-cross below. Rev.
HL[INCOLLA CIVIT]A, voided cross, interlaced clockwise,

containing linear cross, in circle. 0.47g (fragment) 0°. Same dies as Blackburn 2006a, M2–3. This specimen brings the total number of known St Martin pennies to nine.

OLAF GUTHFRITHSSON, 939–*c.* 941

'Raven' type (North 537; *CTCE*, Group IV)

- 2605 *Aethelferth*. Obv. **ANLAF CVNVNGIF**, soaring bird in circle. Rev. **ADÆLFRD MINETRII**, small cross pattée. 1.15g 270°. *SCBI* 1.519; *MEC* 1.1451; *CTCE*, Group IV

(x). There is nothing particularly corvine about the bird on this coin type, despite it being commonly known as the 'raven' type (inspired by the association of ravens with the pre-Christian god Odin).

OLAF SIHTRICSSON, FIRST REIGN, *c.* 941–4

Triquetra/Banner type (North 540; *CTCE*, Group V)

- 2606 *Farman*. Obv. **ANLAF CVNVNCC**, triquetra in circle. Rev. **ARMAN MONETA** [], triangular banner in circle. 1.08g (chipped; broken and repaired) 30°.

Horizontal/Two-Line type (North 540/1; *CTCE*, Group II/III)

EAST MIDLANDS?

- 2607 *Hildulfr*. Obv. **ANELF RE+ M**, small cross pattée in circle. Rev. **HLDV** / **LF MEO** in two lines w. pellets above, three crosses between and cross below. 1.37g 0°. *CTCE*, Group II/III (e).

ANONYMOUS TWO-LINE TYPE, *c.* 947–9

YORK (?) (North 548/1; *CTCE*, Group VIII)

- 2608 *Beornheard*. Obv. **HELANGERHT**, small cross pattée in circle. Rev. **BERN** / **ART** in two lines w. pellets above,

three crosses between and pellets below. 1.26g 315°. *CTCE*, Group VIII (c).

ERIC, FIRST REIGN, 947–8

Horizontal/Two-Line type (North 549; *CTCE*, Group VII)

- 2609 *Hrothulfr*. Obv. **ERIC REX IO**, small cross pattée in circle. Rev. **RADV** / **LF MO** in two lines w. pellets above, three

crosses between and pellets below. 1.30g 0°. *CTCE*, Group VII (u).

OLAF SIHTRICSSON, SECOND REIGN, 950–2

Circumscription Cross type (North 544; *CTCE*, Group IX)

- 2610 *Hrothulfr*. Obv. [**RE**], small cross pattée in circle. Rev. [**RAD**], small cross pattée in circle. 0.56g (bent fragment). *CTCE*, Group IX (s).

ERIC, SECOND REIGN, 952–4

Sword type (North 550; *CTCE*, Group XI)

- 2611 *Hrothulfr*. Obv. **ERIC** / **REX** in two lines w. pellets above, sword between and pellets below. Rev. **TRADVLF MEOI**,

small cross pattée in circle. 1.26g (chipped and corroded) 350°. *CTCE*, Group XI (o).

UNCERTAIN

- 2612 Silver lump consisting of two (?) fused coins, possibly of the late eighth century (Offa's Light coinage?). 1.01g.

2604A CM.1617–2015: ex Spink sale 228, 25.3.2015, lot 481; from the Ryedale hoard.

2605 CM.1.44–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

2606 CM.390–1994: from Finn, November 1994.

2607 CM.1.297–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1973; ex Chilvers coll.

2608 CM.1.299–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Erskine 1956; from Elmore Jones 1950; possibly ex Drabble 407A; ex Grantley 1079; ex Wells.

2609 CM.1.298–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1964; ex Bagnall coll.; ex Grantley 961; ex Evans.

2610 CM.1.300–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Sotheby sale 27.7.1964, lot 11; possibly from the Douglas hoard.

2611 CM.1.301–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1965; ex Grantley 962; ex Rashleigh 183; ex Whitbourn 62; ex Dymock 95; ex Chaffers; ex Cuff 373; ex Devonshire 143.

2612 CM.368–1991: ex Brown (gift); found Bawsey, Norfolk, 1989.

HIBERNO-SCANDINAVIAN COINAGE

The mint is Dublin (or presumed to be Dublin) in all cases (though mint-signatures copied from English models are noted), and all coins are silver pennies. Phases derive from *SCBI* 8; Groups from Woods (2013b). For commentary, see Chapter 14, section (d), pp. 328–35.

PHASE I

Group A: Cruc type (mid-990s)

Obv. legend (blundered name of Æthelred II) around bust l. w. sceptre in circle. Rev. legend (w. Dublin mint-signature) around short voided cross w. **C R V X** in quarters in circle.

2613 *Fastulfr.* Obv. **†EDELIIIÆDEL+ΛO.** Rev. **†FAZTOL DIFLIME.** 1.59g 0°. XRF analysis 2012: 93.3% Ag; 0.45% Au; 2.90% Cu; 0.02% Zn. Same dies as *SCBI* 8.8.

2614 Obv. **†EELR/ED RE+ ANGLOX.** Rev. **†NDÆMORDEGIDE.** 1.42g 315°.

Group B: Long Cross type (mid-990s–early/mid-1000s)

Obv. legend around bust l. Rev. legend in angles of and broken by long voided cross w. omega-shaped terminals.

In the name of Sihtric Silkbeard, w. Dublin mint-signature

2615 *Farman.* Obv. **†SIHTRC RE+ DYFL.** Rev. **†F/E REMI N MØ DYFLI.** 1.16g (chipped) 190°.

2616 *Farman.* Obv. **†SIHTRE RE+ DYFLM.** Rev. **†F/E MIEN MNO ÆIFLI.** 1.28g 300°.

2617 *Farman.* Obv. **†SIHTRIC REX DYFLIN.** Rev. **†F/E REMI N MØ DYFLI.** 1.27g 180°.

2618 *Farman.* Obv. **†ZINTRF RX YFLIHILO.** Rev. **†F/E REMA N MØ DYFL.** 1.38g (cracked) 20°. Blackburn 1976, B1. Peck-marks: 5/3.

In the name of Sihtric Silkbeard, w. ‘English’ mint-signature

‘WILTON’

2619 ‘*Godwine*’. Obv. **†SIHTRE RE+ DYFNI.** Rev. **†GOI FINE MΩO FILTI.** 1.33g 270°. Peck-marks: 3/10.

‘LONDON’

2620 ‘*Leofwine*’. Obv. **†SIHTRE RE+ ðYFLIM.** Rev. **†LEO FPMI EMIO LVNI.** 1.48g 190°.

‘WINCHESTER’

2621 ‘*Beorhtnoth*’. Obv. **†SIHTRE RE+ DYFLIN.** Rev. **†BYR HTIO ðMIO RINI.** 1.30g 0°. Same dies as Dolley 1972, p. 39, pl. A, 4.

In the name of Æthelred II, w. Dublin mint-signature

2622 *Farman.* Obv. **†ÆDEL R/ED REX ANGLØX.** Rev. **†F/E REMI N MØ DYFL.** 1.39g 90°. Peck-marks: 1/6. Obv. die from Worcester mint (BEH 373) (Dolley 1968).

2623 *Farman.* Obv. **†ÆDEL R/ED REX ANGO.** Rev. **†F/E REMI N MØ DYFLI.** 1.50g 180°. XRF analysis 2012: 64.6% Ag; 0.45% Au; 2.41% Cu; 0.12% Zn.

Group C: Helmet type (early/mid-1000s–late 1000s)

2624 ‘*Leofwine*’. Obv. **†Æ-Ð[ELR/ED RE+ AN]GL** around armoured and helmeted bust l. Rev. **†LEO [FFIM NEINO] MØRI** around and broken by voided long cross w. omega terminals and lozenge with trefoil terminals in centre. 0.58g (cut halfpenny; chipped) 150°. XRF analysis 2012: 92.69% Ag; 0.47% Au; 0.63% Cu; 0.09% Zn. Same dies as Blackburn 1990c, 12.

Group D: Last Small Cross type (late 1000s–c. 1016)

2625 Obv. **†IEDELRED RE+ ANGHMI,** bust l. in circle. Rev. **†DNERIIINMODYFL,** small cross pattée in circle. 1.24g 180°. Peck-marks: 0/2. XRF analysis 2012: 91.3% Ag; 0.42% Au; 3.35% Cu; 0.17% Zn.

2613 CM.1.789–1990: ex Blunt coll.; ex Owston Smith 1949; ex Grantley.

2614 CM.1.790–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1963; ex Crichton; ex Argyll coll.

2615 CM.ME.641–R: no provenance.

2616 CM.1256–1911: from Spink 11.3.1911.

2617 CM.ME.640–R: no provenance.

2618 CM.815–2012: ex Blackburn coll.; ex Blunt coll.; from Baldwin (exchange) 1976; ex J. D. Brand.

2619 CM.1.791–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1966; ex Lockett 494.

2620 CM.1.836–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

2621 CM.683–2006: from Faulkner; found at Valance Farm, Ickleton, Cambridgeshire, September 2006 (*CR* 2007, 404; EMC 2006.0378).

2622 CM.5.158–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

2623 CM.1395–1911: ex Jenkinson (gift), 4.4.1911.

2624 CM.300–1994: ex Ogden 1994; found at Torksey, Lincolnshire, 1992/3.

2625 CM.BI.2747–R: from before 1908.



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PHASE II

Group E: Quatrefoil type (c. 1016–c. 1020)

(Not represented in this collection. For commentary, see Chapter 14, section (d), pp. 328–35.)

Group F: Long Cross w. pellets on reverse (c. 1020–35)

Obv. legend around bust l. Rev. legend in angles of and broken by long voided cross w. omega-shaped terminals and pellet in each quarter.

- 2626 Obv. **⚡HITRIL⚡HIFIDE**; ‘crozier’ on neck. Rev. **⚡HE RHH MIO FNI**. 1.26g 0°. Same dies as **2627**.
- 2627 Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.15g 180°. Same dies as **2626**.
- 2628 Obv. **⚡HITRE RE⚡ NDH**; ‘crozier’ on neck and pelleted cross behind bust. Rev. pseudo-legends. 1.43g 0°.
- 2629 Obv. **⚡HITRE RE⚡ DYFL**; pelleted cross behind bust. Rev. **⚡F/E REM N MO DYFL**. 1.44g 80°. Bornholdt Collins 2003, 1. This coin is struck from the ‘Transfer Die’ which was brought from Dublin to Man at some point in the 1020s (see Chapter 13, section (c), pp. 317–9). However, at this stage the die was being used with reverses of typical Dublin style to make coins of regular weight for Phase II of the Hiberno-Scandinavian coinage; in other words, there is nothing to indicate that it had yet been taken to Man.
- 2630 Obv. **⚡INBIIHIEIRIINIIO**; **E** on neck of bust. Rev. **⚡IND EIIOI OIINI EIND**; **E** in second quarter of cross. 0.52g 180°. Same rev. die as a coin in the National Museum of Ireland (Roth 1909, 70).
- 2631 Obv. **⚡ITRE REX DIIIOI**; ‘crozier’ behind bust. Rev. pseudo-legends. 1.31g 0°.
- 2632 Obv. **⚡INITINI⚡HIEIO**; **E** on neck of bust. Rev. **⚡INI ENI ONI EINI**; **E** in one quarter of cross. 0.71g 180°.
- 2633 Obv. **⚡ITRE RE⚡ EDIH**; ‘crozier’ behind bust. Rev. **⚡IRIFII IHO DILL**. 1.19g 15°. Same dies as **2634**.
- 2634 Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.16g (chipped) 15°. XRF analysis 2012: 92.74% Ag; 0.49% Au; 2.06% Cu; 0.07% Zn. Same dies as **2633**.
- 2635 Obv. **⚡HMH⚡TMI** []; ‘crozier’ on neck of bust. Rev. **⚡VL HAT HNI IO** []. 0.75g (chipped) 270°.
- 2636 Obv. **⚡NHTRE RE⚡ DHF**; trefoil of pellets behind bust. Rev. **⚡IFE RIII I MO DIFI**. 1.12g 180°.

2626 CM.2337–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 173.

2627 CM.5.159–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

2628 CM.1.799–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.

2629 CM.2339–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

2630 CM.816–2012: ex Blackburn coll.; bt Spink 1972.

2631 CM.1.796–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.

2632 CM.1283–1911: from Lincoln & Son 18.3.1911.

2633 CM.1396–1911: ex Jenkinson (gift), 4.11.1911.

2634 CM.1.798–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.

2635 CM.1.797–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.

2636 CM.1.794–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.

HIBERNO-SCANDINAVIAN COINAGE (*cont.*)

PHASE II (*cont.*)

Group F: Long Cross w. pellets on reverse (*cont.*)

Obv. legend around bust l. Rev. legend in angles of and broken by long voided cross w. omega-shaped terminals and pellet in each quarter.

- 2637 Obv. **†IIINTRCRE+IIIFII**; cross behind bust. Rev. **†IIII RIIII NNØ INII**. 0.66g 180°.
- 2638 Obv. **†IIIFNHRDANREXI**; **E** on neck of bust and annulet behind. Rev. **†IIND EINI ØIIII EIND**; **E** in one quarter of cross. 0.56g 180°.
- 2639 Obv. **†SIHTRE RE+ DIFLM**; cross behind bust. Rev. **†LIV ITMO DIFII IIAVN**. 1.36g (chipped) 180°.

- 2640 Obv. **†ZIHTRC RE+ DNIIEV**; cross of pellets behind bust. Rev. **†F/E REII I MO DYF**. 0.73g 270°. Peck-marks: o/2. Same dies as **2641** and *SCBI* 8.71.
- 2641 Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 0.73g 180°. Same dies as **2640** and *SCBI* 8.71.
- 2642 Obv. **†SIHTRE RE+ DYFLM**; quatrefoil of pellets behind bust. Rev. **†ND ØMN REMI ØMN**. 1.33g 80°. Peck-marks: o/9.
- 2643 Obv. **†SIIHTRE RE+ DFN**; cross behind bust. Rev. **†IE RIH MIO LIM**. 1.05g (chipped; broken and repaired) 120°.
- 2644 Obv. **†ZHTRE RE+ DH**. Rev. **†RE IUIE HIIO DNI**. 1.03g 0°.

PHASE II/III MULE

Group F/G (c. 1035)

- 2645 Obv. **ØNITHDEIIIIØIUI** around bust l. w. **E** on neck. Rev. pseudo-legend in angles of long voided cross with crude

'hands' in two quarters. 0.90g 180°. Same dies as *SCBI* 22.199.

PHASE III

Group G: Long Cross with 'hands' on reverse (c. 1035–60)

Obv. pseudo-legend around bust l. Rev. pseudo-legend in angles of long voided cross w. omega-shaped terminals and crude 'hands' in two quarters.

- 2646 Obv. pellet behind bust. Rev. 'hand' in one quarter only, w. pellet in each other. 1.17g 90°. *SCBI* 8.79 var. XRF analysis 2012: 95.62% Ag; 0.38% Au; 1.82% Cu; 0.10% Zn.
- 2647 1.02g 345°. *SCBI* 8.82 var.
- 2648 1.01g 180°. *SCBI* 8.122 var.
- 2649 Obv. more literate legend: **†INDLNNOFIDNINE**. 1.00g 180°. *SCBI* 8.124 var.
- 2650 Obv. more literate legend: **†IHITRCRE+IIIC[]**; cross behind bust. 0.96g 90°. XRF analysis 2012: 91.95% Ag; 0.34% Au; 1.96% Cu; 0.20% Zn.

- 2651 Obv. cross on neck of bust. Rev. one 'hand' replaced by figure of eight. 0.95g 135°. Same dies as **2652**.
- 2652 Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 0.92g 135°. Same dies as **2651**.
- 2653 Obv. pelletted cross behind bust. 0.92g 15°. *SCBI* 8.141.
- 2654 0.92g 90°. *SCBI* 8.82. Same obv. die as **2655**.
- 2655 0.84g 90°. *SCBI* 8.82. Same obv. die as **2654**.
- 2656 Obv. more literate legend: **†INIITIIILIDICI**. Rev. large pellets in two quarters without 'hands'. 0.92g 140°. *SCBI* 8.120.
- 2657 Rev. large pellet in one quarter without 'hands'. 0.90g 90°. *SCBI* 8.104 var.
- 2658 Obv. pelletted cross on neck of bust. Rev. one 'hand' replaced by figure of eight. 0.87g 90°. *SCBI* 8.139.
- 2659 Obv. annulet on neck of bust. 0.86g 90°. *SCBI* 8.107.
- 2660 0.86g 180°. *SCBI* 8.81.

2637 CM.1282–1911: from Lincoln & Son 18.3.1911.

2638 CM.1259–1911: from Spink 11.3.1911.

2639 CM.1257–1911: from Spink 11.3.1911.

2640 CM.1.835–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

2641 CM.1.793–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.

2642 CM.1258–1911: from Spink 11.3.1911.

2643 CM.1.795–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.

2644 CM.1.792–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.

2645 CM.817–2012: ex Blackburn coll.; from Baldwin, October 1973.

2646 CM.5.2336–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 173.

2647 CM.TR.2042–R: Trinity College loan 1937; ex Bell coll. (MS Catalogue p. 99, no. 9).

2648 CM.2346–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

2649 CM.2343–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

2650 CM.5.2344–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

2651 CM.1397–1911: ex Jenkinson (gift), 4.4.1911.

2652 CM.2341–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

2653 CM.2347–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

2654 CM.1398–1911: from Baldwin 6.4.1911.

2655 CM.28.310–1920: ex Hasluck coll.

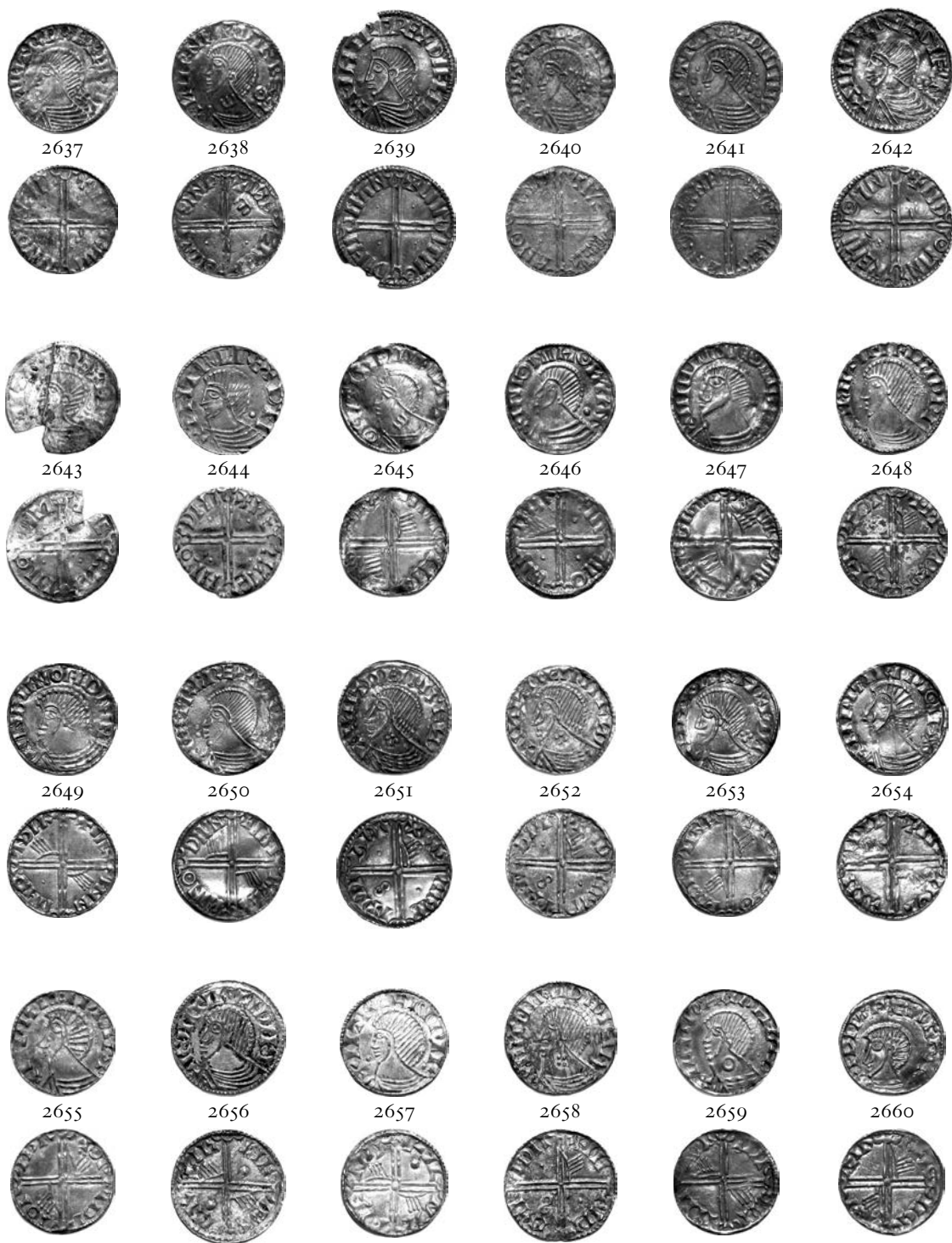
2656 CM.1260–1911: from Spink 11.3.1911.

2657 CM.2345–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

2658 CM.ME.645–R: no provenance.

2659 CM.2342–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

2660 CM.1284–1911: from Lincoln & Son 18.3.1911.



HIBERNO-SCANDINAVIAN COINAGE (*cont.*)

PHASE III (*cont.*)

Group G: Long Cross with 'hands' on reverse (*cont.*)

Obv. pseudo-legend around bust I. Rev. pseudo-legend in angles of long voided cross w. omega-shaped terminals and crude 'hands' in two quarters.

- 2661 Obv. pelletted cross behind bust. 0.85g 150°. Cf. *SCBI* 8.114.
 2662 0.84g 0°. *SCBI* 8.85 var.
 2663 0.84g 315°. *SCBI* 8.115–31. XRF analysis 2012: 87.72% Ag; 0.33% Au; 8.47% Cu; 0.64% Zn.

- 2664 0.83g (slightly chipped) 150°. Cf. *SCBI* 8.82.
 2665 Obv. pseudo-legend (retrograde). 0.82g 80°. *SCBI* 8.91 var.
 2666 Rev. 'hands' replaced by large pellets. 0.76g 100°. *SCBI* 8.116 var.
 2667 Obv. pelletted cross on neck of bust. 0.71g 180°. Cf. *SCBI* 8.109.

PHASE IV

Group H: 'Scratched Cross' reverse types (c. 1060–5)

H1

Obv. pseudo-legend around bust I. Rev. pseudo-legend in angles of long voided cross w. crude 'hand' in quarter and varying number of pellets in others.

- 2668 Obv. pelletted cross on neck of bust. Rev. almost no pseudo-legend. 0.66g 0°. Woods 2013b, 45. XRF analysis 2012: 89.82% Ag; 0.45% Au; 3.29% Cu; 0.45% Zn.
 2669 0.99g 200°. Woods 2013b, 11.
 2670 Obv. trefoil of pellets on neck of bust, quatrefoil of pellets behind. 0.99g 345°. Woods 2013b, 19.
 2671 Obv. pelletted cross on neck of bust. 0.73g 0°. Woods 2013b, 52.

H2

Obv. pseudo-legend around facing crowned and bearded bust in circle (modelled on Edward the Confessor, *Facing Bust* type (**2277–316**)). Rev. pseudo-legend in angles of long voided cross w. omega-shaped terminals, crude 'hand' in one angle, cross in another and varying number of pellets in other two.

- 2672 0.66g 0°. Woods 2013b, 105. Same obv. die as **2673**.
 2673 0.58g 0°. Woods 2013b, 104. Same obv. die as **2672**.
 2674 0.55g 0°. Woods 2013b, 69. Same obv. die as **2675–6**.
 2675 0.54g (*chipped*) 0°. Woods 2013b, 83. XRF analysis 2012: 70.14% Ag; 0.31% Au; 22.60% Cu; 2.16% Zn. Same dies as **2676** and same obv. die as **2674**.
 2676 0.56g (*chipped*) 0°. Woods 2013b, 66. Same dies as **2675** and same obv. die as **2674**.

- 2661 CM.ME.643-R: no provenance.
 2662 CM.2350-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
 2663 CM.2348-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
 2664 CM.ME.642-R: no provenance.
 2665 CM.2349-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
 2666 CM.2338-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift); ex Montagu 173.

- 2667 CM.ME.644-R: ex F.P. Weber (gift), January 1907.
 2668 CM.ME.374-R: ex Old University collection.
 2669 CM.1.800-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.
 2670 CM.5.2340-1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).
 2671 CM.ME.375-R: no provenance.

- 2672 CM.1-1965: ex Grierson (gift), 1965.
 2673 CM.1.801-1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.
 2674 CM.2-1965: ex Grierson (gift).
 2675 CM.ME.376-R: no provenance.
 2676 CM.837-1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.



2661



2662



2663



2664



2665



2666



2667



2668



2669



2670



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2672



2673



2674



2675



2676



2677



2678



2679



2680



2681



2682



2683



2684



PHASE V

Group I: Long Cross with sickles and related types (*c.* 1065–75)

I4

- 2677 Obv. pseudo-legend around bust l. w. spray on neck. Rev. pseudo-legend around pseudo-legend across field enclosed in two lines (modelled on Harold II, *Pax* type (2332–53)). 0.88g (slightly bent) 90°. Woods 2013b, 127.

I7

- 2678 Obv. pseudo-legend around bust l. w. annulet on neck. Rev. pseudo-legend around pseudo-legend across field enclosed in two lines (modelled on Harold II, *Pax* type (2332–53)). 0.84g 80°. Woods 2013b, 172. XRF analysis 2012: 89.66% Ag; 0.37% Au; 5.96% Cu; 0.56% Zn.

- 2679 Types as last. 0.93g 70°. Woods 2013b, 173. Same dies as SCBI 8.220–1.

I8

- 2680 Obv. pseudo-legend around bust r. in circle. Rev. pseudo-legend around pseudo-legend across field enclosed in two lines (modelled on Harold II, *Pax* type (2332–53)). 0.92g 90°. Woods 2013b, 182. XRF analysis 2012: 87.44% Ag; 0.37% Au; 4.19% Cu; 0.13% Zn.

I9

- 2681 Obv. pseudo-legend around bust r., w. trefoil of pellets before. Rev. pseudo-legend in angles of long voided cross w. omega-shaped terminals, and annulet, pellets and € in quarters. 0.77g (chipped) 0°. Woods 2013b, 190.

Same obv. die as SCBI 8.177. XRF analysis 2012: 93.39% Ag, 1.27% Au, 2.41% Cu, 0.75% Zn.

Group J: imitations of 1070s Anglo-Norman types (*c.* 1075–80)

(Not represented in this collection. For commentary, see Chapter 14, section (d), pp. 328–35.)

Group K: 'Bird' and associated types (*c.* 1080–5)

K6

- 2682 Obv. pseudo-legend around bust l., w. pelleted cross on neck. Rev. pseudo-legend around annulet with three stick-like 'birds' around. 0.52g (broken and repaired) 0°. Woods 2013b, 411.

K7

- 2683 Obv. pseudo-legend around bust l., w. annulet before. Rev. pseudo-legend around small cross pattée. 0.58g. Woods 2013b, 420. XRF analysis 2012: 90.52% Ag, 0.55% Au, 4.96% Cu, 0.34% Zn.

Group L: Paxs imitations, derivatives and related types (*c.* 1085–90)

L11

- 2684 Obv. pseudo-legend around bust l. Rev. illegible (obv. design bleeding through) 0.42g. Woods 2013b, 512. XRF analysis 2012: 88.05% Ag, 0.54% Au; 7.60% Cu, 0.82% Zn.

2677 CM.1.803–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961.

2678 CM.1399–1911: from Baldwin, 6.4.1911.

2679 CM.1.804–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961.

2680 CM.1.802–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1961.

2681 CM.652–2006: from VG Numismatique.

2682 CM.3–1965: ex Grierson (gift), 14.1.1965.

2683 CM.1.809–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.

2684 CM.1.805–1990: ex Blunt coll.

HIBERNO-SCANDINAVIAN COINAGE (*cont.*)

PHASE V (*cont.*)

Group M: *Small Flan type* (c. 1090–5)

(Not represented in this collection. For commentary, see Chapter 14, section (d), pp. 328–35.)

Group N: *Stylised facing and profile busts* (c. 1095–1100)

N2

2685 Obv. pseudo-legend around facing bearded bust. Rev. pseudo-legend around long quadruple cross, w. hooked terminals. 0.67g 0°. Woods 2013b, 584. XRF analysis 2012: 89.43% Ag; 0.47% Au; 4.19% Cu; 0.56% Zn.

PHASE VI

Group O: *Profile with crook and two sceptres reverse* (c. 1100–10)

O2

Obv. pseudo-legend around bust l., w. 'crozier' before. Rev. pseudo-legend in angles of long voided cross, w. pelleted crosses and pellets in quarters.

2686 0.43g 0°. Woods 2013b, 646.

2687 0.61g 45°. Woods 2013b, 657. XRF analysis 2012: 91.37% Ag, 0.47% Au, 4.17% Cu, 0.36% Zn.

2688 0.53g 45°. Woods 2013b, 704. XRF analysis 2012: 84.80% Ag, 0.56% Au, 7.41% Cu, 1.36% Zn.

2689 0.44g 45°. Woods 2013, 741.

PHASE VII

Group P: *Profile and quatrefoil ('half-bracteates')* (c. 1110–15)

P3

2690 Obv. pseudo-legend around crude bust l. Rev. quatrefoil superimposed on long cross, w. trefoils of pellets in outer angles. 0.47g (chipped). Woods 2013b, 832. XRF analysis 2012: 64.08% Ag, 0.44% Au, 26.29% Cu, 3.79% Zn.

Group Z: *possibly modern forgeries*

Z1

2692 Obv. pseudo-legend around crude bust r., w. E on neck. Rev. pseudo-legend in angles of voided cross w. pelleted annulet in third quarter and clusters of pellets in others. 0.54g (cracked, worn) 340°. Woods 2013b, 998.

Group Q: *Bracteates* (c. 1115–70)

Q4

2691 Long cross w. annulet centre and quatrefoil in each angle. 0.50g. Woods 2013b, 899. XRF analysis 2012: 46.64% Ag, 0.21% Au, 41.81% Cu, 4.67% Zn.

2685 CM.4–1965: ex Grierson (gift), 14.1.1965.

2686 CM.1.808–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.

2687 CM.1–1983: ex Grierson (gift), 1983; ex Spink sale 23, 21.9.1982, lot 123; ex Lane; ex

NCirc 78 (1970), no. 5683; found at Aosta, Italy, before 1970.

2688 CM.1.807–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.

2689 CM.1.806–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.

2690 CM.173–1999: ex Stack 439.

2691 CM.5.161–1933: ex Henderson coll. (gift).

2692 CM.644–2001: ex Mitchell (gift) (in memory of P. Finn); ex Chown 1155.



2685



2686



2687



2688



2689



2690



2691



2692



2693



2694



2695



2696



2697



ISLE OF MAN

The location of the mint or mints on the Isle of Man is uncertain. For commentary, see Chapter 13, section (c), pp. 317–19.

Penny

2693 Obv. pseudo-legend around bust l., w. pelleted cross behind. Rev. **†FIE RE[] FIMO DIELF** in angles of long

voided cross w. omega-shaped terminals and pellet in each quarter. AR 0.70g 65°. Peck-marks: 1/3. Dolley 1976b, 21; Bornholdt Collins 2003, 16.

‘IRISH SEA’ IMITATIONS

The location of the ‘Irish Sea’ mint or mints remains a matter of debate. All coins are silver pennies. For commentary, see Chapter 13, section (e), pp. 321–2.

Long Cross type

‘LINCOLN’

Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED RE† AGLΘ** around bust l., w. pellet behind. Rev. **†ÆS CMA N MΘ LIIE** in angles of long voided cross, w. omega-shaped terminals.

2694 ‘*Æscman*’. 1.58g 75°. Leighton and Woods 2014, G2.3a. Peck-marks: 7/7.

UNCERTAIN MINT

Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX AGLIΘ** around bust l. Rev. **†EÐL EHM OÐM OUE** in angles of long voided cross, w. omega-shaped terminals.

2695 1.65g 240°. Leighton and Woods 2014, G1.8c. Same dies as *SCBI* 5.462–3.

2693 CM.1.810–1990: ex Blunt coll.
2694 CM.1114–2009: ex Studio Coins list 99 (2009), no. 1502.
2695 CM.814–2012: ex Blackburn coll.; from Baldwin 1977.

2696 CM.643–2001: ex Mitchell (gift) (in memory of P. Finn); ex Chown 1206; ex Doubleday 257; ex Lockett 723.

2697 CM.PG.17.904–2006: Grierson bequest; ex Baldwin sale 13, 28.5.1997, lot 1751; from a Danish or Swedish hoard.

Quatrefoil type

Obv. legend around crowned bust l. in quatrefoil. Rev. legend around and broken by long voided cross w. omega-shaped terminals in quatrefoil.

‘CHESTER’

2696 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **†CNVT RE† AGLOR**. Rev. **†NI EICI ON ELV**. 0.81g 90°. Blackburn 1996a, IS20(e).

2697 ‘*Leofsige*’. Obv. **[†A]NVT RE†CN[GLORVNI]**. Rev. **[†LE]OF SOL NE[I]**. 0.52g (cut halfpenny) 300°. Blackburn 1996a, I12(e). Peck-marks: 2/1.

MODERN FORGERIES, REPRODUCTIONS, ETC.

SHILLINGS/TREMISSES

Gold shillings/tremisses

Early gold types

Obv. **†CAPΛINDI†FILIO** around bust r. Rev. **VENTA** (NT ligatured) / **INI** above and below two figures, each w. one disproportionately large hand.

F1 1.41g 0°. *MEC* 1.1479; Belfort 4731. Specific gravity 18.45 (94% Au).

Eadbald, king of Kent (616–40)

Obv. crude facing bust of 'York coinage' style. Rev. **†EADBALD R** **CA**, cross pattée in circle.

F2 1.00g 270°. *MEC* 1.1481.

Silver reproduction based on 'York'-type shillings

Silver 'shilling/tremissis'

Obv. crude facing bust of 'York coinage' style. Rev. pseudo-legend around cross pattée in circle.

F3 1.01g 270°. *MEC* 1.1480. Modern cast of a specimen in Ashmolean Museum (*T&S* 76; Sutherland 75b).

EARLY SILVER PENNIES

Pennies

Series D

F4 Obv. **pa** before radiate bust r. Rev. **TILV** before 'porcupine'-like bust r. 1.55g 90°.

Series K

F5 Obv. diademed bust r. w. cross before. Rev. beast head l. w. elaborately knotted tongue. 1.95g 0°. Rogers 1990, 1335. Made in 1971 as part of a promotional series of 'Coins of Ancient Britain' by Robinson's fruit drinks.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY

ÆTHELHEARD, 792–805

Heavy coinage (792/3–6) (with OFFA, king of the Mercians)

Obv. **ÆDIL** / **HEARD** / **ARCEP** in three rows, divided by lines. Rev. **†OFFA** / **REX** / **ᵹ** (lozenge-shaped **O**) in three rows, divided by lines.

F6 2.38g 180°. 'Replica of a penny now in the collection of Sir John Evans' (*NC* 1920, 82ff.).

KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBRIA

EAANRED, 810–40/1

North 186

Early phase

Obv. **†EAANRED REX**, annulet and pellet. Rev. **†VILHEAH**, annulet and pellet.

F7 *Wilheah*. 1.36g 100°. *SCBI* 1.294; *MEC* 1.1483; 1867 *Catalogue*, 15 (this or next coin). A copper-plated cast, from the same moulds as **F8**. 32% Pb, 15.5% Sn, 52.5% Bi.

F8 *Wilheah*. 1.48g 100°. *SCBI* 1.295; *MEC* 1.1484; *CAS Catalogue* 1847, p. 28, no. 5 (this or last coin). A copper-plated cast, from the same moulds as **F7**.

Late phase

F9 *Brother*. Obv. **†EAANRED REX** (**VR** ligatured), rosette. Rev. **†BROþer** (mixed Latin and runic letters; **er** ligatured), rosette. 1.78g 200°. *SCBI* 1.270; *MEC* 1.1482. A modern cast.

F1 CM.ME.383-R; ex Grierson (gift); from Herzfelder 5.7.1953; ex Amécourt; ex Norblin.

F2 CM.ME.384-R; ex Grierson (gift); from Baldwin 2.7.1968; ex Grantley 746.

F3 CM.ME.385-R; ex Grierson (gift); from Baldwin 2.7.1968; ex Grantley 746.

F4 CM.1.23-1990; ex Blunt coll.; Shirley Fox 1939.

F5 CM.2819-2003; from Galata Coins; ex Rogers.

F6 CM.TR.1943-R; Trinity College loan 1937.

F7 CM.ME.408-R; this or next coin is ex Babington (gift) 1866.

F8 CM.ME.409-R; this or previous coin is Cambridge Antiquarian Society 1886; ex Litchfield (gift) 1847.

F9 CM.ME.410-R; no provenance ('Hexham hoard' in *SCBI* erroneous).



F1



F2



F3



F4



F5



F6



F7



F8



F9



F10



F11



F12



F13



F14



F15



F16



F17



F18



F19



F20



F21



F22



F23



F24



ÆTHELRED II, FIRST REIGN, 840/1–4

North 188

F10 *Eamræd*. Obv. **ÆDIFRED RE**, rosette. Rev. **ÆTIVRED**, cross of five pellets. 1.26g 15°. Lead-bismuth cast c. 1850.

F11 *Leofihegn*. Obv. **ÆDIFRED REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **LEOF / DEG / I**, hound running r. 2.95g 200°. *SCBI* 1.986; *MEC* 1.1487.

F12 *Leofihegn*. Obv. **ÆDELRED REX**, six-limbed device in circle. Rev. **ÆLEOFDEGI MONET**, voided cross containing pellets. 2.54g 180°. *SCBI* 1.984; *MEC* 1.1485; 1867 *Catalogue*, 16 (this or next coin); *CAS Catalogue* 1847, p. 28, no. 5 (this or next coin). Cast from same moulds as **F13**.

F13 *Leofihegn*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 2.35g 180°. *SCBI* 1.985; *MEC* 1.1486. Cast from same moulds as **F12**.

OSBERHT, 848/9–62/3

North 191

F14 *Wulfsige* (?). Obv. **OSIBERHEX**, rosette. Rev. **WVLFST**, rosette. 1.32g (chipped) 240°.

ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK

EANBALD II, 796–808 OR AFTER

North 194

Obv. legend around various central devices. Rev. legend around various central devices.

F15 *Æthelweard*. Obv. **ÆANBALD A** (all As and R inverted), rosette. Rev. **ÆDILVARD** (V is inverted A), rosette. 2.43g 180°. *SCBI* 1.988; *MEC* 1.1489; *CAS Catalogue* 1847, p. 28, no. 5.

F16 *Eadwine*. Obv. **ÆANBALD AR**, annulet. Rev. **ÆADWINE**, annulet. 1.51g 160°. *SCBI* 1.987; *MEC* 1.1488; *CAS Catalogue* 1847, p. 28, no. 5.

F17 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **ÆENBULO ER**, rosette. Rev. **ÆEYRNYYL**, trefoil of pellets. 2.44g 350°. *MEC* 1.1490.

WIGMUND, 837–54

North 196

F18 *Coenræd*. Obv. **WIGMVND AREP** (retrograde), cross pattée. Rev. **WCOENRED**, cross pattée in circle. 2.67g 0°. *MEC* 1.1491.

F19 *Hunlaf*. Obv. **WIGMVND** around cross pattée (?). Rev. **WVVLAF**, cross pattée. 1.55g 0°. *MEC* 1.1492.

KINGS OF THE MERCIANS

OFFA, 757–96

Light coinage (c. 785–92/3)

F20 *Eadhun*. Obv. **OFFA** before bust r. Rev. **Æ AÐ HV VI** in angles of lozenge w. crossed finials and small cross within, w. pellets in angles. 2.98g 315°. Rogers 1990, 1497.

F21 *Ibba*. Obv. **OFFA RE / X**, bust r. Rev. **Æ / B / B / A** in angles of lozenge w. elaborate floral terminals, and central cross pattée. Cast forgery. 1.72g 20°. *SCBI* 1.989; *MEC* 1.1493.

F22 *Uncertain moneyer*. Obv. **OFFA / REX**, bust r. Rev. **Æ A Ð I EO** in angles of voided cross, w. small cross within and forked finials in outer angles. 3.40g 330°. Rogers 1990, 1336. Same dies as **F23**. As in the case of **F5**, this and the next coin were made as 'Coins of Ancient Britain' for Robinson's fruit drinks in 1971.

F23 *Uncertain moneyer*. As last. 3.34g 330°. Rogers 1990, 1336. Same dies as **F22**.

BURGRED, 852–74

F24 *Hussa*. Obv. **BVRGR / ED REX**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **HVVSX / MON / ETX** in three rows, broken by lines.

1.39g 90°. MacKay 2015, Id.6; North 426; *BMC* rev. type d; obv. style H.

F10 CM.1.61–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.

F11 CM.ME.422–R: ex Cambridge Antiquarian Society 1886; ex Litchfield (gift) 1847.

F12 CM.ME.420–R: either this or **F13** is ex Babington (gift); the other is Cambridge Antiquarian Society loan 1886; ex Litchfield.

F13 CM.ME.421–R: see above, **F12**.

F14 CM.1.98–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1951.

F15 CM.ME.436–R: Cambridge Antiquarian Society loan 1886.

F16 CM.ME.435–R: Cambridge Antiquarian Society loan 1886.

F17 CM.QC.0001–R: Queens' College loan 2002.

F18 CM.QC.0002–R: Queens' College loan 2002.

F19 CM.QC.0003–R: Queens' College loan 2002.

F20 CM.2853–2003: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers.

F21 CM.1.17–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart; ex Beaufoy.

F22 CM.2820–2003: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers.

F23 CM.2821–2003: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers.

F24 CM.431–2013: ex Lyons (gift).

MODERN FORGERIES AND REPRODUCTIONS (*cont.*)

KINGS OF THE EAST ANGLES

BEONNA, 749–60 OR AFTER

F25 *Effe*. Obv. **†bEnna rEX**, annulet. Rev. **† / E / F / E**, stand-
ard w. projections from corners and cross pattée inside.
North 430. 1.21g 0°

KINGS OF THE WEST SAXONS

ECGBERHT, 802–39

Early coinage (825–c. 828)

F26 *Osmund*. Obv. **†HECBEΛRHT REX**, bust r. in circle. Rev.
†OSMVND MONETA, cross pattée w. wedges in angles
in circle. 1.17g 180°. *SCBI* 1.991; *MEC* 1.1494. Same rev.
die as **F28**. Struck forgery made by Edmund Emery in
the first half of the nineteenth century (Pagan 1971, 6a).

F27 *Wulfgar*. Obv. **†HECBEΛRHT REX**, cross pattée in circle.
Rev. **†VVLGΛR MONETΛ**, cross-crosslet in circle. 1.33g
180°.

ÆTHELWULF, 839–58

First Portrait coinage (c. 844–9)

F28 *Osmund*. Obv. **†ÆDELVVLF REX**, bust r., breaking circle.
Rev. **†OSMVND MONETA**, cross pattée w. wedges in

angles in circle. 1.35g 160°. *SCBI* 1.527; *MEC* 1.1495.
Same rev. die as **F26**.

ÆTHELRED I, 865–71

F29 *Coenrad*. Obv. **†ÆDELRED REX**, bust r., breaking circle.
Rev. **†ÆNRED / MOM / ETA** in three rows, divided by

lines. 1.39g 180°. North 623; *BMC* rev. type c; idiosyn-
cratic obv. style; Lyons and MacKay 2007, AeC2.

F25 CM.183–1994; ex Doolan (gift).
F26 CM.5.29–1933; ex Henderson; ex
Montagu 463; ex Brice coll.; ex Bergne 130; ex
Martin 3.

F27 CM.388–1999; ex Lyon (gift); ex Mack
(not in sales) (*SCBI* 20.1646); ex Glendining
sale 8, 30.9.1959, lot 83; ex Lockett 2089; ex
Grantley 972; ex Lawrence. Struck forgery by
Edmund Emery (Pagan 1971, 5c).

F28 CM.YG.2127–R; ex Young; ex Carlyon–
Britton 323; ex J. H. Young 11; ex Wigan. Struck
forgery by Edmund Emery (Pagan 1971, 7a).
F29 CM.432–2013; ex Lyons (gift).



KINGS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

ALFRED, 871–99

Lunettes coinage (871–c. 875)

North 625; *BMC* rev. type a.

- F30 *Tata*. Obv. **ELFERED MX+**, bust r., breaking circle. Rev. **+TATTA / MON / ET** in three rows, the upper and lower rows in lunettes. 1.16g o°. *SCBI* 1.992; *MEC* 1.1496; North 625; *BMC* rev. type a.

London Monogram coinage (c. 880)

- F31 Obv. **ÆLFR / ED REX**, bust r. Rev. *Lundonia* monogram. 1.74g 190°. Rogers 1990, 1030 var. An electrotype.
 F32 Obv. **ÆLF / RED RE**, bust r. Rev. as last. 1.65g 180°. Rogers 1990, 1030. Same dies as **F33**. Made April–late May 1924 at the British Empire Exhibition, Wembley.
 F33 Obv. as last. Rev. as last but w. small ‘1924’ to l. 1.40g (pewter) 180°. Rogers 1990, 1031. Same dies as **F32** (but w. ‘1924’ added on rev.). Made late May–late July 1924 at the British Empire Exhibition, Wembley.

WEMBLEY

Obv. **ÆLF / RED RE**, bust r. Rev. **PHILIP / ÆT VVEMBLEY** above and below monogram of *Lundonia*. Made late July 1924–October 1925 at the British Empire Exhibition, Wembley.

- F34 *Philip [Snowden]*. 1.66g 180°. Rogers 1990, 1032. Same dies as **F35–6**.
 F35 *Philip [Snowden]*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 2.36g 180°. Rogers 1990, 1032. Same dies as **F34** and **F36**.

F36 *Philip [Snowden]*. Obv. as last. Rev. as last. 1.18g 180°. Rogers 1990, 1032. Same dies as **F34–5**.

F32–6 were all made at the British Empire Exhibition, which opened on 23 April 1924 in a newly built stadium at Wembley, Middlesex (subsequently used for sporting events, most famously football). The Royal Mint had a stand in the government section of the exhibition, at which a new mechanical coin press was contrasted with a man in Anglo-Saxon costume who made imitations of Alfredian pennies by hand. Photographs of this stand, including several of the ‘moneyer’ at work, were printed in the *Illustrated London News*, 14 June 1924, p. 1127. Coins produced at the Royal Mint stand proved popular, more than ten thousand being sold at 6d. each. The report in the *Illustrated London News* stressed how the makers had begun to include a minute ‘1924’ on the base-metal reproductions so that they could not be confused with the originals, a move taken in response to a question raised in Parliament on 20 May 1924 by Sir Charles Oman about the closeness of the reproductions to the originals. Subsequent discussion in July 1924 between the Treasury, Sir Robert Johnson of the Royal Mint and the British Museum led to the introduction of the type with the moneyer’s name and the mint name (‘**PHILIP ÆT WEMBLEY**’) in order to distinguish the reproductions still more clearly; the ‘moneyer’ named on the coins was Philip Snowden (1864–1937), Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time of the exhibition. For discussion, see Eimer 1985, 172–3; Rogers 1990, 108–9.

F30 CM.5.47–1933: ex Henderson; ex Murdoch 83; ex Montagu 548; ex Shorthouse 94; ex Shepherd 69.

F31 CM.8.2–1994: ex S. Tyler-Smith and M. Phillips (gift).

F32 CM.2799–2003: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers.

F33 CM.79–1938: ex Barron (gift) 20.5.1938.

F34 CM.463–1924: ex L. A. Lawrence (gift) 3.9.1924.

F35 CM.2800–2003: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers.

F36 CM.2801–2003: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers.

KINGDOM OF THE ENGLISH

ÆTHELSTAN, 924–39

Circumscription type, combined with *St Peter* reverse of Viking York (Rogers 1990, 1345)

Obv. **ÆDELSTAN REX TO BRI**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **SCI PE / TR MO** above and below sword w. cross before, and w. lower letters divided by mallets. Possibly made at the Jorvik Viking Centre in York.

F37 7.08g 315°.

F38 2.99g 30°.

F39 3.00g 215°.

EADRED, 946–55

Horizontal/Two-Line type

HR1

F40 *Agtard*. Obv. **EADRED REX**, cross pattée in circle. Rev. **ÆTAR / DES MOT** in two lines, w. three crosses between and rosette above and below. 2.03g 270°. *SCBI* 1.993; North 707; *CTCE* 111–12.

ÆTHELRED II, 978–1016

Crux type (BEH C; BMC *iiia*; North 770)

CANTERBURY

F41 *Goldwine*. Obv. **[+E-DELRE]D REX AN[GL]OX**, bust l. w. sceptre in circle. Rev. **[+GO]LDFINE MO L[E]NT**, double cross w. **CRVX** in angles in circle. 1.51g 270°. An unusually large coin cut down to a square.

CNUT, 1016–35

Quatrefoil type (BEH E; BMC *viii*, x; North 781)

SALISBURY

F42 *Sæman*. Obv. **ÆNVT REX RNGLORV**, crowned bust l. in quatrefoil. Rev. **+S/E M/TN ON S EREB** in angles of long voided cross w. omega-shaped terminals in quatrefoil. 1.08g 0°. *SCBI* 1.769. A cast.

Pointed Helmet type (BEH G; BMC *xiv*; North 787)

YORK

F43 *Sunnulf*. Obv. **ÆNVT R EX ANGL** around helmeted bust l. holding sceptre and breaking circle. Rev. **+SVNOLF MO EORF** around circle containing short cross w. annulet at centre and in quarters. 1.62g 315°. *SCBI* 1.994. A cast.

F37 CM.2825–2003: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers.

F38 CM.2826–2003: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers.

F39 CM.2827–2003: from Galata Coins; ex Rogers.

F40 CM.ME.1.57–1930: ex Duncanson; ex Smart.

F41 CM.135–2009: from Ancient and Gothic list 255, no. 167.

F42 CM.46–1942: ex A. Smith (gift) 1942.

F43 CM.28.14–1920: ex Hasluck coll.

F44 CM.1.295–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1979.

F45 CM.492–2006: ex Edwards; found on banks of River Dee, near Neston,

ANGLO-VIKING COINAGES: KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBRIA

ST PETER COINAGE, *c.* 905–27

Phase III (*c.* 921–7)

Mallet type (North 556)

F44 Obv. **SCIII / TIIIO** in two lines, w. sword between and cross above and below. Rev. **HLRIOEVITR**, T-shaped hammer in circle. 1.38g (cracked) 270°. Modelled on *BMC* 1122.

OLAF GUTHFRITHSSON, 939–41

Halfpennies

F45 Obv. **+ANF AF CV[]NEO**, large pellet (?) in circle. Rev. **+ÆTRICE C[]**, *Karolvs* monogram. 0.68g 225°. See Blackburn 2006a, 218–21; 2011b, 378. Condemned as sterling silver by metallurgical analysis.

F46 Obv. uncertain legend around large pellet in circle. Rev. uncertain legend around *Karolvs* monogram (?). 0.74g (chipped and corroded). See Blackburn 2011b, 378.

HIBERNO- SCANDINAVIAN

PHASE VI (*c.* 1100)

Pennies

F47 Obv. pseudo-legend around crude bust l. Rev. pseudo-legend in angles of long voided cross w. pelleted crosses and trefoils of pellets in quarters. 1.60g 45°. Electrotype.

Cheshire, December 2005 (EMC 2006.0377).

F46 CM.710–2008: ex Winiger.

F47 CM.1.811–1990: ex Blunt coll.; bt London 1959.

CONCORDANCES

Concordances are given below for the two previously published catalogues covering substantial portions of the material contained in this volume:

1. *MEC* I
2. *SCBI* I.

1. *MEC* I WITH *MEC* 8

<i>MEC</i> I	<i>MEC</i> 8	<i>MEC</i> I	<i>MEC</i> 8	<i>MEC</i> I	<i>MEC</i> 8
634	298	655	197	676	28
635	297	656	242	677	35
636	296	657	241	678	30
637	295	658	266	679	36
638	294	659	257	680	37
639	147	660	292	681	39
640	151	661	284	682	48
641	154	662	285	683	54
642	156	663	280	684	58
643	160	664	317	685	83
644	166	665	1	686	84
645	178	666	8	687	93
646	215	667	10	688	94
647	222	668	17	689	104
648	219	669	21	690	101
649	221	670	24	691	333
650	208	671	25	692	331
651	210	672	26	693	332
652	272	673	29	694	62
653	194	674	31	695	343
654	198	675	32	696	356

<i>MEC 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>	<i>MEC 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>	<i>MEC 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>
697	371	1136	956	1176	950
698	373	1137	1043	1177	946
699	384	1138	1044	1178	951
700	404	1139	1047	1179	948
701	405	1140	975	1180	633
702	464	1141	959	1181	647
703	463	1142	960	1182	660
704	466	1143	962	1183	661
705	467	1144	963	1184	662
706	468	1145	1051	1185	663
707	534	1146	1052	1186	664
708	542	1147	1054	1187	668
709	88	1148	978	1188	673
710	570	1149	1060	1189	681
711	574	1150	1055	1190	682
712	560	1151	1057	1191	680
713	568	1152	979	1192	683
714	562	1153	980	1193	678
715	564	1154	996	1194	679
716	598	1155	997	1195	688
717	604	1156	967	1196	686
718	614	1157	1178	1197	689
1121A	927	1158	1183	1198	687
1121B	928	1159	1185	1199	694
1121C	929	1160	1186	1200	700
1122	954	1161	982	1201	699
1123	1014	1162	984	1202	705
1124	1015	1163	1181	1203	704
1125	1010	1164	1190	1204	703
1126	1013	1165	1210	1205	707
1127	1006	1166	1187	1206	711
1128	1009	1167	1090	1207	713
1129	1019	1168	1089	1208	718
1130	1008	1169	1076	1209	724
1131	1021	1170	1077	1210	726
1132	1171	1171	938	1211	730
1133	968	1172	937	1212	727
1134	1035	1173	940	1213	752
1134A	1039	1174	944	1214	750
1135	971	1175	949	1215	751

<i>MEC 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>	<i>MEC 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>	<i>MEC 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>
1216	753	1256	815	1296	903
1217	734	1257	818	1297	911
1218	735	1258	820	1298	900
1219	736	1259	830	1299	901
1220	733	1260	825	1300	916
1221	746	1261	822	1301	915
1222	744	1262	827	1302	921
1223	743	1263	826	1303	923
1224	747	1264	831	1304	922
1225	741	1265	823	1305	1215
1226	742	1266	832	1306	1211
1227	759	1267	836	1307	1212
1228	757	1268	839	1308	1216
1229	764	1269	838	1309	1213
1230	763	1270	845	1310	1217
1231	769	1271	850	1311	1218
1232	780	1272	855	1312	1219
1233	768	1273	843	1313	1221
1234	771	1274	844	1314	1223
1235	779	1275	861	1315	986
1236	775	1276	874	1316	1099
1237	778	1277	885	1317	1115
1238	776	1278	881	1318	1105
1239	782	1279	883	1319	1097
1240	783	1280	880	1320	1098
1241	784	1281	882	1321	1109
1242	787	1282	897	1322	1101
1243	789	1283	898	1323	1119
1244	793	1284	888	1324	1123
1245	796	1285	887	1325	1130
1246	791	1286	895	1326	1129
1247	797	1287	891	1327	1134
1248	799	1288	893	1328	1136
1249	795	1289	892	1329	1137
1250	794	1290	889	1330	1138
1251	800	1291	890	1331	1139
1252	804	1292	902	1332	1140
1253	805	1293	905	1333	1145
1254	810	1294	910	1334	1151
1255	813	1295	908	1335	1150

<i>MEC 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>	<i>MEC 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>	<i>MEC 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>
1336	1158	1375	1292	1412	2541
1337	1163	1375A	1404	1413	2562
1338	1161	1376	1290	1414	2549
1339	1160	1377	1400	1415	2559
1340	1166	1378	1304	1416	2565
1341	1226	1379	1261	1417	2556
1342	1230	1380	2366	1418	2555
1343	1228	1381	2367	1419	2548
1344	1232	1382	2395	1420	2561
1345	1249	1383	2437	1421	2550
1346	1246	1384	2439	1422	2551
1347	1237	1385	2440	1423	2544
1348	1234	1386	2436	1424	2564
1349	1240	1387	2355	1425	2552
1350	1242	1388	2457	1426	2563
1351	1248	1389	2459	1427	2543
1352	1250	1390	2458	1428	2554
1353	989	1391	2460	1429	2557
1354	1256	1392	2461	1430	2569
1355	1253	1393	2481	1431	2540
1356	1255	1394	2464	1432	2545
1357	1254	1395	2463	1433	2553
1358	1258	1395A	2466	1434	2547
1359	1259	1395B	2482	1435	2546
1360	1263	1396	2467	1436	2558
1361	1275	1397	2468	1437	2568
1362	1277	1398	2472	1438	2567
1363	1268	1399	2477	1439	2572
1364	1270	1400	2476	1440	2573
1365	1273	1401	2475	1441	2575
1366	1272	1402	2474	1442	2577
1367	2384	1403	2493	1443	2578
1368	1279	1404	2526	1444	2582
1368A	1278	1405	2528	1445	2583
1369	991	1406	2531	1446	2584
1370	993	1407	2535	1447	2586
1371	1282	1408	2537	1448	2589
1372	1285	1409	2539	1449	2594
1373	1284	1410	2538	1450	2595
1374	1296	1411	2570	1451	2605

<i>MEC</i> 1	<i>MEC</i> 8	<i>MEC</i> 1	<i>MEC</i> 8	<i>MEC</i> 1	<i>MEC</i> 8
1479	F1	1485	F11	1491	F17
1480	F3	1486	F12	1492	F18
1481	F2	1487	F10	1493	F19
1482	F8	1488	F15	1494	F22
1483	F6	1489	F14	1495	F24
1484	F7	1490	F16	1496	F26

2. *SCBI* 1 WITH *MEC* 8

<i>SCBI</i> 1	<i>MEC</i> 8	<i>SCBI</i> 1	<i>MEC</i> 8	<i>SCBI</i> 1	<i>MEC</i> 8
217	1	245	266	273	662
218	10	246	194	274	663
219	17	247	198	275	664
220	21	248	604	276	668
221	37	249	54	277	673
222	32	250	48	278	694
223	26	251	58	279	704
224	28	252	343	280	707
225	35	253	62	281	703
226	39	254	371	282	705
227	31	255	373	283	681
228	29	256	464	284	683
229	30	257	463	285	682
230	36	258	333	286	680
231	151	259	331	287	679
232	83	260	332	288	678
233	84	261	317	289	688
234	88	262	614	290	686
235	562	263	466	291	689
236	564	264	467	292	718
237	284	265	468	293	713
238	208	266	633	294	F6
239	272	267	647	295	F7
240	257	268	700	296	724
241	215	269	699	297	726
242	210	270	F8	298	734
243	222	271	660	299	735
244	242	272	661	300	736

<i>SCBI 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>	<i>SCBI 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>	<i>SCBI 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>
301	733	341	830	381	915
302	744	342	825	382	916
303	750	343	822	383	921
304	751	344	831	384	923
305	752	345	827	385	922
306	747	346	843	386	1014
307	741	347	823	387	1015
308	746	348	832	388	1010
309	742	349	836	389	1013
310	743	350	839	390	1006
311	759	351	838	391	1009
312	757	352	844	392	1019
313	771	353	845	393	1008
314	775	354	850	394	1021
315	778	355	855	395	1035
316	779	356	800	396	1171
317	768	357	861	397	1043
318	764	358	874	398	1054
319	763	359	885	399	1055
320	769	360	881	400	1057
321	776	361	883	401	1051
322	787	362	880	402	1060
323	783	363	882	403	1052
324	782	364	897	404	1076
325	784	365	898	405	1077
326	789	366	889	406	1090
327	794	367	892	407	1089
328	795	368	895	408	1130
329	793	369	893	409	1129
330	796	370	891	410	1134
331	799	371	888	411	1136
332	791	372	887	412	1137
333	797	373	890	413	1138
334	804	374	900	414	1145
335	805	375	901	415	1097
336	810	376	905	416	1151
337	813	377	902	417	1150
338	815	378	910	418	1158
339	818	379	908	419	1163
340	820	380	903	420	1139

<i>SCBI 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>	<i>SCBI 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>	<i>SCBI 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>
421	1160	461	2458	501	2558
422	1099	462	2457	502	2568
423	1105	463	2459	503	2567
424	1109	464	2460	504	2531
425	1115	465	2464	505	2535
426	1119	466	2476	506	2528
427	1123	467	2475	507	2526
428	954	468	2474	508	2575
429	956	469	2477	509	2573
430	959	470	2467	510	2582
431	960	471	2468	511	2583
432	962	472	2537	512	2584
433	963	473	2539	513	2577
434	967	474	2538	514	2578
435	968	475	2570	515	2586
436	971	476	2541	516	2595
437	975	477	2562	517	2589
438	978	478	2549	518	2594
439	979	479	2559	519	2605
440	980	480	2565	520	1183
441	996	481	2556	521	1185
442	997	482	2555	522	1186
443	986	483	2548	523	1178
444	982	484	2561	524	1187
445	984	485	2550	525	1181
446	989	486	2551	526	1210
447	991	487	2544	527	F24
448	938	488	2564	528	1211
449	937	489	2552	529	1215
450	940	490	2563	530	1212
451	944	491	2543	531	1216
452	949	492	2554	532	1213
453	946	493	2557	533	1217
454	951	494	2572	534	1218
455	948	495	2569	535	1219
456	2355	496	2540	536	1221
457	2461	497	2545	537	1223
458	2493	498	2553	538	1230
459	2481	499	2547	539	1228
460	2472	500	2546	540	1232

<i>SCBI 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>	<i>SCBI 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>	<i>SCBI 1</i>	<i>MEC 8</i>
541	1226	581	1492	621	1764
542	1249	582	1512	622	1766
543	1242	583	1514	623	1767
544	1253	584	1535	624	1774
545	1258	585	1537	625	1776
546	1255	586	1547	626	1777
547	1254	587	1540	627	1779
548	1256	588	1554	628	1790
549	1259	589	1583	629	1792
550	1261	590	1567	630	1794
551	1277	591	1590	631	1796
552	1268	592	1570	632	1795
553	1273	593	1599	633	1799
554	1272	594	1577	634	1798
555	2437	595	1608	635	1808
556	2384	596	1609	636	1809
557	2440	597	1610	637	1810
558	2439	598	1615	638	1818
559	1275	599	1619	639	1816
560	1263	600	1621	640	1820
561	2366	601	1622	641	1823
562	2367	602	1636	642	1824
563	2436	603	1639	643	1825
564	1290	604	1625	644	1826
565	1296	605	1626	645	1829
566	1400	606	1627	646	1821
567	1304	607	1669	647	1822
568	1282	608	1672	648	1830
569	1285	609	1673	649	1831
570	1428	610	1675	650	1832
571	1413	611	1681	651	1833
572	1440	612	1682	652	1834
573	1455	613	1702	653	1835
574	1460	614	1647	654	1837
575	1466	615	1654	655	1836
576	1479	616	1737	656	1868
577	1477	617	1724	657	1838
578	1484	618	1752	658	1839
579	1486	619	1755	659	1840
580	1485	620	1760	660	1841

SCBI 1	MEC 8	SCBI 1	MEC 8	SCBI 1	MEC 8
661	1842	701	1905	742	1966
662	1844	702	1910	743	1968
663	1845	703	1911	744	1969
664	1846	704	1912	745	1970
665	1848	705	1913	746	1975
666	1849	706	1915	747	1977
667	1851	707	1916	748	1980
668	1854	708	1917	749	1983
669	1855	709	1921	750	1982
670	1857	710	1924	751	1984
671	1858	711	1926	752	1986
672	1859	712	1925	753	1988
673	1860	713	1929	754	1990
674	1864	714	1930	755	1991
675	1866	715	1928	756	1993
676	1874	716	1931	757	1994
677	1876	717	1932	758	1992
678	1875	718	1933	759	1995
679	1881	719	1934	760	1997
680	1878	720	1935	761	1998
681	1883	721	1936	762	1999
682	1882	722	1938	763	2002
683	1885	723	1939	764	2003
684	1886	724	1941	765	2004
685	1887	725	1942	766	2006
686	1888	726	1943	767	2007
687	1889	727	1945	768	2010
688	1890	728	1949	769	F35
689	1892	729	1954	770	2014
690	1891	731	1950	771	2015
691	1893	732	1953	772	2017
692	1894	733	1955	773	2019
693	1895	734	1952	774	2020
694	1897	735	1951	775	2021
695	1898	736	1956	776	2022
696	1900	737	1957	777	2023
697	1899	738	1959	778	2029
698	1901	739	1960	779	2032
699	1902	740	1962	780	2031
700	1904	741	1964	781	2034

<i>SCBI</i> 1	<i>MEC</i> 8	<i>SCBI</i> 1	<i>MEC</i> 8	<i>SCBI</i> 1	<i>MEC</i> 8
782	2037	822	2108	862	2166
783	2036	823	2114	863	2167
784	2038	824	2116	864	2168
785	2042	825	2117	865	2170
786	2040	826	2115	866	2171
787	2044	827	2113	867	2172
788	2043	828	2120	868	2174
789	2045	829	2121	869	2163
790	2046	830	2127	870	2176
791	2048	831	2122	871	2177
792	2055	832	2124	872	2179
793	2057	833	2126	873	2180
794	2058	834	2128	874	2186
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